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THE  
ANNUAL REGISTER,  
OR A VIEW OF THE  
HISTORY,  
POLITICS,  
AND  
LITERATURE,  
For the YEAR 1804.



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LONDON:

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*By J. WRIGHT, St. John's Square, Clerkenwell.*

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1806.



# P R E F A C E.

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**I**N committing to the press this new volume of “The Annual Register,” the Editor feels the anxiety of one who looks to the favourable reception of his work, as the best reward for so much industry and labour bestowed upon it. He is sensible both of the difficulty and importance of the task he undertakes. The greatest of modern philosophers, himself an historian of no vulgar class, has ranked such publications as this among the most valuable of the materials of history:—and those labours which Lord Bacon valued, what other man shall venture to depreciate?

The Compiler of these annual records of the politics, the literature, and the manners of the British empire, does not, indeed, aspire to the station of an historian.—Time must complete the lesson;—Experience compare it;—and Wisdom impart its method, before these materials can assume the shape of “Philosophy teaching by example.” Yet the Editor of this work, (raised by the merit of those who have preceded



ceded him, to so high an eminence of reputation,) feels that he is, by no means, addressing himself only to the present race of his countrymen. To this repository of facts and arguments, of authentic documents and contemporary opinions, future statesmen, historians, and philosophers, will resort for those materials, which must form the surest ground-work of all their labours. And while its present Editor animates his exertions with this reflection, he never ceases to recall to his mind, that all the credit of his narrative, and consequently all the utility of his labours, both now and hereafter, must depend upon his industry in searching for truth, and his candour and fidelity in its relation.

That the readers of this volume will find in it ample proofs of diligent and careful research, he has too much confidence in their justice, to allow himself to doubt. He is equally conscious of the sincerity of his desire, to deliver faithfully what he has laboriously collected.

He does not, however, attribute to himself the merit, if merit it were;—the dishonour, he would rather call it;—of that species of impartiality, which is the product of indifference. The fate and fortunes of his country; the measures which advance, and those which impair her prosperity; the conduct of her distinguished statesmen; and the result of her important transactions; are all to him matters of the highest interest,



interest. He is the annalist of a great Empire, but he is, at the same time, the citizen of a free state.

Yet while he claims and exercises that liberty of judgment, speech, and writing, which we consider as the best safe-guard of our Constitution, he trusts he shall not be found to have abused it. He has no wish to calumniate those from whom he may happen to differ in political opinion;—none, to misrepresent their motives, to traduce their characters, or, least of all, to falsify the record of their actions.

In those branches of the work which embrace the literature and manners of the country, or which aim solely at affording to the reader a liberal and not unprofitable amusement, he has acted with the same spirit of impartial selection and arrangement, though applied to matters of much less importance. And he has above all things been careful to maintain the uniform character of “The Annual Register,” by continuing the exclusion of every word or sentiment, which could be deemed, in the remotest degree, injurious to the interests of morality.

On the whole, it is the hope of the Editor, that, as the historical portion of the work, while it faithfully records the fleeting transactions of the times, may convey some information respecting them, even to those who are best acquainted with their general course

course and progress ; so its remaining parts may afford to ingenious minds of every description, a reasonable and liberal entertainment, together with the opportunity of exercising their taste and judgment on subjects not wholly unsuited to them.

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THE  
ANNUAL REGISTER,  
For the YEAR 1804.

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THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
EUROPE.

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CHAP. I.

*Preliminary Observations—Meeting of Parliament—Speech from the Throne—Marquis of Sligo, moves the Address—Lord Limerick—Address unanimously carried.—Moved same Day in the Commons by Mr. Cropley Ashley—seconded by Mr. Burland.—Questions put by Mr. Fox to the Ministry—answered by Mr. Addington—Address carried.—Mr. Windham's Speech on the Report of the Address—Debate in the House of Commons, on the Suspension of the Habeas Corpus and Martial Law Acts—and in the Lords—Bills passed.*

THE pressure of public affairs towards the end of the year 1803, arising, as well from the menacing position which France had taken upon her shores, opposite to that line of British coast, which presented the most obvious points of invasion, as, from the necessity there existed of speedily providing the supplies of money and men, to meet

the exigencies of a moment the most awful which the country had ever experienced, induced the minister, after a short recess, of little more than three months, to call the parliament together. Accordingly, it met on the 22nd of November, and his majesty, in a most gracious speech,\* after acknowledging the wisdom of parliament in

\* Vide "State Papers," p. 596.



providing the necessary measures for the defence of the country, paid a high compliment to the spirit manifested by the volunteers, and mentioned the capture of St. Lucie, Tobago, St. Piere, Miquelon, Demerara, and Essequibo, as a proof that no exertions were wanting in making an impression on the foreign possessions of the enemy. His majesty also expressed his fixed determination to share the exertions and dangers of his people in the defence of the country (doubtless advertising to the menaced invasion). To the activity and valour of his fleets and armies, and to the zeal and unconquerable spirit of his faithful subjects, he confided the honour of his crown, and all the valuable interests embarked in the contest. He concluded, by expressing his firm conviction, that, if the enemy should hazard an invasion, the consequence to them would be discomfiture, confusion, and disgrace, and to this country the solid and permanent advantage of fixing its independence on the basis of acknowledged strength, the result of its own tried energy and resources. Besides these topics, his majesty alluded to the suppression of the Irish insurrection, and declared his hope that those of his subjects in that country who had swerved from their allegiance, were now sensible of their error, and would join heartily in resisting an invading enemy. He also informed the parliament of the convention which had been entered into with Sweden.

The marquis of Sligo moved the address in the house of lords: he began by expressing his opinion, that, if ever there was a moment for peculiar pride in the name of Britain, it was at the present period,

when every individual, born to the protection of equal laws, stood forward, without distinction of rank, class, or situation, to shed his blood in the defence of their common country. The measures which the wisdom of parliament had adopted, had been outdone by the zeal and patriotism of the people themselves, and Great Britain now presented to the imitation of the world, the sight of a nation of soldiers, voluntarily stepping forward to defend their unequalled form of government. France would in vain rely on civil dissensions, by which she had obtained such advantages over other countries; whatever divisions religious distinctions might make in another part of the united kingdom, yet there were principles on which all were animated with one mind: all were equally determined not to be dictated to by any foreign power, but live as their forefathers had done, an independent nation, or not to live at all. After a very warm acknowledgment of the sentiments of personal magnanimity, expressed by his majesty in his speech, he concluded by moving the address.

The earl of Limerick seconded the address: he pointed out to the house, that the various topics introduced in the speech of his majesty, were unconnected with any ministerial question, and were such as he hoped would meet the unanimous approbation of the house. He expatiated, with considerable animation, on the heroic patriotism which induced such numbers of men voluntarily to arm themselves for the defence of the country. Instead of being "a nation of shopkeepers," as we had been sneeringly termed by the foe, we were able



to shew that enemy, who had contemptuously used the phrase, that when we contended with them in war, we were as far superior to them, as when we contended with them in trade or in manufactures: and if, as yet, we had made no great efforts in offensive warfare, it was because the defence of the country was the most important object of the war, and must be attended to before any other consideration. Government, however, had not been inattentive to active operations, and had made important acquisitions of territory in the West Indies. He considered that the Irish volunteer force would be sufficient to keep down the disaffected in that country; and, upon the whole, he was inclined to hope that the situation of the country, at present, and the measures the government had pursued, would tend to the attainment of a real, permanent, and honourable peace, in which the security of other nations, and the balance of Europe, might be preserved.

The question on the address was then put and carried unanimously.

In the house of commons, on the same day, after his majesty's speech had been read from the chair,

The honourable Cropley Ashley rose, to move the address. He went over the several topics of his majesty's speech, on each of which he made a few observations, which were principally to congratulate the country on the present aspect of its affairs, and concluded, by moving the address.

Mr. Burland began by comparing the situation of the continent of Europe, reduced nearly to the dependence of a petty German state, with the proud situation of this

country, which had preserved itself from anarchy and despotism. He confidently expected that the address would be voted unanimously, as the experience of the last session had convinced him, that however gentlemen might differ about past measures, or plans of defence, yet when the welfare of the king, the constitution, and the country, were at stake, the house had but one opinion and one voice. He wished the house and the country to be perfectly aware of the impending danger, in order that they might view it without contempt, or without dismay. He deprecated the opinion which he had often heard repeated, that Bonaparte knew the dangers of an invasion too well to attempt it. Such an opinion damped the energy of those who entertained it, and was by no means warranted in fact. Bonaparte had not as yet threatened any thing which he had not attempted. Those difficulties which deterred others, did not deter him. He was never afraid of the sacrifice of his armies, as he appeared entirely regardless of the lives of his soldiers. If, like the Swiss, the Dutch, or the Hanoverians, we were to wait in torpid security, till the enemy were at our gates, we must expect to share the fate of those countries; whereas, if we go forth with one heart and soul to meet him on our coasts, we should, doubtless, drive him back with ignominy. He then took the opportunity of loudly applauding the naval force of the country, on the unexampled patience with which they continued the blockade of the enemy's harbours, so that hardly a gun-boat was allowed to skulk from one port to another. He concluded, by seconding the motion for the ad-



dress, which he hoped would be voted unanimously.

Mr. Fox rose, not to object to the address, nor to dispute the statements of the mover and second-er, but merely to advert to two points, one of which was omitted, and the other particularly alluded to, in the king's speech. The first was, the mediation of Russia, respecting which, he thought, the house was entitled to information. In the last session of parliament, a noble secretary of state (lord Hawksbury) did expressly pledge ministers not only to accept the mediation of Russia, if offered, but even to solicit it, if it were not. That noble lord had stated, that ministers were ready to hear the ideas of the court of St. Petersburg, and to state their own opinion of the means most likely to bring about a good understanding between the two countries. After ministers had been so pledged, and that such an interval had elapsed, he expected some intimation in the speech, of the success of these negotiations; at least, it would be necessary to have such information before the time should come for the discussion of that question. The other point to which he had alluded, was the mention that had been made of Ireland. As to the hope that was held out of its permanent tranquillity being restored, he could not entertain any sanguine expectation of its being realized, at least, while the present system is persevered in in that country. He could not allow that the late insurrection had been brought about entirely by French influence, when the leaders of it expressly disavowed such notions, and disclaimed any connexion with France. He should have felt

great and sincere pleasure, if there had been any thing mentioned in the speech which could induce a hope that the system of Irish government would be ameliorated. He warned the house not to give too much confidence to the general assertions that were made respecting the loyalty of that people. It must be recollected that those kind of assertions were frequently made in the last session, even up to the day of the breaking out of the insurrection. He concluded, by declaring that it was not his intention to disturb the unanimity which seemed so much to be desired on the present occasion.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Addington) admitted that Mr. Fox had accurately stated the pledge which had been given on a former night by a noble friend of his (lord Hawkesbury). The fact was, that Russia had offered its mediation, which was accepted, with readiness and gratitude, on the part of his majesty's servants. Discussions were accordingly commenced, but, he was sorry to say, that, in their progress, they did not assume such a shape as to afford the least probability of bringing about an amicable arrangement with France. As to the other point, respecting Ireland, he was perfectly convinced that, however some few of the leaders of the insurrection might have disclaimed French alliance, yet that many of them did look to a French invasion as the means of carrying their purposes into effect. He could, with satisfaction and exultation, assure the house, that the conduct of his majesty's government in Ireland had tended very much to improve the loyalty of all ranks and descriptions of people in that country.

Having



Having made these observations on the two points adverted to by Mr. Fox, he expressed his ardent wish that, on the present occasion, there might be the most perfect unanimity.

After some observations of sir Francis Burdett, on what he conceived dangerous and improper conduct in some of the volunteer associations, the address was carried without opposition.

On the following day, upon bringing up the report of the address, Mr. Windham said, he did not rise for the purpose of retracting the assent he had given the day before, but for the purpose of explaining the grounds upon which he gave that assent. He wished, by the unanimity of the vote, to shew that it was the determination of the house to give his majesty the most unbounded support, and to maintain the cause of the country to the last extremity. He would be sorry, however, were it supposed, that unanimity in support of the country, implied a unanimity in support of ministers. There were many people who supposed, that, in times of great difficulty and danger, there ought to be the greatest acquiescence to ministry; but there are others who think, that of the danger alleged, as the reason of supporting ministers, the ministers themselves form the principal part; that the preparations of the enemy would have little terror, if met by wisdom and ability; that it is the weakness of the defence, and not the vigour of the attack, which constitutes the danger; and that Bonaparte and his legions were not so terrific to the country, as the little band of ministers that occupied the treasury bench. He did not mean

to speak slightly of the talents of many individuals who composed the administration; they were men of cultivated minds, and liberal education; not unread in the history of the country, nor unpractised in its business. But yet, to speak of them collectively, as a council, that were not only to rule this country, at a crisis like the present, but to guide the affairs of the world, he thought them weakness itself. He considered them the *Augustuli*, in whose hands the empire would perish! About two years ago, he had found it necessary to tell them, that they had signed the death-warrant of their country; and he now thought those forebodings had come near their accomplishment. In the speech itself, he disapproved much the attaching great consequence to our West India conquests, which were objects of no importance, when compared with the immense projects of the enemy. He agreed with Mr. Fox in the fears he had expressed, of the hope held out of permanent tranquillity for Ireland being disappointed, unless other measures were adopted; and concluded, by charging the ministers with great inattention to the defence of that part of the country with which he was most connected, the county of Norfolk.

The address was then read a second time, and agreed to.

On the 30th of November, sir P. Stevens moved, in a committee of supply, that 100,000 seamen be voted for the year 1804, which was accordingly agreed to. Leave was also given to bring in a bill for continuing the restriction on the bank of England from the issue of specie.

On the next day, sir W. Scott obtained leave to bring in his clergy



residence bill, and on the motion of the chancellor of the exchequer, the house voted a sum of 8000*l.* as a temporary relief to those curates, who should be deprived of their cures by the operation of this bill.

On the 2nd of December, Mr. secretary Yorke rose, to move for the continuation of “the Irish *habeas corpus* suspension act,” and the re-enactment of “the martial law bill.” He declared, that it was with great regret he felt himself obliged to perform this painful duty; but that it was the misfortune of the times in which it was our lot to live, that we were not permitted to enjoy our lives, our liberties, and our possessions, without being daily called upon to make sacrifices of some of our privileges, for the preservation of the remainder. Those bills were past in the last session, upon the actual breaking out of an insurrection in Ireland, and from all the evidence that government had received respecting that insurrection, it was their firm conviction, notwithstanding the declaration of one of the rebels (Emmet), that it was principally stirred up by French agents. He believed the number of traitors in Ireland was much diminished, but whether it were great or small, the house would not compromise with them, or suffer them to clothe themselves with the whole armour of the law, while they were attacking the government, the senate, and all loyal subjects, with the concealed weapons of assassination.

The honourable colonel Hutchinson admitted the necessity of passing those bills, and bestowed great praise on the temperate and conciliating manner in which lord Hardwicke administered the government of Ireland. He could not however

allow, that it was a complete reason that the Irish people should be satisfied, because their situation is not yet as bad as that of either the French people, or of those poor, oppressed, plundered countries, that are called the allies of France. He could have wished much, however, that the spirit of lord Hardwicke’s government were supported by the legislative power, and that the affairs of Ireland should meet that attention in the united parliament, that they must have done in the parliament of that country, were it not for the union.

General Loftus and Mr. Hawthorne supported the necessity of the measure.

Lord Temple reminded those who considered, that a time of war and danger was not fit for the discussion of the affairs of Ireland, that it was in a time of war and of danger nearly equal to the present, that so important a measure as the act of union was passed. He observed, that the preamble of the bills passed last session, stated, “the spirit of rebellion and insurrection to be actually raging in Ireland.” If the honourable secretary asserted that it were necessary to renew a bill having that preamble, he could not object to it.

Lord Archibald Hamilton wished, that ministers would declare whether they intended to bring forward any specific plan for ameliorating the situation of that country: if they did not, he should think it competent to any member to agitate the question. He wished those who objected to the question being brought forward at the present time, would be good enough to inform the house, what was the time they would think proper for its discussion.

Mr.



Mr. Burrows approved of the suspending the *habeas corpus* in Ireland, but did not at present see the necessity of continuing the martial law, at a time when parliament was sitting.

Lord Castlereagh asserted, that no measure had contributed so much to prevent the mischiefs of rebellion from extending, as that measure which was now objected to. There was a considerable body of loyalty existing in Ireland, but in order to attack and suppress rebellion; it was necessary that government should have extraordinary powers. There was no reason to suppose this power would be abused, as, notwithstanding its existence last year, the civil tribunals were resorted to in almost every instance. He considered the bills not only as due to the loyal subjects for their security, but even an act of mercy to the rebels themselves; for there was no other way of convincing them how utterly hopeless all their projects were, than to shew, that it was in the power of government to blast them in a moment. When they were convinced their schemes were hopeless, and must be destructive to themselves, they might be induced to return to habits of peaceful allegiance. To refuse to arm government with such power, when there was no reason to suppose it would be exercised with harshness, would be to raise the spirits and hopes of the disaffected: but it would paralyze the exertions, and augment the fears of the loyal friends of their country.

The bill for suspending the *habeas corpus* act in Ireland was brought in, and read a first time; and, after some opposition, leave was also given to bring in a bill for

the continuance of martial law in that kingdom, which was also read a first time.

On the question being put, on the 5th of December, for the second reading,

Mr. W. Elliot said, that he felt utterly unable, from want of information, to form a correct opinion, whether this bill ought or ought not to pass. When the bill was first introduced in the Irish parliament, there were the most authentic documents of an actually existing rebellion. When it was renewed in 1800 and 1801, the act was founded on the report of a secret committee of the house of commons. When it was passed last year, it was immediately after the atrocious murder of lord Kilwarden, when it appeared probable that the conspiracy was most extensive. But when it is now proposed to pass, there was nothing of that sort appeared, to justify the measure. There was neither any actual rebellion, nor was there any report of a committee, nor any authentic information, to make it appear that such a measure was now necessary.

The only thing like official information, which parliament had to guide them, was the speech from the throne, which expressed a hope of tranquillity being perfectly restored, and the deluded returning to their allegiance. Such information as this did not appear to require measures of such severity. As to the mere general assertions of ministers, he could not place much confidence in them. It was only a week before the breaking out of the insurrection at Dublin, that the chancellor of the exchequer had congratulated the house on the tranquil state of Ireland, when no martial-law



law bill existed; and attributed this tranquil state to his peace of *Amiens*! So far from feeling any confidence in those declarations, he, on the contrary, felt a sort of superstitious foreboding of some great calamity impending, whenever he heard the confident boastings of ministers. It must be recollected what a clamour was raised against his right honourable friend, (Mr. Windham) for saying, that the Irish government had been taken by surprise on the 23d of July; but, certainly, every appearance warranted that supposition; for, if they had any information, they neither communicated it to the chief justice, who lost his life for want of such information, nor to the lord mayor, whose house was that day plundered of a quantity of arms, nor yet to any person to whom it might be supposed natural they would communicate it. Although he could not give his negative to the bill, yet he wished that it might not make any more progress, until information was given to parliament of its necessity.

Mr. secretary Yorke said, that the information before the house was, that although the insurrection had been suppressed, yet that measures of precaution were absolutely necessary; especially, while we were at war with an enemy that encouraged the disaffected to break out into insurrections, in order to support his plan of invading and conquering these countries. These grounds appeared to him simple, clear, and satisfactory. As the honourable gentleman had asserted, that the Irish government was taken by surprise, on the 23d of July, he must now, and whenever he heard that assertion, positively deny it.—The garrison of Dublin, on that

night, consisted of near 4000 veteran troops, a number completely adequate to suppress an insurrection ten times more formidable. It was absurd to suppose the city of Dublin, or the castle, to be for a moment in danger from that contemptible mob; and if the honourable gentleman had any charge to bring forward against the Irish government, he was ready to meet it.

Colonel Crawford was averse from the renewal of the bill without some further information being given. He could not but conceive that there was great negligence, or want of precaution, in the Irish government, upon the occasion alluded to, especially, when the blowing up of a gunpowder mill, belonging to the rebels, ought to have put them completely on their guard.

Mr. Francis spoke against the bill.

Lord Castlereagh replied to the two last speakers. He did not think the government could fairly be blamed for not bringing before the consideration of parliament, subjects, which they could not produce any specific legislative mode of amending. If any other honourable gentleman thought he could bring forward any plan for the advantage of any part of the united kingdom, it was his duty to do so, and it would be for the wisdom of the legislature to decide on its policy. If there were any charges to be brought against the Irish government for negligence and want of precaution, he should wish those charges to be brought fairly and openly, and not by a sort of side wind. He did not conceive that preparing a report of the information which government had upon the subject, would be productive of any good purpose; but that



that, on the contrary, it would interrupt the exertions of government in tracing the different ramifications of the conspiracy. While such inquiries were going on, it would be a matter of great difficulty to prepare such a report as might not disclose facts and information, that would defeat the views of government in prosecuting their inquiries.

Upon colonel Crawford's stating, in explanation, that his charge against the Irish government, for want of preparation, was founded on the circumstance of Dublin being almost destitute of ammunition for its garrison, the honourable Mr. Pole warmly denied the fact.

Mr. Windham thought it strange, that it should appear almost a matter of course to pass such a bill as this. There were some gentlemen who seemed to think no more of stopping the constitution, or letting it have its course, than a miller would of stopping his mill, or setting it a-going. They would order it to march, or to halt, with as little ceremony as a colonel would give the orders to his battalion. From the information the ministers pleased to give the house, no conclusion could be drawn. Sometimes they stated the insurrection of the 23d of July, as a mere contemptible riot, in which but a handful of men were concerned; and at other times, when it suited their purposes, they described it of such formidable magnitude, as to require no less a measure than martial law to put it down. It was true, that arbitrary and despotic power might in some cases have their advantages, but as it seldom fell to our lot to have angels to exercise it, mankind was generally content to forego these ad-

vantages, and take up the safer and slower operation of laws and free governments. In those ministers, who now wished for those arbitrary powers to be entrusted to them, he could place no confidence at all, as their representations, hitherto, of the state of that country, had been fallacious. They had continued to represent it as in a state of perfect tranquillity, up to the day that it was announced that an insurrection had burst forth; that the lord chief justice had been murdered; and the city of Dublin within an ace of being taken. The Irish government appear to prefer the charge of negligence, to that of being taken by surprise. There was, however, every appearance of a surprise. The lord lieutenant himself was at his country house; and surely his friends would not say that he would have quitted the capital if he expected an explosion. He should not, however, oppose this bill, because, as he was without information on the subject, he was not prepared to say that it was not necessary.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer conceived the necessity of the present measure a question that ought to be always kept separate, from the conduct of the Irish government, on the day that the insurrection had broke out; but since that had been introduced, he must say that he considered the conduct of the Irish government, on that day, as highly laudable, and that they were not at all taken by surprise. After having made all the necessary arrangements for defeating the insurrection, the lord lieutenant retired, as usual, to his country house, to prevent any public alarm or apprehension. He thought it very surprising, that the two right honourable gentlemen



gentlemen (Mr. Windham and Mr. Elliot,) the one of whom had been so instrumental in the first bringing in the *habeas corpus* suspension act in Great-Britain, and the other in Ireland, without any report of select committees, but upon the ground of obvious necessity, should now seem to think it absolutely necessary to have a report of a secret committee, to prove the necessity of the measure proposed. The statement in his majesty's speech, that tranquillity was restored in Ireland, was perfectly correct, but it was only to be preserved by the same precautionary measures by which it was attained. The insurrection of the 23d of July, without magnifying it into a business of such importance as the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Windham) had described it, was certainly a symptom of such a disposition, as must be watched and guarded against by every measure of precaution. Before the 23d of July, many persons of great authority and information, among others the lord chancellor of Ireland, thought such measures, as are now proposed, were necessary; but, after the 23d of July, no body could doubt the necessity. This was not now denied, but the gentlemen, on the other side, wished for the formality of evidence to prove it. To all such objections he would answer, that public notoriety, combined with the preparations the enemy were making, and their avowed objects, did afford abundant grounds for calling for the present measure. The objections to it, he considered not tenable, upon sound principles of reasoning, nor from the melancholy experience of the last ten years.

Dr. Lawrence vindicated his right

honourable friend (Mr. Windham) from the charge of inconsistency, imputed to him by the chancellor of the exchequer. The suspension of the *habeas corpus* was but an act of precaution, but the martial-law bill gives extraordinary powers of punishment. So that his right honourable friend might, with perfect consistency, approve of one and not of the other. The court of martial law, established, was the worst of all that bear the name. Under the mutiny bill, there were required thirteen officers to form a court-martial; and in no part of the empire, except Botany Bay, or the slave coast, was so small a number of officers required to compose a court-martial, as in Ireland. The impolicy of continuing martial law longer than it was necessary, was this: in the common opinion of mankind, no disgrace attached to those who fell in war, whereas those who suffered by the regular course of justice, were supposed to have an ignominy attached to their death. Emmet, the rebel leader, was a proof of the prevalence of this idea; when he was hurt, at the time of arrest, he said it was nothing, for all was fair in war; but when he was condemned to die, by a jury of his countrymen, he begged that nobody would attempt to write his epitaph.

General Loftus approved highly of the measure.

The Attorney General insisted, that instead of being a violation of the common law, martial law was only an auxiliary of the common law, when it was confined to such districts, and exercised at such times, as would prevent the due execution of the common law. He then animadverted, pointedly, to the conduct and to the language of Mr. Windham,



Windham, on a former occasion, when he asked, "who is it we are to conciliate? Or for whom are we called upon to relax the powers of government? Is it for traitors notoriously conspiring against the government, and against the loyal subjects of that country?" From the language used by that right honourable gentleman, at a former period, he could sufficiently furnish himself with arguments on the present occasion. He was convinced the loyal people in Ireland would not be satisfied, unless such a measure was passed.

Mr. Windham, in explanation, said, that he had given no opinion of the propriety or impropriety of the present measure, as he had not sufficient information to judge; but, certainly, he had never made it a reason against passing the bill, that it might be disagreeable to those, against whom it was to operate.

The honourable Mr. Hutchinson said, it was with reluctance and pain that he felt obliged to give his assent to the measure proposed, and to allow that there was a great difference between the state of this country and of Ireland; he, however, hoped that the united parliament would at length consider seriously the situation of that country, and devise such measures as enlightened policy might dictate for securing its permanent tranquillity. A good government should shew itself no less active in putting down rebellion, than in removing the causes of discontent, and he conceived it impossible for any honest or thinking man, in Ireland, to be satisfied with the manner in which its affairs were administered.

The bill was then read a second time, and ordered to be committed.

Upon the report of the committee being brought up, on the 7th of December, and the question being put for the third reading,

Admiral Berkeley gave notice, that he should, on an early day, move for papers to exculpate the Irish commander in chief (general Fox) from the imputation thrown on him by certain expressions of the chancellor of the exchequer, who had stated, "that the commander in chief had early intelligence of the intended insurrection on the 23d of July."

The Chancellor of the Exchequer denied having ever used these words, or intended to throw any imputation on the conduct of that honourable officer. What he had said was, that early information had been sent to the superintending magistrate.

Admiral Berkeley reiterated his assertion.

Mr. J. Beresford observed, that the sphere of the insurrection being confined to two or three streets, and the night being excessively dark, it might have happened without any blame justly attaching either to the commander in chief, or to the Irish government.

Mr. secretary Yorke, in reply to the observations of admiral Berkeley, said, that the chancellor of the exchequer had correctly stated the language he had used on the former occasion, and had properly disavowed any intention, either on his own part, or on that of any of the members of his majesty's government, to asperse or throw any imputation on the character or conduct of the Irish commander in chief, for whom he felt a very sincere respect; if, after this explanation, the honourable admiral was resolved to bring it forward, it should be as a distinct charge



charge against the Irish government, and not on the ground of removing an aspersion which was never intended.

The bill was, after a few observations from Mr. Windham, ordered to be read a third time, and both bills were subsequently passed without further opposition in the commons. In the lords, the only debate which they produced, was on the 12th of December, when lord Hawkesbury introduced the subject, by saying, he thought ministers were entitled to claim credit, as not in general wishing that extraordinary powers should be placed in their hands, except in cases where imperious necessity required it. The measures that were now proposed, were what, upon nearly similar occasions, had secured the salvation of Ireland. In Great-Britain, when a wicked and diabolical conspiracy was detected against the life of the sovereign, the offenders were handed over to the ordinary tribunals, and suffered the punishment due to their crimes. There was then no occasion for any extraordinary measures, because ministers were satisfied that the great majority of the population of Great-Britain was loyal. The case was very different in Ireland, where it was well known that a considerable portion of disaffection still existed. It could not be supposed, that the spirit of all of those who had embarked in the extensive rebellion of 1798, could have been since completely changed. A disposition to revenge yet remained; for it could not be denied, but that, during the rebellion, there were savage and atrocious acts committed both on the part of the rebels, and of the friends of government. Those acts, however,

were not occasioned by martial law; but, on the contrary, the martial law armed government with such a power, as prevented individuals from giving way to their private resentments. Since the time this power was renewed, in consequence of the insurrection of the 23d of July, there was only one instance of a person being tried by martial law; and, perhaps, that instance was solitary, because it was known to be in force. On these grounds, he moved, that the first of these bills, the Irish *habeas corpus* suspension bill, should be read a second time.

The earl of Suffolk rose, not to oppose the bills, which he really believed to be necessary, but to endeavour to obtain from ministers some information on the state of Ireland. He thought, when an insurrection was put down, it was the proper time for government to enquire what were the grievances in which it had originated. He considered the advice that one of the greatest men who ever lived, (lord Bacon) gave to queen Elizabeth, was applicable to the present state of Ireland, as well as to the times in which that advice was given. That great man advised her majesty to appoint a commission to enquire into the existing grievances of that country, and to consider of the most effectual means of redressing them. His lordship thought, that such a commission ought now to be appointed. Force might put down rebellion in the field, but lenity and justice alone could recover the alienated affections of a people.

Lord King complained, that the house were called upon by ministers to pass such bills as these, without any evidence either of their expediency



or their necessity. The question was not, how his majesty's ministers would use those extraordinary powers, but whether there were a necessity for putting four millions of his majesty's subjects out of his peace. He thought the want of information on the affairs of Ireland, and the different accounts, that ministers themselves gave of the insurrection of the 23d of July, were reasons, abundantly sufficient, to prove the necessity of a general and systematic enquiry into the affairs of Ireland.

Lord Grenville felt himself under circumstances of peculiar embarrassment, in giving an opinion on a subject where so little information had been granted. He must agree with the noble lord, (lord Hawkesbury) in the general principle which he had laid down, namely, that there were times, when, in conformity to the principles of the constitution, extraordinary powers must be given to meet extraordinary exigencies. When these exigencies were clearly and unequivocally made out, he should never object to extraordinary powers being given. It could not be imagined that any noble lord would be averse from the measures necessary for the suppression of rebellion; but it was a serious matter to vote measures of such magnitude, without any information. The only official information of the state of Ireland, was in his majesty's speech; and in that document parliament was assured, that, since the 23d of July, there had been no appearance of insurrection; but that, on the contrary, Ireland enjoyed an undisturbed tranquillity! The language used by ministers was most contradictory: sometimes the insurrection was represented as a

contemptible riot, and, at other times, as a most formidable conspiracy. How were their lordships to judge between such contradictory statements? The bills were certainly introduced, at present, on grounds very different from what had made them necessary at former periods. Then, there were armies of insurgents in the field, who disputed with his majesty's troops the possession of the island. When those bills were afterwards renewed, it was upon the authority of a report from a secret committee of both houses of parliament. As to the *habeas corpus* suspension bill, he saw no strong objections. The character of those who were to act under it, was of importance, and ministers, in every step they took in consequence of this act, would be open to future censure, and the most direct responsibility; but the martial-law bill was of a very different nature: the persons who were to put it in execution, were under no such responsibility; they might be supposed to act from prejudice, or without adequate knowledge. When first he supported the system of martial law in Ireland, it was, when a rebellion of the most formidable nature was raging with the utmost violence. To the system of open rebellion, a system of murder and intimidation succeeded; magistrates were deterred from performing the duties of their office; judges were prevented from presiding at trials at the peril of their lives; jurors were deterred from giving true verdicts; and witnesses from giving their evidence. The forms of law were thus annihilated, and it became necessary to have recourse to extraordinary measures. Martial law was, therefore, adopted, and the happiest effects

effects proceeded from it. There was no longer any inducement to obstruct the course of the common law; things reverted to their former order; and so far from martial law superseding or destroying the common law, it afforded the most powerful means of its restoration.

The case, however, now was widely different. There was no rebellion raging in the country; there was no system of intimidating judges, jurors, or witnesses; there was nothing to obstruct the operation of the ordinary tribunals and the course of common law. In this view of the subject, it did not appear to him that the re-enactment of martial law was necessary, or adviseable; but still, as ministers, (who must be supposed to have more information on the

subject) declared it was necessary, he should not oppose either of the bills.

Lord Limerick positively asserted, that the re-enactment of those bills was absolutely necessary for the tranquillity of the country, and universally wished for by the well-disposed part of the people of Ireland.

The lord chancellor (lord Eldon) gave his hearty assent to the bills; and thought, that no fair inference could be drawn from his majesty's speech, to suppose they were not necessary.

After a few words from lords Darnley and Hobart, both bills were read a second time, and ordered to be committed the next day, when they finally passed into laws.

CHAP.



## CHAP. II.

*Army Estimates—Debate thereon—Speeches of Mr. Windham—Yorke—Grenville—Lord Castlereagh—Mr. Fox—Addington—Yorke—Corry—and Colonel Hutchinson—Resolutions on the Estimates put and carried.—Volunteer Exemption Bill brought in—supported by Mr. Yorke—Alderman Price—and Mr. Addington—opposed by Colonel Crawford—Mr. Windham—Sir W. Young and Lord Levison Gower—passes the House of Commons—and Lords, after a slight Opposition.*

ON the 9th of December, the secretary at war (Mr. Bragge) brought forward the army estimates. He said, that he should not have occasion to trouble the house much at length, in observing on the different items of the estimate, as they differed very little from those of the last year, with which it must be supposed that the house was intimately acquainted. He was, however, bound to inform the house, that the estimates he should now bring forward would not include all that would be wanting for the year. As to the number of men to be voted for the present year, he should state it to be, under the usual heads of service, 278,149, exclusive of 22,897 for India. The total expence of such an army, he estimated at 10,904,755*l*. The difference between the number now to be voted for guards, garrisons, and plantations, and that which was voted in the last session, was 58,768 men; but the greater part of this difference would be supplied by the army of reserve; and the remaining part of the augmentation intended would be in the dragoons and

life guards. For the volunteer corps he estimated an expence of 730,000*l*. besides the increased expence of the general staff, in consequence of the number of brigade officers employed to discipline and train them. The estimated number of volunteers in Ireland were 70,000 men, a number which could be considerably increased, if necessary. The accounts of the barrack departments were not yet prepared, but they would much exceed the accounts of former years, on account of the great expence of preparing winter cantonments for the soldiers on the coast.

Mr. Windham said, that when the subject for consideration, was, the measures to be taken for the defence of the country, at such a time as the present, he could not lose sight of the character of those men to whom that defence was to be entrusted. He could not express his opinion of ministers more appositely than by repeating the sentiment of an excellent poet, who, comparing the faults of men and women, said:

“ Poor

“ ———Poor women have but two,  
 “ There’s nothing-good they say, or  
 “ right they do.”

They who had declared the conduct of France, from the moment of the signature of the treaty of Amiens, to be “one continued series of violence, aggression, and insult,”—who declared that none but one of “nature’s fools” could suppose that peace likely to be durable; with such a conviction on their minds, they ought to have commenced their precautions immediately after they had signed the treaty. Instead of which, they immediately began to reduce the army, and dismantle the navy; they sold off the gun-boats at the price of the old iron in them; refused men at five guineas bounty, that they would be now glad to get at fifty, and discharged others that they could not now get at all!!!—From these causes it was, that, after his majesty’s message came down, the means of war were to be collected again, with as much difficulty as if we had never possessed them. He should, however, now only consider their conduct since the eighth of March last, when the peace might be considered as at an end. The population of this country was fifteen millions; its financial powers almost unlimited. There was nothing that the country was not willing to do in the way of service, or no sum that it was not content to pay. When at length ministers did make a call upon the country, it came forward with an alacrity for which they were unprepared. Ministers no sooner tried for this public zeal, than the national feeling rose so fast upon them, that they were alarmed; they no sooner began to sink their well, than the water came pouring in upon them.

They could not therefore plead, that the country had kept back its means. —It now remained to be seen what they did with them. The creation of the volunteer army might cost government one million, and it cost the nation at least two more, from individual contributions. Thus a force was collected which was imposing in its sound. Five hundred thousand men in arms appeared a formidable host, but if we were to examine the construction of the fabric and see how much was solid masonry, and how much mere rubbish, or lath and plaister, it would sink miserably in our ideas. A very small portion were regular troops; a larger portion were militia; another considerable portion was the new formed army of reserve; and by far the most numerous portion was the *levy en masse*, moulded into the form of volunteer corps. Of the regular troops he could not speak too highly. The militia had arrived to as great perfection as troops could do, where neither officers nor soldiers had the benefit of seeing actual service. The army of reserve could not for a considerable time be classed with the regular soldiers; and as for the 400,000 volunteers, when he felt it his duty to speak of them, he hoped it would be understood that it was of the volunteer system he spoke, and not of the individuals of which it was composed. He could not indeed pretend to speak slightly of 400,000 individuals, containing a great proportion of the zeal, patriotism, and spirit of the country; but, he must say, that, although such a number of men could not be absolutely useless, yet it must be allowed that they were not at all fit for the services to which they were destined. The attempt was



was, to brigade them, and make them regular soldiers, which he considered utterly impracticable. It was, he said, out of the nature of things, that persons, who were obliged to support themselves and families by the exercise of professions and trades, could acquire sufficient expertness to equal regular soldiers, or become fit to be put in line with them. It would be like putting frigates and sloops in the line of battle with three-deckers. He himself was an advocate for a very great volunteer force, but he did not dream of making regular soldiers of them. It was also known, that a considerable part of the volunteers had joined that system, to shelter themselves from the militia, the army of reserve, and other more efficient service; which services were injured by the numbers that were exempted as volunteers. He considered, that the total addition the minister had made to our effective force, as an increase of 7000 men to the regular army, and a levy of 25,000 men to what was called an army of reserve. He also thought they had been culpably remiss in not erecting such works and fortifications as would obstruct the enemy, either in their landing, or in their march upon the metropolis; and strongly recommended *Martello* towers for the defence of the coast.—He thought, however, that the views of this country should not be directed merely to its own defence, but that it should also possess a disposable force, with which it might annoy its enemies: for this object, they should make the profession of the soldier as attractive as possible; they should change the period of service from life, to that of a term of years.—They should adopt some

plan for rendering service in the West Indies less necessary and frequent. Instead of such measures, government appeared intent merely on providing the means of defence, and had but added 7000 men to their regular force.

Mr. secretary Yorke was not afraid that the country would entertain the same opinion, that the right honourable gentleman had expressed of the incapacity of ministers. In the last session of parliament, there were many good opposition speeches, but, on the other hand, there were of ministerial votes the great majority of that house.—As to the censure of the right honourable gentleman about disbanding the army, and dismantling the fleets, he was convinced, they would appear ill-founded, when it was recollected that we never had, at any former period, a peace establishment which could be at all compared to what we kept up during the late peace. The army had been nearly doubled since the last session, having been augmented from 60,000 to nearly 120,000 men. As to the system of the army of reserve, it was similar to that which was almost universally followed abroad, that of having battalions of *depôt*. The militia were in excellent order, and amounted to 70,000 men in England, and 14,000 in Scotland. The volunteers amounted to three hundred and eighty thousand men, three hundred and forty thousand of whom were infantry, and were disciplined almost as well as it was possible for any equal number of men in the same time. Although they might not be able to meet the enemy in line, yet there were many situations in which they might aid with the greatest advantage. As



to their clothing, he thought it much better that they should be drest like the regular soldiers, as the enemy, at a short distance, might take them for regulars. He then defended the general conduct of ministers in those points which had been arraigned by Mr. Windham, and disapproved of the plan, suggested by him, of changing the period of service from life to a term of years; a change which would, in his opinion, disorganize the whole army.

Mr. Pitt did not chuse, upon the present occasion, to go into the conduct of government generally; but thought it sufficient to direct his attention prospectively to the measures which were now necessary, in order to establish a suitable national force, either for our own defence, or the attack of our enemies; or for co-operating, if the occasion should offer, with other powers, for the purpose of securing the independence of Europe. He differed with his right honourable friend (Mr. Windham) in many points.—Although he entertained as high an opinion as any man of the superiority of our regular troops, yet he was convinced that it was necessary to resort to some other subsidiary force, to defend the country at the present moment. The regular army would always be the rallying point of national defence; but, with the benefit of their example, and of their instruction, he was convinced that other descriptions of force could be brought forward with great advantage. He wished to see the volunteer forces of the country brought to the utmost possible pitch of perfection, in order that the regular army might be used to its full extent, in assailing the enemy wherever they were vulnerable, and

thus contribute to the deliverance of Europe from the tyranny and oppression under which it now groans. He approved of the volunteer system, and would have wished it to be carried to a much greater extent in the counties bordering upon the sea coast, in order that the enemy might be repulsed at the moment of his landing, and not allowed to get a footing in the country. He thought the volunteer system capable of being made a permanent, solid system of defence, and a great source of national energy. The improvements in the system, which appeared to him more immediately necessary, were the assembling the small companies into battalions, and giving to each battalion a field officer and an adjutant. He also considered the number of days appointed in the year for drills, as too small; and that instead of receiving pay for twenty, the volunteers should receive pay for forty or fifty days. These alterations would certainly cause an increase of expence, but it appeared to him, that it would be money well bestowed.

Mr. secretary Yorke objected to these proposed alterations, principally on the ground of œconomy, as they would bring on an increased expence of near £. 500,000, without producing, as it appeared to him, any equivalent advantage.

Mr. T. Grenville expressed surprise, that his right honourable friend and relation (Mr. Pitt) should seem to think, that this was a time only to look prospectively to measures to be adopted for the future. It appeared to him a proper time to enquire, also, what use ministers had made of those powers that were entrusted to them during the last session. The regular army was alarmingly



ingly deficient: when stated by the secretary at war to amount to one hundred and twenty thousand, it must be recollected, that seventy thousand were to be deducted from that number for the militia, which would leave fifty thousand only, who deserved the name of regulars; and a great proportion of which was in the army of reserve. He, by no means, thought the volunteers likely to become, of themselves, such a force as the country could rely upon for its defence; and he thought government had been to blame, in applying themselves entirely to the increase of the volunteer force, instead of placing the regular army upon an effective footing.

Lord Castlereagh, at considerable length, defended the conduct of government in the measures that they had taken for securing the national defence. He said, that the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Windham) unjustly disparaged and depreciated all the efforts the country had lately made. In condemning the high bounties that were given for the army, he had recurred to a favourite opinion of his, the not allowing the balloted man to serve by substitute. This would certainly be a measure of most extreme rigour. The fact, however, was that of the 35,000 men raised for the army of reserve, 7,500 had already entered for general service, within the short space of two months, and he therefore could not understand how it had injured the recruiting service. The next material objection made by that right honourable gentleman, (Mr. Windham,) was to the volunteer system, which he thought not only bad in itself, but highly injurious to other more effective descriptions of force. He

must deny that objection. It never had been found, that it rendered persons less disposed to enlist for general service, they having been originally in another description of force; on the contrary, their military spirit was thus more ripened. There was nothing to prevent a volunteer from entering into the regular army, and it appeared to him that the military spirit of the nation would be much increased by the volunteer system. The state of the army of the united kingdom was this: there were 130,000 men in Great Britain, and 50,000 in Ireland on permanent pay; of this total of 180,000 men the militia amounted to 84,000, and the regulars to 96,000; of which 27,000 are for limited service, and 69,000 disposable for general service. The volunteer force consisted of 340,000 in Great Britain, and 70,000 in Ireland, making a total of 410,000. The sea-fencibles were 25,000.—The gross force of the united kingdom might then be considered as 700,000 men in arms: of which all that were reckoned the more regular part of the army, might be brought into the field against an enemy. The total force in Ireland consisted of 120,000 men all armed, and the number could be considerably increased. In Great Britain there were about 120,000 of the volunteers yet remained to be armed with muskets, the arms that could be spared having been first given to the volunteers of the metropolis, and of the counties on the sea coast. As to the navy, the number of ships of war amounted to 469, and an armed flotilla of small craft, to the amount of 800, could be speedily added. The ordnance and every other branch of the public service



had been considerably augmented. He felt it necessary, that the volunteer system should arrive at the highest perfection, as, in the present state of Europe, even should peace be restored, it could only be preserved upon a basis of strong internal strength, which would put the question of invasion for ever at rest. Our enemies would be more disposed to leave us in peace when they were fully convinced how little they could effect by war, although our unexampled prosperity must ever excite their envy and jealousy.

Mr. Fox thought that if, as the noble lord seemed to express, it was our prosperity that would oblige us always to keep up such military establishments as we have at present, he should then think our prosperity would be productive of a great misfortune. This singular opinion of his lordship, held out but a miserable prospect to the country. A right honourable gentleman (Mr. Pitt) had appeared to think, that their considerations should be prospective only; it appeared to him that a retrospect, formed as proper a subject of examination, as any speculation for the future. If one were to determine to forget the past, one must also determine not to profit by experience. If the system adopted by parliament last session, was found to be bad, why should it be permitted to go on? For his part he entirely agreed with the sentiments expressed by a right honourable gentleman, (Mr. Windham,) respecting the volunteer system. He thought the machinery of it bad; that experience had proved, that it did by no means assist the government in the vigorous prosecution of the war; and, that it would have been much better to have

increased the number of regular troops, than have embodied such a number of volunteers. He agreed with that right honourable gentleman, in thinking the zeal and ardour of such a number of men might be better employed in some other way, and that the number of volunteers were rather so many men taken away from our effective force, than added to it. Another right honourable gentleman (Mr. Pitt) had considered the volunteer system in a light, that it certainly never was intended that it should be viewed in, at the time of its formation; namely, that it should be brought to such a degree of perfection, as, that the defence of the country might be entirely trusted to it, even if the regulars should be withdrawn on foreign expeditions. This view of the subject appeared to him to be quite erroneous, for neither was it possible, that the volunteers should ever be brought to that perfection of discipline, as to be competent to oppose regular armies in the field, nor could it have been in the contemplation of parliament, when they only required that they should be drilled for 20 days in the year. If the rumour of an invasion was to blow over, (which, by the bye, he never thought so likely to be attempted, or so practicable in the execution as some people supposed,) would any gentleman venture to propose or think it safe to send the regular troops out of the country, and depend upon the volunteers for its defence? He felt convinced, that the system, even aided by all the ability of that right honourable gentleman (Mr. Pitt), would not produce such a force as he professed to hope from it. For his part, he should much prefer a  
general



general array of the people when the country was in danger. He agreed to the objection that had been made to clothing the volunteers in red, which looked as if it had been the object of government to dress them up like soldiers, merely to frighten the French. He feared, indeed, the whole system was fit for little else than to be set upon a hill and looked at. He agreed with Mr. Pitt in the hope that we should not long confine ourselves to defensive operations only; but that we should be able to proceed on a system of vigorous offensive war. He thought that the proper measures were not taken for making the volunteer force speedily effective: a great deal of time was taken up in teaching them evolutions, which great military authorities were of opinion ought not to be practised in real action, and that, instead of learning the punctilio of parade, they would be better employed in learning how to fire. As for himself, he was not a volunteer, because his age disqualified him, and he would not undertake a task which he felt himself incompetent to fulfil; but when so much was said of the influence of example, and the ministers being all volunteers, he would ask what sort of an example would ministers set in case of an invasion? They would be the first to desert; for as they must either quit their ministerial situations or their corps, it would be easy to guess which they would prefer doing. The example of ministers then would only encourage others to frame excuses for quitting their corps in time of danger. He could by no means coincide in the praises given by the noble lord (lord Castlereagh) to ministers, for their exertions in increasing the

ordnance and the other military departments. As they profest to know that the peace of Amiens could not be lasting, and called those people "nature's fools" who thought otherwise, they should have made greater exertions, and have had more than 300,000 muskets ready. It was no surprising thing that the greater part of the nation should demand arms, when they were told the country was in danger. He thought it necessary that there should be a responsible military council, to govern the whole affairs of the war department; although he felt a great personal respect for the commander in chief, he should not so far flatter him, as to say that he was alone capable of governing that department. It was evident, besides, that his high birth put him almost above responsibility. All the military arrangements for the last year, appeared to him unsteady, vacillating, and capricious. He could not avoid particularly mentioning the incomprehensible conduct of government to a relation of his (general Fox), who was removed from the chief command in Ireland, and almost immediately appointed to an important command in the vicinity of London. The Irish government appeared to him to be much more afraid of giving alarm, than of averting danger, and the reason they seemed to dread it so, was because it would give the lie to the assertions that were so constantly echoed in that house, of "all safe, all well." There was another subject in which he thought the military administration of this country were still more to blame.—The prince of Wales had very handsomely made an offer of his services, which were not only not accepted, but nothing was done.



to soothe his mind on the refusal. When so much stress was laid on example, he must conceive that there was no example, which could be of greater service than that of the heir apparent of the crown, coming forward to share the exertions and the dangers of others, who stand forward to defend the country. While all his brothers had high commands in the army, it was no situation for a prince of Wales to be merely colonel of a regiment of dragoons.\* He concluded by hoping that justice would be done to the public spirit, zeal, and bravery of the people.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer, (Mr. Addington) said, that of the two opinions which had been offered respecting the volunteers, that of Mr. Windham, who was averse to their having the appearance of soldiers; and, that of Mr. Pitt, who wished them to receive as high military discipline as possible, he was much inclined to adhere to the opinion of the latter gentleman. He thought the efficiency of the volunteers was much under rated, when they were supposed only fit to defend villages, convey provisions, &c. However highly he might value the opinions of the honourable gentlemen who advanced them, still, on a military subject, he had a greater value for the opinions of lord Moira, and lord Cathcart, who said they could confidently lead the volunteers of the districts they commanded, against any enemy. As to the military council that was suggested, he disapproved of it, as interfering with that station, of which the duke of York held the sole responsibility. With respect to the prince of Wales's offer, the subject was of such extreme delicacy, that nothing but his majesty's express commands, or the

united authority of that house, should induce him to say a single word upon the subject. As to the removal of general Fox from the situation of commander in chief of Ireland, it was no imputation on his professional character; as he was immediately appointed to another important command.

Mr. Fox wished Mr. Addington had preserved the same impenetrable silence about general Fox, as he had resolved to do about the prince of Wales: his saying, that "he saw no complaint against that general," was not saying that the lord lieutenant of Ireland had not expressed a wish for his recall, which certainly was an implied censure on his conduct. If the rising was so serious, as to require the re-enactment of martial law, blame must attach somewhere.

Mr. secretary Yorke considered, that the character of his noble relation, (lord Hardwicke) had been wantonly aspersed by Mr. Fox, and he felt ready to defend the Irish government against any charge which could be made against it upon this ground. The fact was, that government had not notice of an approaching insurrection, until the explosion of the powder-mill, on the 18th of July. Information was then sent to the commander in chief, who received it on the 20th. On the 23d, the day the insurrection did take place, the lord lieutenant took the commander in chief, in his carriage, to the castle, where they both heard the different reports, which made it probable, that the insurrection would take place that night. As the commander in chief was equally in possession of the information, respecting the rebellion, with the lord lieutenant, it rather

\* *Vide* Correspondence on this subject in the Annual Register for 1803, p. 564.



rather appeared his duty to have had the garrison in the best state of preparation for putting it down.—After the affair of the 23d of July, there was a coolness between the lord lieutenant and general Fox, which made it almost necessary that one of them should resign.

After some explanations between Mr. Fox, admiral Berkeley, and Mr. secretary Yorke,

Mr. Corry, who had been in Ireland at the time of the insurrection, and made the most diligent enquiries concerning it, stated, that the interview between the lord lieutenant and the commander in chief, on the 23d of July, could be proved, when the same information was laid before both of them, and certainly it did appear more the duty of the commander in chief to take the military precautions that were necessary. Although the insurrection of that day was contemptible, yet the conspiracy existing was formidable, and fully justified the measures which had been taken.

Colonel Hutchinson spoke with great warmth on the impropriety of excluding the prince of Wales, at a period like the present, from sharing the danger and the glory of defending the country.

The resolutions proposed by Mr. secretary Yorke were then severally put and agreed to by the committee.

On the 10th of December, Mr. secretary Yorke moved for leave to bring in a bill to regulate and explain the exemptions to be given to volunteers from serving in the militia, or army of reserve. The object of the bill would be, to secure exemptions to those who were entitled to them, and to prevent abuses in granting them to those who were not. Leave was accordingly given.

On the 19th of December, the house of commons resolved itself into a committee on the volunteer-amendment-bill. When Mr. secretary Yorke observed, that a good deal of the confusion with respect to the right of exemptions, proceeded from the commanding officers not having made their returns at the time appointed by law. Many of them were prevented from making the returns, for want of the arms being distributed, which made it impossible to certify that the members of their respective corps attended, armed and accoutred. The present bill was to remedy those defects. The number of days which it would be necessary to have attended, for the purpose of claiming an exemption from service, in the army of reserve or militia, would be twenty-five.

Mr. Pitt said, it was impossible for a commanding officer to return his men properly armed and effective, if, instead of muskets, they were only armed with pikes or pitch-forks.

Mr. secretary Yorke replied, that if government should think proper to change the mode of arming the volunteers, and give the rear rank pikes, that the commanding officers should still return them as having attended properly armed.

Sir William Young thought there ought to be a distinction made between the two classes of volunteers. Those who entered before the act for a general array, did so from patriotic zeal; whereas, the greater number who came in after the act, were the peasantry of the country, who joined the volunteers merely to save themselves from more effective service; of course, not entitled to exemption.

Lord Granville Leveson Gower  
C 4 stated,



stated, that not a single firelock had been given by government to the volunteers of Staffordshire, so late as three weeks ago.

Mr. Yorke, in reply, said, that it was necessary first to arm the volunteers of the maritime counties.

Mr. Giles seemed to consider, that an alteration of the laws, with respect to the volunteers, was a breach of good faith to that body.

He was replied to by Mr. secretary Yorke, and the chancellor of the exchequer.

After several observations from different gentlemen, the bill went through the committee, and was ordered to be reported the next day; when, the question being put for the third reading of the bill,

Mr. Windham complained of the hurry with which ministers proceeded in this business, which certainly was not a question of urgency. It was their constant mode of proceeding. Their crude ideas appeared first in the shape of an act of parliament, and the legislature were to be afterwards occupied in considering how their acts were to be made tolerably correct. They seemed like authors who composed in public; they wished for full credit not only for their first conceptions, but for the various changes and alterations which afterwards took place in their ideas on the subject. As it was allowed that many of the exemptions now claimed, had got into the volunteer laws by mistake, and contrary to the intention of its authors, he saw no rational motive for pushing the mistake further. Good faith required that exemptions should be given to those volunteers, who, by the subsisting laws, should be entitled to claim them, but there was no occasion for giving those exemp-

tions in future to other volunteers, who might offer their services. If these exemptions continued in future, the commandant of a volunteer corps, when the constitution of it was monarchical, or the committee a sub-committee when it was democratical, by the power of admitting or rejecting whom they pleased, had the power of imposing or relieving from the burden of the ballot, which, to many, would be absolute ruin. He thought either they should do away the exemptions, or else do away the volunteers. He concluded by strongly contending, that the high bounties given for the army of reserve, must operate powerfully against the general recruiting service.

Mr. Hiley Addington, denied that the bounty to substitutes was 50*l.* as had been stated by the right honourable gentleman. In his part of the country it was not more than half that sum. He expressed his astonishment that the right honourable gentleman should, without any adequate reason, set himself against the universal opinion, and never speak of the volunteers but in disparagement of their exertions.

Mr. alderman Price said, that the average of the bounty paid in the city of London, for substitutes to the army of reserve, did not exceed 26*l.* he believed 26 guineas was the highest bounty ever given.

Colonel Crawford defended the opinions of Mr. Windham, with respect to the injury the volunteer system did to the general recruiting for the army. He objected altogether to the exemptions, which he believed were only granted through mistake.

His right honourable friend, however, had been much misunderstood, when



when he was supposed to have said that 400,000 men, armed and disciplined like the volunteers, would be of no service. He only had contended for the superior advantages of regular disciplined troops. For his part, although he had great reliance on the native spirit and gallantry of the people, he would wish to see them as well disciplined, as possible:

Sir William Young again adverted to the two different classes of volunteers, those who were volunteers before the 43d of the king, and those who became so afterwards. He observed, that as most of the young unmarried men, who were of the first class, under the levy *en masse* act, had gone into the volunteers, the ballot would fall principally on married men who had families, and who would be obliged, at an enormous expence, to find substitutes.

Colonel Calcraft, by no means thought that the opinions delivered by Mr. Windham, were of that discouraging nature, or so disparaging to the volunteers, as they were usually conceived to be. That gentleman's opinion, appeared to him entirely just, in saying, that it was never to be expected, that the volunteers would be equal in discipline, either to the regulars or the militia.

Dr. Lawrence warmly defended his right honourable friend (Mr. Windham) from the misrepresentations which had gone abroad, of his opinions upon the subject of the volunteers. An honourable gentleman (Mr. Hiley Addington) had expressed surprise at his rendering himself so unpopular. Popularity was certainly a thing which every man would wish for, but it was not

a thing for which an enlightened or dignified statesman would abandon the course which his judgment pointed out to him. He rather disapproved of the conduct of ministers in following the popular sentiment, however wrong, instead of endeavouring to lead the people to what was for their permanent interest. He knew his friend (Mr. Windham) was not unpopular among intelligent men, for the part that he had taken in this business; on the contrary, he was highly respected for it.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer denied, that ministers had ever courted popularity in the manner it had been insinuated; but, on the contrary, had kept up large establishments, and imposed all those taxes which were necessary to support the interest, or the honour of the country.

The bill was then read a third time and passed.

On the 16th, it was introduced into the house of lords, and read a first time; on the question for the second reading,

Lord Suffolk spoke, at considerable length, in praise of the spirit of the volunteers; who, as he thought, without being perfectly disciplined, would be a match for their enemies. His lordship threw out a variety of ideas for the better defence of the country. He recommended *Martello* towers on the coast, and central *depôts*.

Lord Grenville said, that, upon the present occasion, he should not enter at large into the volunteer system, or the general defence of the country, but confine himself merely to the bill before the house. At present, there were three acts in force, all somewhat contradictory. He should have thought it better to have



have moulded them all into one clear intelligible bill. At present, five days drilling only is necessary for the exemption from the militia, but twenty-four days is required for the army of reserve. What was the reason of this difference he could not comprehend. The act of the 42d of the king differed most materially from the last act, about the liability of a volunteer, who was drawn by ballot, to serve as soon as he should quit his volunteer corps. The laws were so contradictory, that it was impossible for commanding officers to know how to give in their returns; although he was ready to admit the powerful assistance and support that the volunteer system would give to the regular army; yet he thought many improvements ought to be made in it: he thought it extremely wrong, that committees and general assemblies should be allowed to meet for the purpose of debating. It might lead to dreadful consequences.

Lord Hobart, in reply, stated that it was most certainly in the con-

templation of his majesty's ministers, to ameliorate the system as much as possible, by considering what improvements might be introduced.

Lord Hawkesbury allowed, that the volunteer system still required further improvements. It was, however, at present, much more efficient than during the last war; and when the nature of the contest was considered, it would be an additional recommendation to it, that it was one of the cheapest modes of national defence.

After the duke of Clarence had expressed his sentiments, which were perfectly in unison with those of lord Grenville, the bill was read a second time; and was, on the day following, with some slight opposition, from earl Fitzwilliam, (who proposed a re-commitment) read a third time and passed.

This was the last public business transacted in parliament in 1803; both houses soon after, adjourned till the 1st of February, in the following year.

## C H A P. III.

*Indisposition of his Majesty—Great Alarm and Uneasiness of the Public.—Conduct of Government upon the Occasion—Favourable Communications upon the Subject—Royal Assent given by Commission to several Bills—His Majesty appears in Public—Tranquillity restored—Debates continued—Volunteer Consolidation Bill—read a first Time—Repeated Debates thereon—State of the King's Health required from Ministers in the House of Commons—Their Answer not satisfactory—Mr. Pitt attacks the Naval Administration—Debate on Sir John Wrottesley's Motion for an Investigation of the Causes of the Irish Insurrection—Division—negatived.*

**B**EFORE we proceed farther in our account of the parliamentary session of the present year, it becomes necessary to notice a circumstance of our domestic history, which occurred early in the spring, and which occasioned the most lively sensation both within and without the walls of parliament.

On the 14th of February, it was publicly announced, by an official *bulletin*, at the palace of St. James's, that, on that day, his majesty was much indisposed : and a succession of similar notices, left little doubt of the serious nature of the communication. The alarm and consternation thus excited, throughout the metropolis, and the whole empire, is more easily to be conceived than expressed: The dreadful visitation of 1789 on our beloved sovereign, was present to every mind. The uneasiness of that period, and the height to which the differences of opinion both in the legislature and the public, had proceeded, on the mode to be adopted for supplying the temporary suspension of the executive branch of the constitution,

was recollected with increased dismay and apprehension. No provision had been suggested by the wisdom of parliament on that occasion (or on the more recent alarm in 1801, when it was universally supposed, that another attack of the same nature, although in a slighter degree, had been experienced), to meet the inconveniences necessarily attendant on a similar calamity. But if the public mind were thus agitated during a period of profound peace, and during the administration of a most popular ministry, how must its anxiety be now increased, when every exertion the country could make, was employed to repel the threatened invasion of the most powerful and infuriate enemy Britain had ever encountered ;—when consolation was derived, and energy excited, by the promise which the speech from the throne had given, of the personal appearance of our gallant sovereign, in the ranks of his loyal and faithful people, should the foe venture to set his foot on British ground ;—when the reins of government were in the hands of those,

to



to whom few looked with confidence for holding them with skill and vigour, and none, for a continuance of their situation, which was obviously and hourly drawing to a period;—and when, in fine, the affairs of the country, in every possible event, required the utmost exertion and ability of its rulers, to ward off increasing evils, and impending destruction.

Under such circumstances, it cannot be wondered at, that gloom and distrust should universally prevail. In the course of the following pages will be seen, what were the sentiments of the best and wisest in both houses of parliament upon so interesting a subject. Nor can we, in any words of our own, convey to our readers so just a delineation of the real state of the few facts which guided public opinion thereon, as the attacks made upon ministers upon this occasion, and their defence, will afford.

Upon the nature of the malady which afflicted the best of sovereigns and of men, we are precluded, by the delicacy of the subject, from offering the slightest conjecture; and as there was no parliamentary communication upon that head, nothing sufficiently authentic remains, to establish any fact respecting it, or to satisfy the solicitude of the public. A more pleasing task remains for us, which we proceed to execute with the most heartfelt satisfaction; that of detailing the different cir-

cumstances which gradually dispelled the general uneasiness, and induced the universal hope in the perfect and permanent recovery of our virtuous and beloved sovereign.

On the 27th of February, twelve days after the notification of his majesty's illness, the first *bulletin* appeared, which could be said to hold out any prospect of its favourable or speedy termination; it announced the opinion of the subscribing physicians to be, "that his majesty was still better than he was the day before, and appears to be gradually advancing towards recovery." Of this tendency, with very little variation, were the communications until March the eleventh, when they assumed a more decided tone; and the last, three days after (the 14th), confidently mentioned "the daily recovery of his majesty."

The declarations in Parliament of the chancellor of the exchequer, on the 29th of February, that there was "no necessary suspension of the royal functions," and of the lord chancellor, on the 14th of March, "that the lords commissioners were warranted in expressing the royal assent to several bills which had already passed through both houses of parliament," tended, in a great measure, to allay the ferment in the public mind, and restore tranquillity to the bosom of an affectionate and loyal people.\*

\* No formal communication was made to parliament of his majesty's recovery, as on the occasion of his first illness, consequently there were no addresses of congratulation on the happy event: and it was considered as singular, that a form of prayer, for the restoration of the king's health, in which the *hope* and *prospect* of his majesty's recovery is strongly alluded to, continued in use many weeks after the king was declared, in parliament, competent to the exercise of his royal functions, and, indeed, after a total change of administration had taken place: it was, however, changed after the acceptance of office by Mr. Pitt. (Vide the 1st and 2d edit. of the form of prayer, "Chronicle," p. 390 of this vol.)



On the 9th, 10th, and 11th\* of May, his majesty, to the infinite gratification of the inhabitants of the metropolis, drove through the principal streets of London and Westminster, accompanied by her majesty and the princesses. But it was many months† before his majesty could enjoy the solace of his domestic circle, or that it was deemed prudent to submit to him the report of the prisoners under sentence of death, a vast accumulation of whom, the unfortunate calamity we have just related, had unavoidably occasioned.

The first business of importance which occupied the attention of parliament, after the Christmas recess, was the bill which Mr. secretary Yorke brought forward in the house of commons, for the consolidation and explanation of the existing laws respecting the volunteers. In introducing his motion, he deprecated all party animosity in the discussion of the question, and entered on an historical account of the origin of the plan. The system, he said, was introduced under lord Shelburne's administration, was revived in 1794, and appeared still more necessary now than at any former period. From the moment, that this new system was considered by the legislature, necessary to meet the new circumstances of the times, the exemptions were considered as absolutely necessary to its existence. The number of volunteers in Great Britain amounted to 150,000 in the course of the last war, and a very short time after the act passed for training and arraying his majesty's subjects, the voluntary offers of

service amounted to near 400,000, and, consequently, the compulsory clauses of that act were suspended. If a doubt had been entertained of the powers of the volunteers to resign, that doubt would be done away by the present bill. There was another point in which it was absolutely necessary that the law should be explicit. In the first formation of the different corps, they were usually allowed to elect their officers, but the exercise of this power, in filling up vacancies which might afterwards occur, would be highly dangerous, and was not recognized by any act. It should now therefore be clearly understood, that the volunteers had no such power. After pointing out a variety of alterations which he proposed, in the manner of granting the exemptions, he submitted to the house, whether it were not better, under the present circumstances, to continue the volunteer system, even with all its necessary defects, than to abandon it, in order to find out something else that might sound better in theory, but might turn out much worse in practice.

Mr. Sheridan conceived it would be quibbling with the judgment, and violating the implied compact with the volunteers, to insist that they were not entitled to recommend persons to be their officers for the future, in the same manner that they had done from the commencement. There were some of the corps, who, in their original offers of service, which were accepted unconditionally, expressly mentioned this privilege of electing, or, rather, recommending their officers. He

\* On the 12th Mr. Pitt was appointed minister.

† Vide "Chronicle" for November, p. 431.



hoped that the strictest good faith would be kept with the volunteers, both in matters of express and implied compact.

Lord Castlereagh thought that the principle of chusing officers by a popular election, was contrary to every idea of military discipline; and although it might be admitted, in the first instance, yet it could not be continued after the corps were regularly formed as military bodies. However important the principle was, in some instances it might be relaxed, if good faith required that those corps who had expressly stipulated for this privilege, should continue its enjoyment.

Mr. Whitbread stated, that the corps he had the honour to command, had, as well as many other corps throughout England, stipulated for the election (as it was called) of their officers. It was given to most of the volunteers during the last war. He should ask, was it given them by law, or by the connivance of the crown? If it were by law, he thought it should be general; if it were merely by the connivance of the crown, he should ask, what mischief had resulted from the practice? As to the volunteer system in general, he should confess, that it neither appeared to him the cheapest, nor the most effectual way of making great military efforts. He had exerted himself, as much as any man, to promote the system, when it was resorted to as the only means of defence; not that he ever considered it either the only or the best means. He considered the exemption system as bad policy. It prevented the filling up of the militia and the army of reserve, and impeded very

much the general recruiting for the army.

Mr. Windham thought that a great part of the speech of the honourable mover (Mr. Yorke) was a sort of conflict, or running fight, against three powerful antagonists. 1st, The law officers of the crown; 2ndly, the court of king's bench; and, 3dly, his own bill. He had, however, confessed some of the defects which were inherent in the system, and, perhaps, upon a closer examination of the subject, he might feel that this *scrap*, this *remnant* of a measure would not be sufficient to answer the urgent wants and expectations of the country. He might find his patching and propping up a fabric, raised on such weak foundations, would never make it a mansion agreeable to inhabit, or one safe to be in the neighbourhood of.

Mr. Sturges reprobated the principle and detail of the bill. The attorney general strongly supported both.

Mr. T. Grenville approved an idea thrown out by Mr. Sturges, of the necessity of appealing to a committee of the whole house. They had too many proofs of the versatility of ministers upon this occasion. He took notice of the many differences of opinion on the subject shewn this night between two of his majesty's ministers (lord Castlereagh and Mr. secretary Yorke).

Mr. Hobhouse observed, that the gentlemen who were so ready to point out faults and deficiencies in the volunteer system, did not produce any improvements. All that he could collect from their speeches, was, that they thought themselves the only



only fit persons to govern the country.

Dr. Lawrence vindicated his friends from that aspersion. It might be as well supposed that the honourable gentleman (Mr. Hobhouse) who had been for many years in opposition, was actuated only by the desire of getting a seat upon the minister's bench. It appeared to him, that ministers were bound to consult the deliberate wisdom of the house, before they proceeded on measures of such importance, and that it was not sufficient to slide in a little bill of this nature.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer denied that there was any precedent in the journals, for submitting the previous consideration of any measure of this nature to a committee of the house. The volunteer system, when first it was presented, was not introduced as a system of absolute perfection, or as having been at once brought to its full and final maturity: several defects and inconveniences were admitted, and the object of this bill, was principally to remedy the practical inconveniences that arose; first, in the election of officers; secondly, in the power of the committees; and thirdly, as to the right of resignation. As to the committees, it was to be clearly understood, that they must not at all interfere in any part of the military regulation of the corps; but might direct its financial concerns. As to the business of the election of officers, he made no doubt but that point would undergo so much discussion, that it would be finally settled in a way that would be perfectly satisfactory; but as to the last point, the power of resignation, he differed entirely from the opinion of his learned friends,

the attorney and solicitor general; and even if the court of king's bench had coincided with them, he should have considered it his duty to have advised a bill, expressly to give the volunteers that power which they conceived they had under the original bill. The hand of the law he thought should not coerce or control their free agency, but, that if in a time of great danger, any of them should desert the glorious cause that they had offered to support, he thought the infamy attached to such a traitorous desertion, would be its proper punishment.—The regulars and militia had been increased more than was ever before known, in the period of eight months. However, he thought, the house ought not to let itself be put out of conceit with a system which was such a proud monument of the zeal and spirit of the people, and of their attachment to their king and constitution. He hoped that the volunteer system would never be considered as a temporary measure, but as a foundation on which the future security and salvation of the country must materially depend.

Sir William Young disapproved of the whole of the system by which the volunteer force of the country was constituted and governed. He thought the prerogative of the crown was questioned by it, and almost three-fourths of the people sheltered from that exercise of it, which was coeval with the monarchy, namely that of calling out the population of the country to defend it in time of danger. He even wished to see the good old system revived, by which the flower of the English youth were to be seen on the Sabbath day, exercising with the military weapons then in use.

Leave



Leave was given to bring in the bill.

On Mr. secretary Yorke rising to move the second reading of the bill for consolidating the volunteer laws, on the 27th of February, sir Robert Lawley rose, and said, that ever since the 14th of the present month, the house, in common with the public, had been in possession of the melancholy information, that his majesty had been confined by a dangerous and doubtful illness.—Without wishing to enquire minutely into this delicate and distressing subject, he thought, that parliament had a right to some explicit communication. No hope was held out, in the medical reports\*, of a speedy termination of the disorder. He, therefore, wished some satisfactory answer, or he should feel it his duty to move, that the house do now adjourn.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer, (Mr. Addington) denied that any such communication could be attended with the effect the last speaker hoped from it; and that any proceeding, founded upon communications, now made to the house, by ministers, would be contrary to the duty that parliament owed to the king, and to the country; that it would be indecent, unprecedented, and unwarrantable.

Sir Robert Lawley immediately moved, that the house should adjourn.

Mr. Fox did not see, that any just notice of delicacy could be an obstacle to a fair and liberal discussion. He should, therefore, state the reasons, why the answer of the right hon. gentleman, (Mr. Addington) was not satisfactory. The

right honourable gentleman had said, that it appeared to his majesty's confidential servants, that no communication to parliament was necessary;—that a communication would be indecent;—that no proceeding could be grounded on it. In answer to these extraordinary assertions, he should say, that he knew nothing, and that the constitution knew nothing of any body of men, calling themselves the confidential servants of the king. He knew of persons employed in the executive offices of government, and holding high offices in his majesty's service, but he did not know who these confidential servants were. He did not know that there was a distinction superior to that of the privy council. While the sovereign was in health, he consulted more with his ministers, than with any other privy counsellors, but when, from illness, or any other cause, he was unable to discharge the functions of royalty, then, persons calling themselves confidential servants of the crown, were no more than ordinary privy counsellors. But it was a matter of serious importance to know, whether the opinion which the right honourable gentleman had professed about the propriety of a communication, were, or were not founded, on the knowledge of his majesty's present state of health, or the probability of a speedy recovery? As to the probable duration of his majesty's illness, or his ability to resume the ordinary functions of royalty, there was no information given either to parliament or the country. It was clear, from the reports that were published, that the speedy recovery of his majesty's

\* Vide the bulletins in the "Chronicle," for February and March.



health was not expected, and that it was not probable that he would be soon able to resume his functions. An invasion of the country appeared not improbable, and, in such an event, its situation would be deplorable, if the executive power were suspended, and there should be nobody to exercise the regal functions. When the royal power ceased to act, there was an end of that constitutional control over the legislature, which was intended to watch over it, and which could dissolve a parliament at the shortest notice. If the country had to contend against the greatest dangers, at a time that the functions of Royalty were suspended, it would be but a poor consolation to tell it, that ministers acted on their own responsibility, and, that if the country were ruined in their hands, they might be punished for their errors or their crimes.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer denied, that there was any wish on the part of ministers to conceal from the house, any information which they could, consistently with their duty, bring forward. He was aware that ministers subjected themselves to great responsibility; but yet he firmly believed, that the opinion and the feelings of the great majority of the house, would be against a particular communication, under the present circumstances. On the authority of the medical gentlemen who signed the *bulletin*, on comparing the symptoms of his majesty's present indisposition, with those of his two former ones, he had reason to think the present disorder would be but of short duration. In the event of an invasion, his majesty's sign manual was not necessary for calling out the volunteers, and plac-

ing them under martial law. He could assure the house, however, that if any extraordinary occasion occurred for the exercise of the royal functions, no obstruction now existed. He thought, therefore, it would be very improper to adjourn, or interrupt the regular business of the legislature at this moment.

Mr. Pitt disapproved of the motion for adjournment. He did not think that a mere apprehension that the personal exercise of the royal authority had been suspended, would be sufficient to justify parliament in deferring all their legislative functions. He felt the very arduous responsibility which ministers were under, as to the time in which they might think proper to make a communication on the subject. He hoped, however, that ministers would not push those sentiments of delicacy and reverence, which they must feel for his majesty, so far as to endanger, that which was always the dearest consideration to him, the safety of the people, whose welfare was committed to his charge. For his part, he did not believe that ministers would push, to a dangerous and criminal excess, that responsibility under which they acted. As to the ordinary business of parliament, he saw no reason why it should be delayed; and, therefore, wished that they might enter into the discussion of the business, which was fixed for that night.

Mr. Windham thought that ministers called upon the house for a greater degree of confidence than any ministers were entitled to, when they insisted that it was their province to judge when parliament ought to interfere. The chancellor of the exchequer had gone so far as



to contradict the official reports of the physicians, and to tell the house what it was they meant to say; and even to assert, that his majesty was fully adequate to the functions of royalty. He hoped, that the physicians might have been mistaken: but still, their report was the only authority on which the house could rely, as to his majesty's state of health. He had no personal objection to the discussion that was intended for to-night, but still, it appeared to him strange, that such a discussion should be now pushed forward by ministers, after all public business had been suspended for a fortnight, on account of his majesty's state of health. The chancellor of the exchequer had spoken of the "indecent" of those discussions. He trusted, that, not only in constitutional, but in personal attachment and respect for his sovereign, he was not to be outdone by any of those who now called themselves "his confidential servants," and it appeared to him *indecent* for ministers to insinuate, that any measure, for the benefit of the state, and the security of the monarchy, could be injurious to the royal feelings. He, therefore, thought the honourable baronet was perfectly right in asking for information upon this most important point.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer repeated, that he could assert, from the authority of the physicians, "that there was NO NECESSARY SUSPENSION of such royal functions, as it might be necessary for his majesty to discharge at the present moment."

Mr. Canning said, the honourable baronet deserved the thanks of the house, and of the country, for

provoking this discussion. The effect of the motion had been to obtain such information as would not otherwise have been given. As that had been obtained from the declarations of the chancellor of the exchequer, he thought it would be the better way to proceed in the discussion that was fixed for the present night.

Mr. Grey thought, there was an ambiguity in the expressions of the chancellor of the exchequer, which he would wish to have removed. It appeared to him, as if the right honourable gentleman had meant that his majesty was competent to discharge some of the functions of royalty, but incompetent as to others.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer again stated, that there was no suspension of the royal authority for any act which might be necessary to be done.

Sir R. Lawley then rose to withdraw his motion. His principal object in it was, that he thought ministers ought to be bound, in the exercise of their discretion on this subject, by other limits, than what they chose to impose upon themselves.

Upon the speaker's putting the question for withdrawing the motion,

Mr. T. Grenville declared, it appeared to him that fuller information was absolutely necessary. So far from being satisfied by that, which was called explanation, he thought the subject was more clouded by it. It appeared to him, that ministers still took upon themselves to judge, when the royal authority was necessary, and when it was not. He thought, that constitutionally, parliament was entitled to information whenever there was a suspension



sion of the royal authority ; and that this information should come from a report of the privy council, or at least, that the medical gentlemen should be examined at the bar of the house. The information ought to come from the best authority that could be had, and not from the " confidential servants " of his majesty.

The motion for the adjournment was then negatived, and, upon the question being put for the second reading of the volunteer consolidation bill,

Mr. T. Grenville approved of the volunteers in one sense, and he disapproved of them in another.—He approved of that general display of British spirit, which, if arrayed and supported by a proportionate regular army, would be impregnable. On the other hand, when he heard, from the secretary of state, that there could be no great increase of regular troops, and that the volunteers must be made as like regulars as possible, he disapproved of that system, which would go to exhaust that spirit, which ought to be husbanded, at least as much as our finances. As to the exemptions, he was sure, that, in the part of the country he lived in, the volunteers would have come forward very readily without any exemptions ; and he understood the same spirit was very general in the country. He thought ministers had shewn great incapacity in the contradictory measures they had pursued with respect to the volunteers, and in not providing a sufficiency of arms, when they had abundant notice of the hostile designs of the enemy.

Mr. secretary Yorke said, that, at the time the volunteer system was adopted, it had become evident,

that either a voluntary, or a compulsory system must be resorted to for the defence of the country, and the former was adopted with the most general concurrence. He considered, that the volunteer system assisted the recruiting service, by giving military habits to persons who otherwise would not have thought of enlisting. He then stated the numbers who had enlisted from volunteer corps. A grand objection to the volunteers recommending officers was, that, in case the corps should be called out upon duty, an immense deal of time would be lost in canvassing and balloting. He then entered into a comparison of the quantity of arms in the tower at different periods, in order to prove, that there never was a time when government were so active as at that time, that some gentlemen supposed ministers to be remiss. He concluded by panegyrising the spirit and efficiency of the volunteer force.

Mr. Pitt took notice of the calamitous destinies of the present times, when a gigantic power threatened to disturb the world, and desolate a great portion of Europe. It was the fate of this country to make resistance to that power, and he trusted it would be its glory to resist it effectually. Whatever might be the original imperfections of the volunteer system, it could not now be dispensed with. The danger was pressing, and did not admit of time to change it ; and, therefore, the only question was about its improvement. The idea of disbanding 400,000 men could hardly be entertained ; and, therefore, it was only necessary to consider, how they might be rendered as effective as possible. He thought ministers should have been more attentive to



promote the regulation of the different volunteer corps. Although he thought far less had been done, than ought to have been done, in bringing the volunteers to a high state of discipline, yet he felt no fears respecting the result of an invasion. He thought it, however, necessary, not only that the country should repel invasion, but that they should repel it in such a manner as would make a lasting impression on Europe, and set a bright example to posterity. Our triumph should be signal and decisive, but it should be gained with as few sacrifices, with as little waste of British blood, as possible. He then proceeded to state those measures which he thought necessary to make them as efficient as possible, which were, principally, as to the opportunities of receiving regular instruction, the securing regular attendance at drill, and steadiness when at drill. He recommended encouraging the volunteers to go on permanent duty; pointed out the means which appeared to him the most effectual for the permanent supply of the regular army; recommended that fortifications should be more attended to; and declared that he considered our naval defence as very defective.

Mr. Windham thought the bill inadequate to the object it professed, and that it would end in smoke. He thought, that parliament were called on to provide not only against the danger of the present moment, but against those dangers which the country would be exposed to in future. It was probable, that the attempt of the enemy would not be made immediately, but at some future time. He certainly did not wish for such a precipitate step, as

immediately to disband the volunteer force, but he wished, for the permanent defence of the country, that the resources and strength of its population should be arranged in a manner more efficacious than under the present system. His great objection to the system, as it now stood, was, that the numerous exemptions from service in the militia, and army of reserve, narrowed the field of recruiting, and occasioned the enormous bounties which are now paid for substitutes. The consequences of it, therefore, certainly did prevent the recruiting for the army. He then advanced some reasons to justify his preference of an armed peasantry, and concluded by strongly urging the necessity of looking beyond the present moment, and providing a force which the country could rely on for its permanent security.

Lord Castlereagh observed, that the armed peasantry of Suabia had certainly given the French a good deal of annoyance, but that the French *levée en masse*, which bore a greater resemblance to our volunteer force, was much more efficacious. Some of the generals who commanded the French soldiers of the *levée en masse*, gave it as their opinion, that our volunteers are equal to them. He then, in answer to Mr. Pitt, gave a very flattering state of the naval defence of the country.

Mr. Whitbread thought it extremely injudicious to attempt to introduce amongst the volunteers, strict discipline in minute things. Their days of drilling should be regulated by their own convenience. If the country were actually invaded, every other avocation would be at an end, and the only business would be, to repel the enemy. But, in  
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the mean time, the people of this country, even amidst their preparations, must not neglect their necessary business. Mr. Whitbread concluded by accusing ministers of incapacity, and an evident want of system, in all their measures for the defence of the country.

Mr. Fox rose to advert to some things which had been said in the course of debate. Mr. Pitt had found fault with the naval defence of the country, and, as he was extremely partial to the first lord of the admiralty, he must say, he wished he had had a better defender than lord Castlereagh. That noble lord spoke of the state of our navy in 1755, and at periods that had nothing to do with the question of what exertions were necessary at the present moment. He could not but take notice of the inconsistency of the ministers, when they circulated, with great profusion, the opinion of the attorney general, that volunteers could not resign, and now, when they say that it was always their intention to give them the power of resignation; and yet, although they now said so, a secretary of state, in the other house, had observed, that the opinion of the attorney general would be a sufficient guide for the magistrates. He thought no severe attendance or drills should be required of the volunteers, for fear of disgusting them entirely. He disapproved of the language of Mr. secretary Yorke, with respect to those volunteers who did not immediately conform to the wishes of ministers, and he hoped the volunteers would never let themselves be bullied out of their determination to defend the country. He concluded by expressing an opinion, that the time must shortly come, when it

would be absolutely necessary to take an entire review of the conduct of ministers, with respect to the system they had adopted for the defence of the country.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer was surprised, that those gentlemen, who found such fault with ministers, for not clearing up this point of the resignation of volunteers, did not themselves take notice of it on former opportunities.

Mr. Grey disapproved of the whole conduct of ministers, with respect to the national defence.

Captain Markham, (one of the lords of the admiralty) vindicated those entrusted with the administration of the naval department, against the charges brought by Mr. Pitt.

The bill was then read a second time, and

On the 29th, Mr. secretary Yorke, in moving for the house resolving itself into a committee, wished that every discussion on the principle should be postponed, until the report was brought up.

Mr. Francis did not rise to oppose the speaker leaving the chair, but considered that such an insignificant bill as this, might well wait until the great principle of our security, and the great cause of our danger, should be discussed. The war, in its progress, had fallen miserably short of its promise in the commencement. We went to war for the purpose of preserving a barren rock in the Mediterranean, and scarcely was the war three months old, when ministers circulated a plan for fortifying the city of London. Ever since that time, all our boast was, that we had defended Great-Britain and Ireland. This was no great degree of glory to obtain, with a garrison of 600,000



men. The war appeared to be on our side purely defensive. Amidst the dangers of this country, it was a melancholy circumstance, that no man knew whether we had an executive government or not : he concluded by defending the right of volunteers to recommend their own officers.

Colonel Crawford opposed the speaker's leaving the chair. He was sure, that if parliament were to pass this bill, ministers would construe it into an acquiescence in their system of defence. When he considered the formidable attack with which this country was threatened, and the powerful means it possessed, (if these means had not been shackled and repressed by the imbecility of ministers), he thought the house ought to be occupied by more serious discussion, than about this insignificant bill. He did not absolutely fear that the country would be conquered, for, notwithstanding the faults of ministers, he trusted it would defend itself. It would, however, be disgraceful for the nation to be always merely on the defensive. The present bill was too contemptible to build any thing great upon. He considered, that since the very commencement of the war, the affairs of the country had been grossly mismanaged ; and, if a day was to be appointed for a discussion of that subject, he would engage to prove it. He believed, that the naval defence of our country had been miserably neglected, and he never heard a weaker defence than had been set up by lord Castlereagh, in support of the admiralty. He thought that beginning the war with an army so excellent in spirit, who proudly recollected the recent glory of the British arms

in Egypt, it would have been possible to have infused the same spirit into a great mass of our population, and that the regular army ought to have been considerably increased. He considered, that, instead of a definite number of privileged volunteers, the whole active population of the country ought to be in arms. He contended that the French levy, which assisted at the battle of Jemappe, were very different from our volunteers. He thought the strongest illustration of the comparative merits of the two systems, was to be seen in the *Vendean* war, where a mere armed peasantry often defeated armies of national guards, which did resemble our volunteers. One great advantage of an armed peasantry over the volunteer system, would be, that they would be three or four times more numerous ; their dress would not be expensive, nor their instruction difficult. In fact, the present *tactique*, which was borrowed from the Prussian school, although very fit for the great plains that armies could act on in Germany, was totally unfit to be practised in this country, in real action. He then took a general view of the conduct of government since the war, as far as it related to the means of providing for the national defence, in which he went over very nearly the same grounds as had before been urged by Mr. Windham.

General Maitland was sorry to perceive the view the honourable colonel had taken of the subject. When he spoke of the armies of France, and their leader, he had given them the most unqualified praise for their military talents, but when he spoke of the armies of his own country, he seemed to forget that we had regulars and militia, who



who were equal to any French soldiers, and that our volunteers were animated with a spirit far superior to what could be expected from French or Italian conscripts. He thought it was impossible for the ingenuity of the French to contrive any thing which would be so effectual to animate the spirit of their troops, as the publication of many of the speeches that were made in that house. As to the charge so often urged of the exemptions hurting the recruiting service, he thought it a mere assertion, which was contradicted by the fact. The value of the exemption was no more than the price paid to insure against serving, and the expence of becoming a volunteer was far more than this insurance price. As to the objection of their being clothed and disciplined like regulars, he should answer, that the system of a "smock-frock army" had been tried in America, which appeared to be peculiarly adapted to it, but the Americans were soon tired of it, and found it was better to make use of regular troops.

Admiral Berkeley could not perceive how the administration of the admiralty could fairly be introduced in a discussion on the volunteer system. He felt a great degree of friendship for the noble lord (earl St. Vincent) at the head of that department, but he was convinced, that, during his sickness, he had trusted the business to very unskilful and inexperienced hands. The

naval preparations of defence were not adequate to the object. The enemy had now ships of the line equal if not superior in number to those that were blockading them, and they had at least 500 gun-boats, while we had not more than twenty to oppose them. If proper attention had been paid, we might by this time have had as many gun-boats as the enemy.\*

Captain Markham (a lord of the admiralty (said he should not boast of his experience, but the experience of his colleague, sir Thomas Trowbridge, was well known. He should be glad to know where the honourable admiral's (admiral Berkeley) foreign service had been? He thought the idea most ridiculous of attacking the enemy's flotilla with small craft. The whole coast from Boulogne to Cape Grisnez was protected by formidable batteries; and where our frigates could not go in safety; he could not see that small craft would have better luck.

Colonel Eyre defended, with great warmth, the system that government had adopted. He thought it owing to the vigor of his majesty's councils and the energy of the volunteers, that the enemy had not ventured to carry into execution his menaced invasion.

Mr. Fuller approved of the volunteer system; but, as he thought it very well as it was, he should oppose this bill, which did not appear to him as likely to make it any better.

\* On the morning after this debate, there appeared, in a print entirely devoted to administration, a most scandalous and defamatory libel upon admiral Berkeley, for which he prosecuted the editor and publishers, and gained a verdict for 1000*l.* damages, and costs of suit. For a more particular account of which, vide *Chronicle*, p. 396.



Mr. Fox denied that any party had hesitated to give their best assistance to the government. The people had every where shewed their zeal for the defence of the country; and if their ardour had been damped, it was by ministers. Persons who were supposed to belong to the same political party, as he did, were as zealous as others. He should only instance the case of the duke of Northumberland, who raised and clothed, at his own expence, a body of 1500 volunteers. There was every where a perfect union for the country and the government, but he believed there was nearly as general a union of opinion against his majesty's ministers. The government had, by their mismanagement, brought the country almost to the brink of destruction, and therefore they might, in some degree, claim the merit of bringing about this union; and this was the only way in which they had raised the public spirit. An opinion seemed to be suggested by an honourable general, (general Maitland,) that military matters ought not to be discussed in that house; but left entirely to the consideration of officers of experience. This was an opinion to which he should never subscribe. As to fit experience, however, no one could deny the experience of his honourable friend (colonel Crawford); and it could never be allowed, that not only the monopoly of military power, but of military knowledge also, should be allowed to remain exclusively with the persons of the highest rank in the army. He thought the honourable colonel conveyed as much professional information as ever he had heard in any speech, and that it was exprest in the most perspicuous and

luminous manner. If the volunteer system was praised, as giving an army of 400,000 men, he should say that an armed peasantry would furnish an army of two millions, that would require less drilling and be more effective. As to the drilling the volunteers received, it put him in mind of the line in Pope;

“ A little learning is a dangerous thing.”

Mr. Fox then argued with considerable force on the superiority of an armed peasantry, over such a system as that of the volunteers.

Mr. Pitt agreed in the general principle laid down by Mr. Fox, that having provided against the immediate danger, every effort ought to be used to render our defensive system permanent. He hoped, however, that the danger of the country would cease with the present war, and that we would not lightly consent to make a peace with France without adequate security for the future. The system of France was now different from what it had ever been at former periods, and must be met by corresponding exertions on the part of this country: however painful those exertions might be, they were inseparable from those days in which it had pleased Providence to cast our existence.— Although he did not consider that the volunteer system had arrived at any thing like perfection, yet he approved the principles of it, and supposed that, by some regulations, which were not difficult to point out, it might be made a foundation of permanent security. The volunteer spirit had risen principally from the opinion of a pressing danger: if that opinion was removed, the effect might also cease. Although the



the spontaneous zeal of the people had hitherto made legislative provisions almost unnecessary, and had counteracted the errors of the executive government, yet the time might come, when it would be necessary to adopt other measures for the defence of the country. The *levée en masse* bill, which might be put in force the moment the number of volunteers was below that which had been fixed as an equivalent for it, would be a foundation for permanent defence. Mr. Pitt then went into a full comparison between the volunteer system, and that suggested on the other side, of an armed peasantry. He did not consider that the latter system would be adequate to stop such an army as it must be supposed would be employed on the invasion. As to the peasants in *la Vendée*, they were led by officers of great experience, and were stimulated to the gallant resistance they made by the atrocious cruelty of their oppressors, who were desolating the country, and massacring its inhabitants. If, however, the enemy should land in this country, they would doubtless push directly for the metropolis, and the peasants of Kent or Sussex would have nothing to stimulate them to such terrible sacrifices as those of *la Vendée* were obliged to make: neither did the example of America at all apply, for in that immense country the irregular force could always retreat in security, and had abundance of time to acquire military discipline, whereas, in this country, the most incalculable mischiefs might result from not being able to oppose the enemy efficaciously at their landing.

Mr. Windham felt proud that the opinions he had formerly delivered

about the volunteer system, had been confirmed by such a respectable military authority as that of his honourable friend (colonel Crawford). He well knew that it would not be safe suddenly to disband a considerable number of those who are now armed for the defence of the country. What he wished to have done was, that the volunteers should be put again upon the footing they formerly were, of a service free from any degree of compulsion, but, at the same time, divested of any other inducement but what sprang from zeal and patriotism; in such a case, the volunteer spirit would not operate to the injury of a force more valuable than itself. It was in consequence of the exemptions given to volunteers, that the army of reserve, which was intended to produce 50,000 men, stopped at 36,000, and could get no further. Without wishing again to repeat the comparison that had been so often made between the volunteers and an armed peasantry, he agreed with the honourable colonel in thinking it not only useless, but dangerous, to attempt to train, as regulars, men who can never assist an army but by acting as irregulars.

After a few observations from Mr. Dent, the house went into a committee on the bill, and having made some progress, postponed the further consideration of it in committee until the 2nd of March.

On the 1st of March lord Hawsbury, in the house of lords, moved for the second reading of the Irish bank restriction bill, on a future day.

Lord King rose to demand information on a subject of the utmost importance: he alluded to the state of



of his majesty's health. He wished to know whether that was true, which had been stated in another place, that there was "no necessary suspension of the royal functions?" The house had hitherto no information on the subject, except from the bulletins of the physicians; which were by no means satisfactory, especially when it was considered, that there was a fifth person of the medical profession who attended his majesty, and whose name was never subscribed to those *bulletins*.

Lord Hawksbury expressly stated that there did exist no necessary suspension of his majesty's royal functions or authorities.

Lord Grenville trusted that ministers were so far sensible of the great responsibility under which they acted, as not to bring forward any measure of importance, or give it the royal sanction, until it had that perfect consent on the part of his majesty, which alone could give it any value in the eyes of the nation. Upon a former occasion it had been considered, what was the point of convalescence which made the interference of the legislature unnecessary, and then it was decided, that it was when his majesty could come to the parliament, and personally discharge his royal functions. He hoped that no false delicacy had dictated the declaration that had been made, and that ministers recollected that they had a duty to the public as well as to their sovereign.

Lord King declared himself not satisfied, as the opinion of the fifth physician had not been laid before the public.

Lord Hawksbury insisted that he had made his statement on sufficient authority.

Lord Carlisle considered that the

silence of the fifth physician gave reason to doubt that the medical men were agreed on the subject.

Lord Fitzwilliam thought the answer given by ministers was too general, and wished for one more explicit.

The Lord Chancellor perfectly coincided with, and confirmed, the statement of lord Hawksbury, as to his majesty's convalescence.

Lord Caernarvon thought it improper to think so much of personal delicacy, at a period of national danger like the present. He thought that ministers should not presume to exercise any part of the royal functions; he, therefore, wished to know from them, whether they had the usual access to his majesty, or any actual knowledge of the state of his health? He had often heard the term "responsibility" used, but he thought it was of very little consequence, compared to the national security.

After a short conversation, in which ministers asserted that no further communication was necessary, the house adjourned.

On the 2nd of March Mr. secretary Yorke stated to the committee of the whole house of commons upon the volunteer consolidation act, the outlines of his plan, with respect to his granting exemptions to those volunteers only who should have attended a certain number of days on parade. He disapproved Mr. Pitt's plan of attaching to them a number of regular officers on permanent pay, as he considered that such a measure would be far too expensive. He also doubted the possibility of requiring an attendance of so many days, as that right honourable gentleman had suggested.

Mr. Pitt suggested that an express clause should be inserted in the bill, for



for empowering his majesty to call out the volunteers upon permanent duty when it should appear necessary.—The bill was then ordered to be taken into further consideration on the 6th of March.

On the 5th of March the Lord Chancellor informed the house of lords that he had had an interview with his majesty, who gave his royal consent to a private bill, respecting the duke of York's estate, so far as his majesty's interest was concerned.

The long expected motion for investigating the causes of the late Irish insurrection, came on in the house of commons on the 7th of March, when sir John Wrottesly, who brought it forward, stated, that he considered it as a subject of the utmost importance, both as respecting the honour of the Irish government, and the security and happiness of that people. The interests of Ireland, he said, were formerly entrusted to its own legislation, but, since the union, it became the duty of every member of the imperial parliament to pay attention to them. He thought that beneficial consequences must result from the question which was then to be discussed; for if it appeared that the Irish government had been vigilant and active, and that they had not suffered themselves to be surprised, but were well informed of every thing that was likely to take place; in such case, those doubts would be removed, that now, in a great degree, lessen that confidence which it were to be wished that they possessed. If, on the other hand, these doubts and suspicions were well founded, it would be incumbent to address his majesty to dismiss those persons from the government of Ireland. After the

rebellion of 1798, the Irish government communicated all the information they were possessed of; he thought they should do the same on the present occasion. As far as he was informed of the transaction, it was as follows:—In the December preceding, Mr. Emmet returned from the continent and joined a conspiracy already formed. In the same month depôts were established in Dublin, under the eyes of the Irish government. The preparations for collecting arms and ammunition went on, without interruption, till the 16th of July, when the depôt at Patrick-street exploded, and the premises being examined, by a police officer, were found to contain pikes and preparations for making gunpowder. After a fact so notorious, and after government had received express notice of the intended insurrection, it was incumbent upon them to shew that they had done every thing, that was their duty, to have prevented the insurrection. Every circumstance, however, seemed to shew that they suffered themselves to be completely surprised. The lord lieutenant was at his lodge in the park, guarded only by a serjeant and twelve men; almost every considerable officer of the government was out of town; and there appeared to be as much supineness and indifference about the event as if this savage insurrection had really been only a contemptible riot. He concluded by moving for a committee to be appointed for the purposes already stated.

Lord Castlereagh opposed the enquiry on two grounds. In the first place, he thought it unnecessary, as no imputation of blame attached either to the civil or military government of Ireland, notwithstanding

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ing the honourable baronet appeared to have taken it as a point conceded, that blame must attach either to the one or the other. He also opposed it, because it would be attended with the greatest public inconvenience, to bring the first civil and military officers of Ireland, to this country to be examined, when no sufficient reason was adduced for the measure, and when their services were much wanting in Ireland. Lord Hardwicke had proposed to government here, the renewing of the habeas corpus suspension act, before the breaking out of the insurrection, which shewed he was not so uninformed as some gentlemen supposed, of the state of things in that country. In fact, it was perfectly known to government that the north of Ireland, and the counties of the interior, would take no part in the conspiracy; and that the garrison of Dublin was abundantly strong to drive before them any number of rebels which could be collected in Dublin. The garrison of Dublin amounted to 4000 veterans, and as for the castle, besides a very strong guard, the 62nd regiment of foot was stationed in a barrack only one hundred yards distant from it. Under such circumstance, the idea of taking the castle was as extravagant as one as ever entered into the head of an enthusiastic person. Except for the atrocious murder of lord Kilwarden, the insurrection really did deserve the name of a most contemptible transaction, which had injured materially the cause and the hopes of rebellion in Ireland. His lordship then vindicated, at considerable length, the conduct of the Irish

government, and conceived no parliamentary grounds had been stated to make the proposed enquiry necessary.

Mr. Canning would not allow, that the valuable time of parliament could be better employed than in enquiring whether the people were well or ill governed. If the act of union had not taken place, the conduct of the Irish government on this occasion must certainly have been amply discussed in the parliament of that country; and it was but due to the people of Ireland, to shew them that their interests were not neglected in the parliament of the united kingdom. If, after the explosion in Patrick-street, on the 16th of July, government still thought there was no danger, they must have been excessively blind; and if they apprehended danger, and yet made no preparations to avert it, they were extremely culpable. The statement of the noble lord had been in some respects contradicted by what appeared on the trial of the conspirators; and lord Redesdale (the Irish chancellor) made it a charge against 3-4ths of the people of Ireland, that they had furnished their quota to that army, which, according to lord Castlereagh, amounted only to 80 men. He then condemned severely the sentiments which had been delivered by the Irish lord chancellor, in the correspondence (which had been published) between his lordship and the earl of Fingall\*, and seemed to consider that a person entertaining such sentiments ought not to continue in such a high situation under the Irish government.

Mr. Archdale thought it by no means necessarily followed, that go-

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\* Vide Appendix to Annual Register for 1803.



vernment must be deficient in information and vigilance whenever an insurrection broke out: he witnessed much more serious riots in London, in the year 1780, and yet it was never thought necessary to institute a committee of enquiry into the conduct of the British government at that time. The murder of lord Kilwarden was an event that he deplored as much as any man, but the circumstances attending it were much exaggerated, when it was supposed that a drunken mob, which certainly did not exceed 400 men, could put to serious hazard a city which had a garrison of 4000 regulars, besides the yeomanry. He still considered all parties in Ireland as hostile to a French invasion, and deprecated the idea of considering the sentiments expressed by lord Redesdale, in the correspondence alluded to, as the disposition of the Irish government.

Mr. Dawson opposed the motion on two grounds. If its object were to throw censure or suspicion on the conduct of the Irish government, he disapproved of it, and he considered the silence of the Irish members upon the subject as a proof that they did not perceive the practical utility of such a discussion. If, on the other hand, this was brought forward as an opposition subject, merely with the view of attacking the ministers of this country, he thought it would be unfair and ungenerous to make Irish connexions and Irish interests serve as a stalking horse for the purposes of any party in this country. He thought the attempt at rebellion in Ireland was unnatural and premature, and that it was a sort of abortion which the

*best doctor*\* could not have prevented. He bore testimony to the amiable character and conciliating measures of lord Hardwicke in general, which had made the people of Ireland much more contented and happy than they were before. He considered the Irish government to be, upon the whole, a very good one.

Lord Temple thought the discussion must be, at all events, attended with one good effect, as it would shew the people of Ireland that some attention was paid to their interests. When he had the honour of bringing up the act of union to the other house of parliament, he felt a strong hope, that, when the period of peace should arrive, the wounds of former animosities would be healed, and the affections of the people of Ireland conciliated. Instead of which, Irish ministers were now studying polemical theology, and sowing fresh seeds of discontent. As for the ministers of this country, there was no knowing how to understand their declarations. They had no sooner asserted that the country was in profound peace, than they came forward, and spoke of the conduct of France as a continued system of aggression, insult, and hostility. They had no sooner announced the perfect tranquillity of Ireland, than they stated an actual insurrection in that country, which sometimes they described as "formidable," and at other times as "a most contemptible riot." He then censured the want of vigilance and preparation on the part of the Irish government, especially after the explosion of the powder-mill in the heart of the city of Dublin.

General Tarleton said, that, having

\* Much mirth arose in the house, upon the honourable member's use of this term.



ing been appointed on the Irish staff very shortly after the insurrection had taken place, he had opportunities of learning the particulars of what happened on the 23d of July, from a great variety of quarters. The universal impression was, that the Irish government was taken by surprise. He considered that general Fox ought not to have been deprived of such an important situation, when no charge could be brought against him for misconduct.

Mr. secretary Yorke did not know that general Fox had been recalled. Differences had existed between him and the lord lieutenant, which made it necessary that one of them should retire, and general Fox accordingly resigned. His noble relation (lord Hardwicke) had accepted the government of Ireland on the principle of adopting a system of conciliation; he was, therefore, not over ready to give implicit credit to every story that was brought him of intended insurrection. It was not to be expected that government should have been accurately informed of the precise time when Emmett resolved to begin his insurrection; that was a secret, of which Mr. Emmet alone was the depository. Symptoms of insurrection had appeared in the county of Kildare, in consequence of which fresh reinforcements of troops were sent to that county.—The garrison of Dublin, amounting to 4000 regulars, were certainly sufficient for the suppression of any insurrection which could have taken place in that city. The object of the government certainly was to take the precautions that were necessary for the public safety, but to avoid all unnecessary alarm. After stating a variety of circumstances, to shew that the Irish government was

not surprised, he declared, that if it should be the sense of the house, he felt no personal objection to the fullest enquiry upon the subject.

Mr. Fox said he should vote for the enquiry. The Irish government had certainly endeavoured to impute blame to his honourable relation, (general Fox) in order to screen themselves. The coolness which was alledged to subsist between the lord lieutenant and general Fox did not take place until several days after the 23d of July, and until the Irish government were a second time surprised, by finding themselves much blamed for their negligence. They then attempted to shift the blame to his honourable relation, and it was signified to him, that the lord lieutenant wished him to resign. This certainly could not be considered a voluntary resignation, and did imply a censure. Although the ministers had expressly disclaimed the intention of imputing blame to general Fox, yet the Irish government still took that course of justifying themselves, and the “*Dublin Journal*,” the newspaper of the castle, continued to insert scurrilous and defamatory paragraphs against him. Throughout all the letters, and extracts of letters, which had been published on this business, it was evident that the great leading principle of lord Hardwicke’s policy was to avoid giving alarm, and that he totally disbelieved the intelligence which he had received. General Fox had been only six weeks in the country, had no secret service money, and had no means of knowing whether any information that was given was worthy of belief or not. It was clearly the business of the government to determine that, and their whole conduct shewed that they did



did not believe it. If lord Hardwicke had believed an insurrection would have broke out on the 23d, he would not have gone to his country seat, neither would the lord-mayor. It was clear that the government gave no credit to the information they had received, and it was equally clear that it was for them who were entrusted with a large secret service money, amounting to 60,000l. a-year, and not to general Fox, who was a stranger in the country, to determine what sort of information was deserving of credit. He thought there was sufficient *prima facie* evidence of neglect in the Irish government to justify parliament in instituting the enquiry.

Mr. Dallas conceived it beneath the dignity of parliament to institute an enquiry on such insufficient grounds. He saw no evidence of culpable want of information. There were no means of discovering a secret that had been entrusted to so few. The insurrection was certainly most contemptible in its means, though not so in its object. He thought that the Irish government had gained every previous information that was possible from their means, and that they had taken every necessary precaution, and were therefore in no degree blamable.

Dr. Lawrence supported the enquiry, and complained of necessary information being kept back from the house. As to the darkness of the night on which the insurrection took place, he must observe, that although the night was stated to be so dark, that it was hardly possible to have seen one's hand, yet a man had been hanged upon the sole evidence of a person who swore to have

distinctly seen him from a two-pair of stairs window!

The Attorney General did not think such a *prima facie* case had been made out as would justify an enquiry. Although constant patrols of foot and horse might possibly prevent any insurrection breaking out in the streets of Dublin, yet they could not prevent rebellion from lurking in the heart of the country. He thought that, unless a grave and important case could be made out, the house could not with consistency or propriety agree to the motion.

Lord De Blaquiere supported the enquiry, but seemed to consider that the blame should fall principally on the English ministers, who refused to give the lord lieutenant those powers which were necessary, and for which he applied. That system of not alarming the people, led to doing what was worse than wrong; it led to doing nothing at all! It was a system that would have brought this country to ruin, if it had not been awakened by a right honourable gentleman (Mr. Windham) to a proper sense of its dangers. It was the same system that crossed over to Ireland, like a pestilential disease, and brought it to the brink of ruin. He thought the government of Ireland could not have acted the part they did, unless under the immediate control of the English cabinet.

Mr. Windham took notice of the great length of time that gentlemen on the other side took to make up their minds, upon the grounds to take in defending the Irish government. They seemed at a loss to know, whether it were better to be negligent, or to be ignorant; whether in that transaction they should be *bulls* or *bears*. Sometimes they

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wished to have it thought, that the insurrection was a thing of their own choice ; that they wished the disorder to get to a head, and that they did not like to use repellants. Those who called this insurrection, and that in 1798, "contemptible," should have the answer of the duke of Marlborough parodied. "If the rioters were contemptible, how much more so were those, who had nearly been beaten by them." Lord Redesdale asserted, that near three fourths of the people were concerned in that insurrection, and whatever might be said of the impropriety of publishing such letters, he thought there was a much greater impropriety in writing them. Nothing could be more absurd in theology, or in politics, than to see a lord chancellor raking up the exploded controversies of more than two centuries ago, for the purpose of persecution. The letters to Dr. Coppinger were still worse than those to lord Fingall. There was no pretence that they were confidential, and it appeared, that a person who could write and speak as he did of the case of Father O'Neil, must have been lost to every legal idea or feeling. What will be thought of a person, who was the first law officer in that country, who, instead of being shocked at the horrors of that case, and its illegality, as well as its cruelty, should only find fault at the audacity of the sufferer, for daring to complain!!!

Mr. Hawthorne spoke to order, as thinking this matter irrelevant to the subject.

A long desultory conversation took place on the question, whether Mr. Windham was in order or not.

Mr. Windham concluded, by expressing his opinion that a very se-

rious case had been made out for enquiry.

Mr. Tierney said, the only objection he should have expected to hear from Mr. Windham, on the subject of the Irish government, was, that the traitors had been punished with a "vigour," within "the law," instead of "a vigour beyond the law." He considered this question as one, that had been chosen for the purpose of bringing together parties, that could agree on no other subject; and to give an appearance of unanimity against the ministers. As for the late insurrection, as it was called, he considered it a petty tumult, which accident had made of more importance than it would otherwise have been.

Mr. Grey was surprised at the lecture which Mr. Tierney had given to Mr. Windham, on decorum and consistency. He (Mr. Tierney) certainly thought it quite decorous for members to quit the opposition side of the house, but a strange indecorum to relinquish the sweets of office. He concluded by supporting the motion.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer contended, that the Irish government were sufficiently apprised of a spirit of disaffection still lurking in that country; but that they were also confident, that the general disposition was to tranquillity and loyalty. The deaths of lord Kilwarden and colonel Brown, which were the prominent features of the late insurrection, must certainly be considered accidental.

After some explanations between general Tarleton, Mr. Dent, and Mr. Tierney,

Colonel Hutchinson said, he could not approve of any motion, whose object was to employ censure upon  
lord

lord Hardwicke: but he should gladly vote for an enquiry into the general conduct of ministers, upon their system of governing Ireland.

Sir John Wrottesley made a short general reply to the arguments brought against his motion, when the house divided,

For the motion 82

Against it . . . . 178

Majority . . 96 against

the motion, which was, of course, lost.



## C H A P IV.

*Lord Chancellor's Declaration on the State of His Majesty's Health.—Mr. Pitt's Motion on the Mal-administration of the Navy—Debate—Motion negatived.—Various Debates in the House of Commons on the Volunteer Consolidation Bill—in the Lords.—Irish Militia volunteer their Services—King's Message thereon—Debate on the Address in the Lords—and in the Commons—Address carried.—Vote of Compensation to Lord Hood, and the Fleet under his Command, for the Ships captured at Toulon.—Adjournment.*

ON the ninth of March the royal assent was given, by commission, to several public and private bills : before the commission was read, earl Fitzwilliam expressed strong doubts, founded on, he thought, good authority, of his majesty's health being such as to allow of his reassumption of the regal functions.

The Lord Chancellor declared, that, having conceived it his duty to have a personal interview with the King, and having conversed with him upon the subject of the bills now about to be passed, the result upon his mind was, that the lords commissioners were warranted in expressing the royal assent to them.

As the political history of the year will be separately considered, we shall not here interrupt the course of our account of the parliamentary proceedings, further than briefly to remark, that, about this period, a mutual good understanding was perceptible between that party of which Mr. Pitt was the leader, and those who looked to lord Grenville and Mr. Fox as their chiefs. Whether this accordance was directed solely by the wish to subvert the present administration,

or by a sincere desire to co-operate in the preservation of the country, in the present awful crisis, were points upon which time alone could decide ; certain it is, that it put the seal upon the fate of Mr. Addington's government, and gave to the country the flattering hope of one, which should unite in it, the talent, the wisdom, and the character of the empire.

The first fruits of this union of sentiment, was manifested in the public conduct of Mr. Pitt, who, on the 15th of March, made his promised motion, in the house of commons, for an enquiry into the administration of the navy. He began by stating the object of the different motions he had to submit to the house. The first was, for an account of the number of ships of the line, and armed vessels of all descriptions, which were in commission on the 31st of December, 1793, on the 30th of September, 1801, and on the 31st of December, 1803. The object of this account would be to institute a comparison between the state of our naval strength at these different periods : and he thought, the result would be a conviction, that,

that, considering the extent of the danger which now threatens us, the means of repelling it by our naval efforts were more inadequate than at any former period. The present admiralty seemed to consider, that the sort of vessels which were peculiarly serviceable for meeting the threatened invasion, were those of small burthen, and which would run into shoal water; and yet, in the course of a year, he understood they had only built 23 gun-boats, while, in the same period, the enemy had built nearly 1000. During the last war, the danger was much less pressing, and yet he was prepared to shew, that far greater exertions in that way had been made.

In 1794, 1797, and 1801, it was thought necessary to build small craft, of the sort he had alluded to, and a considerable number were got together in ten or twelve weeks; but even the 23 gun-boats, which were built last year, were not finished in less than six months! He should, therefore, also move for an account of the different gun-vessels built, or contracted to be built, at those several periods, in order to institute a comparison between the exertions of the former admiralty (when the danger was less pressing) with those of the present board. He believed that it would be universally allowed, that, from the commencement of the present war, our navy ought to have been increasing, instead of diminishing; notwithstanding which, government had only contracted, during the war, for the building of two ships of the line at the merchant yards, although it was known that, during a war, the building of ships was always nearly suspended at the king's yards, which were then wanting for repairing the

damages our ships might meet on service. It was also worthy of remark, that, in the first year of the last war, we began from a naval establishment of 16,000 seamen, which was increased in the course of that year to 76,000; whereas, we began the present war with an establishment of 50,000, which, in the course of the first year, was only augmented to 86,000 men. He concluded, by moving his first resolution.

Mr. Tierney considered the conduct of the right honourable gentleman as most extraordinary, and that he had chosen a most extraordinary time to bring forward his charges against the administration of the navy, when we had suffered no loss at sea, while the enemy were sealed up in their ports, and while our commerce was flourishing beyond example. That right honourable gentleman had once thought most highly of earl St. Vincent, when he recommended him as the only person fit for the situation of first lord of the admiralty, and yet the present motion was to declare lord St. Vincent utterly incapable. The country was much indebted to Mr. Pitt, for his exertions as a *volunteer*, but he thought the land service was enough for him, and that he might leave the sea service to abler hands. In answer to the complaints against the admiralty, he should state the number of vessels which we now have, viz. ships of the line, frigates, sloops, and other smaller vessels, amounted to 511; block ships, 9; lighters, and small craft, fitted out in the king's yards, 373; and the flotilla, completely equipped, and fit for service, amounted to 624; making a total of 1536 vessels, equipped by this unworthy first lord of the admiralty.



As to the building ships at the merchants' yards, in preference to the king's yards, there were many objections. The contract-built ships were found not to be so good as those built in the king's yards. The *Ajax*, which was built at a merchant's yard, in three years required an additional sum of 17,000*l.* to be laid out upon her in repairs. As to the increase of seamen, in the first year of the present war, it must be recollected that the army of reserve, the volunteers, and the great draught on the population for the land service, must necessarily injure the sea service; notwithstanding which, there were only 1700 men wanting of the whole number of seamen voted by parliament. He thought that such an exalted character as earl St. Vincent ought not to be attacked by insinuations or unsupported assertions; and concluded, by moving an amendment to Mr. Pitt's first resolution.

Sir C. Pole defended the conduct of the admiralty, who had used, as he conceived, uncommon vigilance and exertion. In 48 hours after hostilities were determined on, admiral Cornwallis sailed for Brest; and ever since that time, that port, as well as Toulon, Flushing, and Ferrol, had been kept in strict blockade. As for building gun-boats, he thought it would be much better to fight the enemy's gun-boats with vessels of a superior description: those that were fitted out last war he considered a mere job.

Admiral Berkeley denied the accuracy of Mr. Tierney's statements: it was by reckoning the marines twice over, that he had supposed the number of men to be deficient only 1700, when, in fact, they were deficient by about 20,000. As to the

number of what he called the flotilla, he was also mistaken, and many of them were in such wretched order, that they could not go from Portsmouth to Spithead, except in a calm. He would contend, that if a proper number of light vessels had been constructed, to assist the ships in the channel, the junction of the enemy's flotilla at Boulogne might have been prevented, and a considerable number of frigates and other vessels spared for the protection of our convoys. He by no means thought light vessels to be despised. He perfectly agreed in the propriety and necessity of the enquiry proposed by Mr. Pitt, and if he had any fault to find in it, it was merely that it did not go as far as he thought it ought, into the investigation of every branch of the naval department.

Sir Edward Pellew praised the naval administration, and thought there was no cause for alarm. Near the enemy's coast we had a light squadron, at the Downs we had heavier ships, and close to the beach we had a flotilla of such vessels as, he conceived, would give a good account of such of the enemy's gun-boats as should escape. We had thus a triple line of defence, which he did not see how the enemy could get through.

Mr. Wilberforce supported the motion for enquiry. He declared most solemnly, that, in many conversations he had had with different professional characters, and some of them highly distinguished in the service, every one appeared to agree in being completely dissatisfied with the conduct of the present admiralty.—He felt as much respect as any man for lord St. Vincent, on account of the great services he had rendered

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the country in another capacity; but he felt himself compelled, by his duty, to support the motion of Mr. Pitt.

Mr. Sheridan did not consider that hearsay evidence, from officers who were on shore, and unemployed, was evidence sufficient to rest a serious accusation against lord St. Vincent. He never knew any person for whom every body profest so much respect, and who was, at the same time, so much aspersed as that nobleman. The grounds, however, of the respect which was profest were notorious to all the world; whereas, the grounds upon which he was aspersed remained still in darkness. He should not vote for a scrap of paper to found an enquiry on, when he was convinced that there was no necessity for such enquiry. This was the first time he had ever opposed an enquiry; but he was convinced that there were no facts to warrant it, or to account for the great change of opinion in the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Pitt) since the time when he bestowed the warmest panegyric upon the noble lord. He saw no good purpose that it could answer, at present, to institute a comparison between lord St. Vincent and lord Spenser. As to the number of gun-boats that the honourable mover stated to have been very suddenly equipped, during the last war, they were of such a quality, that naval men despised them, and thought them good for nothing, and the greater part of them were sold for almost nothing, when the war was over. Such gun-boats as those would be injurious to the service, by requiring men which could be much better employed. Men of war and frigates were better even for defence; for it was

well known, that from Pevensey to Dungeness, a man of war might anchor close to the shore. He thought it would be absurd, all at once, to give up that species of naval force which had been so long our pride and glory, and substitute another, which all naval men thought lightly of. It was said, that the right honourable gentleman gave, about six months ago, at a volunteer dinner, the following sentiment: "The volunteers of England, and may we soon have a meeting with the enemy on our own shores." This sentiment might be much assisted, in the execution, by substituting the honourable gentleman's favourite gun-boats, for our ships of the line and frigates. Formerly the character of the noble lord was attacked only by disappointed and fraudulent contractors. Such enemies as those he despised; but, high as was the authority of the mover, he trusted that the character of the noble lord stood too high, in the estimation of the country, to be hurt by mere assertions or opinions, from whatever quarter they might proceed.

Mr. Fox, at the same time that he professed to feel as much respect as any man for the professional character of lord St. Vincent, considered, that the best way that he could shew that respect, was to vote for the present enquiry. He imagined, that the result of such a proceeding would be, to clear the character of lord St. Vincent from all kind of censure or suspicion. He was not surprised at the course which ministers had taken, in resisting the enquiry. They had wished to put the character of lord St. Vincent on a level with their own, and to set a precedent for resisting other enquiries. For lord St. Vincent he not



only felt a high respect, but a strong personal friendship. He considered the battle that he had to fight against the corruptions and abuses of the naval departments, was full as arduous, if not as brilliant, as the celebrated battle from which he took his title. He considered, that it was the merit of the noble lord in this contest, against corruption, which had excited so much obloquy. As to the officers from whom an honourable gentleman (Mr. Wilberforce) obtained his information, he should have no objection to their testimony, if they delivered it at the bar of the house, as the house, in that case, would know how to appreciate it. He thought, that the right honourable mover had made out little or no case. It was not enough to state the number of ships of a certain description, built at such a period; it was also necessary to consider the circumstances which called for those exertions. It was also necessary to consider the naval administration generally, as an entire system, and not separately, in every part. It was often necessary to sacrifice an object of inferior consequence, for another of greater importance; and, he believed, that species of defence, on which the right honourable gentleman so much insisted, the flotilla, was precisely that description of force which could be the best spared. He considered the motives of ministers, in resisting the enquiry, to be merely from a wish, on some future day, to screen themselves by that precedent. He, therefore, led both by private friendship and public duty, would vote for the enquiry.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer noticed it, as a common practice of the honourable gentleman who spoke

last, to claim a strong personal friendship with almost every person of distinguished character; but he took a mode of shewing that friendship, which was directly the reverse of what was practised by other people. When the thanks of the house was once moved for lord Cornwallis, he opposed it, on the ground of personal friendship, and now, when an enquiry was moved, which implied suspicion of the conduct of lord St. Vincent, he supported it on the same ground! As for himself, out of personal friendship to the noble lord, and a proper regard for his character, he should oppose the enquiry, for which no ground had been stated. As to those gun-boats built in the last war, most of them were found to be utterly unserviceable, and could not go, without danger, from Plymouth to the Eddystone Light-house; and as to annoying the enemy with small craft, it was perfectly ascertained, that, from the shallowness of their coast, and their numerous batteries, it was impossible to prevent their flotilla from creeping along their own shores.

Mr. G. Ponsonby, after highly complimenting Mr. Fox, on the warmth and steadiness of his friendships, observed, that a charge against him on that ground, could not come with less propriety from any quarter than from the chancellor of the exchequer. If that right honourable gentleman would turn his head, and look behind him, he would see a gentleman (Mr. Pitt) who, perhaps, would not be able to compliment him on the steadiness of *his* friendships and attachments. It was allowed, that Ireland was one of the most vulnerable parts of the empire, and, for its defence, it was necessary



cessary to have large ships, and there the right honourable gentleman's small craft would be of no use. It should be recollected too, that, during that administration which he (Mr. Pitt) praised so much, a French fleet, with a large army under Hoche, had lain seventeen days unmolested off the coast of Ireland, and nothing but the winds prevented them from making good their landing.

Mr. Sturgess Bourne, and sir W. Elford, supported the motion.

Mr. Tyrwhit Jones defended the conduct of the admiralty, and of the administration in general. He considered the motion of Mr. Pitt as inconsistent with his former speeches, and that he had now thrown away "*the camphor bag*,"\* and welcomed opposition.

Captain Markham insisted, that Mr. Tierney was correct in his statement of the number of men, without twice counting the marines. He contended, that the ships built in the king's yards were every way better than those built in the merchant yards, and more wholesome for the sailors to live in. He thought it would have been very improper for the admiralty to have followed the example of Bonaparte, in building a number of vessels of green wood, which are always leaky and unwholesome.

Sir W. Curtis bore testimony to the protection which commerce received under the present naval administration.

Mr. Courtenay, Mr. Burroughs, and Mr. Fonblanque also supported the enquiry.

Mr. Pitt made a very long and able reply. He considered, that to refuse those papers for which he had

moved, would be the way to throw doubts and suspicions on the conduct of the first lord of the admiralty; and, to refuse them, on the ground of danger in granting them, would throw a doubt on the strength and security of the nation itself. It would be a most dangerous degree of confidence indeed, to repose in the admiralty, at such an important crisis, if it were to be said, that parliament, which had voted such a liberal expenditure on account of the navy, ought not to enquire how that department was administered, although the very existence of the country might depend upon the investigation. He did not in the least wish to excite alarm, or apprehension; but he wished to remove the deception of a false security, which was, of all things, the most dangerous. He considered, that while France had been making the most gigantic and unremitting efforts, our ministers had absolutely done nothing. In speaking of the attack from Mr. Sheridan, he excited much mirth, by comparing that gentleman to a wandering light; a meteor, that was sometimes seen at one side of the house, and sometimes on the other; which had then concentrated his rays against him; but in whose blazing face he could look without fear or terror.

After a few words from Sir W. Pulteney, the question was put.

For the motion	-	130
Against it	-	201

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Majority against the motion 71

On the 19th of March, Mr. secretary Yorke, after a few preliminary observations, moved the order of the day, for taking into further consideration

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\* Alluding to the declaration of Mrs. Lee, on the trial of the Gordons. *Vide* Chronicle, p. 372.



consideration the report on the volunteer consolidation bill.

General Tarleton said, it had been long his opinion, that it was absolutely necessary for this country, to keep up a large military establishment. He thought the volunteers might do well to repel a sudden invasion; but that they could not be depended upon for the permanent defence of the country. He mentioned some strong instances of insubordination, which came to his knowledge.

The proviso, which prevented any volunteer from the power of resigning, who belonged to a corps "that had offered its services during the war," was omitted in the amended bill, on the motion of Mr. Cartwright.

After some conversation, in which several members took a share, the Speaker put the question on the second reading of the amendments.

Mr. Fox opposed the second reading, not that he wished to throw out the bill; he only wished that it should be re-committed. Without adverting to the volunteer system, it appeared to him that ministers had thought of no other; and, altho' parliament had been sitting for four months, the bill before the house was the only measure ministers had taken for the defence of the country: and what was there to be seen in this bill? No steps had been taken to recruit the army, but every thing had been rested on the volunteers. In fact, the chief merit of this bill was, that it did nothing!—He so far liked the volunteer system, that he approved of the courage, zeal, and spirit of those men who composed it; but he defied any body to say, that that courage and zeal would be at all assisted by the

present bill. He thought ministers had done every thing to check and damp the ardour of the volunteers, and nothing to assist it. As to the power of resignation, the chancellor of the exchequer, as usual, had no opinion; he consulted the attorney general, whose opinion was a wrong one, and that opinion ministers immediately circulated through the country, with uncommon diligence. After the court of king's bench had decided that the opinion was a wrong one, then, and not before, they said they did not mean to act upon it! When the insignificance of the present bill was considered, people would be apt to suppose, that the story of invasion was a mere invention of ministers, and, that if they really believed it, they would have taken some measures to recruit their regular army. Although he himself did not believe the danger so great as was represented, yet, when he compared the danger with the preparations for defence, it was enough to make him tremble. He had, however, such confidence in the spirit of the country, that he firmly trusted, that, in spite of all the opposition it met, it would rise superior, not only to the efforts of the enemy, but even to the weakness, the incapacity, and imbecility of the present ministers.

The Attorney General was against the re-commitment of the bill, on the ground of its having been so often discussed.

Dr. Lawrence, and sir John Wrottesley, were for its being re-committed.

Mr. Pitt owned, that the present bill came very far short of his expectations, or what he conceived to be the just expectation of the country. He hardly saw any advantage to



to be derived from it, except from the clause encouraging the volunteers to go upon permanent duty ; but, however, such as it was, he saw no necessity for its re-committal.

Mr. Sheridan was against the re-committal, as he thought the bill had been very sufficiently discussed.

Mr. Windham thought it would be impossible to form a correct opinion of the merits or demerits of the volunteer system, without examining all the other parts of the grand system of our national defence, in order to see how those parts were combined together.

The vast importance of the subject appeared to him to consist in this, that it was not relied upon as a temporary expedient, but as a permanent system : and that the argument, which had been hitherto so much pressed, would apply still stronger in future ; namely, “ that we had gone too far to recede.”

Mr. T. Grenville was for recommending the bill, as he considered, that there were so many, and such glaring defects in it, as could be only remedied in the committee.

After a few words from the chancellor of the exchequer, and some other gentlemen, the house divided.

For the re-committal 56

Against it . . . . . 173

Maj. against the re-committal 117

Mr. secretary Yorke moved the third reading of the bill on the 22d of March.

Colonel Crawford found himself again under the painful necessity of expressing his disapprobation of the volunteer system, and, indeed, of all the measures which ministers had taken for the military defence of the country. He was aware,

that those who took so many months to prepare a bill like the present, would not be disposed to listen favourably to those who should tell them, that they had been proceeding all the time upon false principles. No man wished more ardently than himself, to see the military system of the country put on such a permanent footing as would give the nation that sort of tranquillity, which arises from conscious strength. Our regular army, which should be the grand foundation of our military strength, is prevented from receiving its natural increase, by the bounties and inducements, that are given to men *not* to enlist in it. In the militia 15 guineas, and in the army of reserve 30 guineas, are given to a man to enlist for 5 years, for limited service, and their families are provided for during his absence ; whereas 8 or 10 guineas was all that was given for enlisting for life in the regular army, and there was no provision for the families of regular soldiers ! He thought it also very unwise to extend the militia system so far beyond its institution. As to the volunteer system, he highly disapproved of it, as it excluded the greater part of the flower and the strength of the country, and formed a sort of privileged body, which was odious to the poorer classes, even on account of the exemptions which they claimed. The basis of a permanent defence of the country, should be as extensive as its population. We were always told, that the volunteer system was a very delicate machine, but the machine to be depended on in war, ought not to be of very delicate construction, but of rougher materials, that could endure a shock.

There



There was another species of defence, which had been almost entirely neglected, he meant fortifications. The great objection that he had to the volunteer system, was, that, by the confession of ministers themselves, it did not include one-fourth of that class which principally formed the strength of a nation. He then argued, at great length, on the importance of having as large a regular army as possible, and of employing, as irregulars, the armed peasantry of the country, instead of a volunteer force.

After a considerable cry of question, question,

Mr. Windham rose, and said he was not surprised at the anxiety of ministers to get rid of the business. Perhaps, by their not attempting to answer what had fallen from his honourable friend, (colonel Crawford) they might mean to imply, that there was nothing new in the arguments that he had adduced. It might be true, that those arguments were not altogether new; but it was equally true, that they had never been refuted. As this was, perhaps, the last time that the subject would come before the house, he could not avoid taking the opportunity of protesting against the principle of it, as one which might lead to our utter ruin. He utterly denied, that the danger we had now to provide against, was merely of a temporary nature, and to be guarded against by temporary expedients. He considered it as a great and increasing danger, which could only be effectually averted by a permanent, well-organised system of military defence. The most important clause of this bill, the giving exemptions to the volunteers, cer-

tainly added nothing to their military improvement, and was only intended as a means of continuing the volunteer system; but, while this clause gave men to the volunteers, it withdrew them from other services. He felt convinced, that the country would have been in a greater state of security, if none of those volunteer bills had passed. He neither considered that the improvement of the volunteer system was the best measure for the present defence of the country, nor that the present bill was likely to increase the force of the volunteer establishment. Zeal was not a principle which could be altogether depended on. A permanent system must be founded on interest and fear; there must be inducements on the one side, and penalties on the other. He must still continue to think, that it was extremely dangerous to leave large bodies of armed men on foot, that were not subject to military law. The volunteers had already so far shewn their strength, as to gain a complete triumph over ministers, who appeared not to venture to stir a step without taking their opinions. The treasury bench appeared to think, that the best way of silencing a member, was to excite a popular clamour against him, but, that should never prevent him from delivering his opinions. The exemptions had already made the army of reserve stop 14,000 short of the number it was originally intended. The advantage of those exemptions was so great, when it was considered what classes of men the ballot usually fell on, that it was a power too great to lodge in the hands of the individuals, or committees, who managed the volunteer corps. The injustice and



and hardship that were produced by those exemptions, was very great upon those who were not fortunate enough to enjoy them. He did not conceive, that, even if the whole volunteer force were to be dissolved the next day, that any very serious mischief would result from it. The same men would remain in the country, and the same zeal and ability to serve it, although it might be directed in another channel. He thought there was no example in history to justify the experiment of bringing the volunteers to fight against regular troops. The kingdom was once conquered by a similar experiment under Harold. The Vendean peasants never did fight regular battles against the enemy, except in one or two instances, wherein they were completely defeated. They were obliged to let their towns and villages be burnt. He did not suppose that any species of irregular troops could ever pretend to engage in pitched battles with regulars; he thought, however, that a numerous and well-organised irregular army would be a powerful auxiliary to a large regular force. The volunteers of France, who fought at Jemappe, were raised on a footing totally different. He considered the entire system as a barren moor, from which it was idle to expect a good crop, and which it was ridiculous to resort to, when we had such an abundant field to till as the regular army. He, therefore, decidedly protested against the whole system.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer considered, that this strain of argument, from the right honourable gentleman who spoke last, was entirely inconsistent with his former sentiments and conduct. He now

found fault with the militia, and yet, when he was secretary at war, he carried it to a much higher pitch than it is at present. He now found fault with the volunteers, and yet it was under his administration that the volunteer system was introduced. He found fault with it now, as injuring the regular army, and yet it was a fact, that the regular army had increased faster since the commencement of the present war, than at any former period. Although the right honourable gentleman had a poor opinion of the efficacy of the volunteers, yet, in opposition to his mere assertion, there was the decided opinion of lord Moira, lord Cathcart, and general Simcoe. He considered the allusion, which the right honourable gentleman had made to the Vendéans, as particularly unfavourable to his own argument, as those troops bore the nearest possible resemblance, or rather wore the model of that force, he so much recommended, an armed peasantry. There was no experience, or no sound reasoning, to induce a preference of an armed peasantry to such a body as our volunteers. There had been already more recruits raised for the regular army, than were raised for the seven first years of the last war, under an administration that the right honourable gentleman so properly extolled. As to irregularities committed by volunteers, it was impossible that there should not be some where the body was so numerous; but, it must be recollected, that the period when dissatisfaction was at the highest, was, when a number of officers had been rejected. He thanked God, that we had now a numerous regular army, a numerous militia,

and



and 400,000 volunteers. These, combined, made one of the most powerful armies that had ever been raised for the defence of this, or any other country.

Mr. Fox said, that the right hon. gentleman (Mr. Addington) had completely misunderstood the argument of Mr. Windham. That gentleman had never asserted that the volunteers were raised merely by the inducement of exemptions: he had contended, on the contrary, that we would have a sufficient number of volunteers without the exemptions, and that they were therefore unnecessary. As for the raw troops, which took the field in the beginning of the war, between France and Austria, they did not fight well: 20,000 of them ran away from 1500 Austrians, and then murdered their own general (Dillon). Their next exploit was to make another of their generals (Biron) a prisoner. The same troops, however, after they had seen some service, fought very well. He did not recollect a single instance in history, where raw troops had been, in the first instance, successfully opposed to regulars. The great reason which induced him to prefer an armed peasantry to the volunteers, was, that instead of 400,000, it would form a force consisting of two millions.

Sir James Pulteney said, that when the defence act was introduced, he was the first who strongly urged the advantages of an armed peasantry. He regretted that his advice was not followed at that time, but still it was necessary to make the most of the system we had got. Notwithstanding the maxim,

“A little learning is a dangerous thing,”

might do very well in poetry, yet, in the common occurrences of life, every one would prefer a person who knew something of his trade, to one who was ignorant of its first principles. He thought the volunteers might be extremely useful in a desultory warfare, but did not consider them as proper troops to be opposed to an enemy immediately upon his landing.

General Loftus approved of the idea of blending the volunteers into the regular army, and placing them under the command of general officers. He was glad to find that government had resolved, in case of invasion, to drive the cattle from the sea coasts. He remembered, when he served under lord Howe, in America, this was a policy which was uniformly followed by the Americans, and it prevented his majesty's army from penetrating to any distance into that country.

Mr. C. Wynne took notice of the small proportion of the volunteers who knew any thing of ball firing.

The bill was then past through the commons, and ordered to the lords; and was discussed in that house, for the first time, on the 27th of March: upon the question for the second reading,

Lord Hawkesbury, in introducing the bill, stated the principle upon which the volunteer system was founded, and the ancient and undoubted prerogative of the crown to call out all the liege subjects of the realm, in case of invasion, or any strong appearance thereof.—It was from that prerogative of the crown whence the defence act sprung, and it was from the defence act that the present volunteer system originated. He agreed perfectly with what had fallen from lord Gren-



Grenville, on a former night—namely, that the volunteers ought only to be employed as an auxiliary or subsidiary force, assisting the regular army. He was now proud to say, that there was in the united kingdom an army of troops of the line and militia amounting to 180,000 men, which was more by 40,000 than we had in 1801, when we had many foreign colonies to garrison. In addition to which, he should state, distinctly, that the effective volunteer force, in Great Britain only, amounted to 330,000 men, as appeared by the returns of the inspecting officers. He should allow, that if the object of the enemy were the final subjugation of the kingdom, an armed peasantry might be the most effectual means of frustrating the attempt; but, as he could never suppose the enemy could expect to keep a permanent footing in the country, and that their plan of invasion would have for its object, the doing the greatest possible quantity of mischief, in the shortest time, he thought an invasion of such a description could be better resisted by volunteers having some discipline, than by an armed peasantry that had none. He trusted that the principle of the bill would be generally approved of, whatever objections might be found to particular clauses. Many persons thought the volunteer system had within itself the principles of its own dissolution. He felt too much confidence in the spirit of the country to suppose so; but should it turn out to be the case, it would become the duty of ministers to advise his majesty to recur to the provisions of the general defence act.

Lord Caernarvon disapproved of the principle of this bill, as he did

of that of the defence act; the latter was hurried through the house in two days, and set out with asserting that his majesty possessed a prerogative of placing all his liege subjects in the ranks of the army, whenever the country was in a critical situation. By that law, the prince of Wales, if he did not happen to be a colonel of a regiment, might be compelled to serve as a private soldier, and would be liable to the punishment of the halberds, for any military offence. The prerogative that was thus stated, was most monstrous and unconstitutional. He thought the present bill quite as absurd, although less offensive, he should therefore oppose it.

Lord Ellenborough insisted that the crown did possess that prerogative from the earliest times: he produced a copy of the commission of array passed in the reign of Henry the fourth, which expressly recognized that prerogative, and which sir Edward Coke declared to be the law of the land in his time; and it had certainly never been altered since, either directly or by implication. He saw nothing monstrous in the prerogative of requiring the assistance of every man in cases of great emergency. This was a prerogative which, according to Vattel, was inherent in those who exercised the powers of the executive government in every state.

Lord King denied that the king ever did or could possess the prerogative that was asserted. It was a monstrous doctrine, worthy of the most jacobine period of the French revolution. He disapproved of the bill, and of the volunteer system. The regular army and the army of reserve were in opposition to each other,



other, and the volunteer system was in opposition to both.

The Bishop of Landaff thought the volunteer system noble in its principle; and he trusted it would be successful in its effects. The volunteer army was composed of all ranks, and contained whatever was respectable in society. The question was not now upon the principle, for that had been adopted. It was upon a bill which proposed for its object the improvement of the volunteer system. He thought, in times like the present, the government had not only a right to call upon the services of every man, but that every coach or saddle horse in the kingdom should be put in requisition, if necessary. He declared that, for his part, he should prefer living on oaten bread and water, to enjoying every luxury which affluence could purchase in a subjugated country, that had the misfortune to groan under French domination.

Lord Darnley thought it improper to apply the word system to such a mass of incongruous regulations as ministers had made respecting the volunteers. He saw nothing in them but the incapacity and inconsistency of those who framed them.

Lord Fife supported the bill, and spoke highly of the efficiency of the volunteers.

Lord Romney thought that if the day of trial should come, the volunteers would be found equal to encounter the troops of France; they ought most certainly to be superior to the forced conscripts in the French army. He wished to see officers that had seen service mix more among them. General Harris (who commanded at the taking of Seringapatam) had not thought it beneath

him to accept the commission of lieutenant colonel of a volunteer corps.

Lord Grenville professed to feel as high a respect as any man for the courage and zeal of the volunteers. In the present circumstances of the country, no one could entertain the idea of disbanding 400,000 voluntary defenders of the country, or deny that they might render important service. When it was, however, considered that those troops which threatened to invade us were also of undisputed courage, and had gained great military experience during twelve campaigns that they had fought against the best disciplined troops in Europe: he thought it was evident that ministers had been shamefully negligent, in not providing a sufficient force of that description which was proper for combating such troops. He considered that the regular army had been sacrificed for establishments of less importance, and every measure which had been taken for increasing it was thwarted and counteracted, by the effect of the exemptions given to the volunteers. When the noble secretary (lord Hawksbury) talked of the number of our army, he should have distinguished what portion of it was militia. As to the army of reserve, it could be only considered a *depôt* for recruits at present; and it was hardly fair to reckon those that have been so recently balloted for that corps, as regular troops. He could not agree with a learned lord (lord Ellenborough), that the crown had the prerogative of ordering the subjects of the realm on military duty, without the sanction of parliament.—This formed the most tyrannical feature of the French government, and



and was utterly inconsistent with the British constitution, as it now stands. He did not think it worth disputing how the prerogatives of the crown might be understood in the time of Henry the fourth; but he thought they were now understood very differently: and certainly, since the period of the restoration, no such power was ever claimed or exercised by any sovereign of this country. The militia laws were supposed entirely to supercede the necessity of recurring to such a prerogative, even if it did exist. There was, however, no precedent in modern times in favour of such a prerogative. In the beginning of the civil wars, the crown lawyers contended for it, but, even then, the first law authorities determined that it did not exist.

The Lord Chancellor observed that the present discussion was not regularly upon the volunteer system that had been already adopted, but upon a bill that professed to regulate and amend it. He felt persuaded that neither the talents of the noble lord, nor all the united talents of those connected with him in the late administration, could have produced any thing more perfect than the volunteer system. Every body would allow that a large regular force was extremely desirable, but every one must allow also, that that could not, by any possibility, have been raised so expeditiously as the volunteer force. As to the question of prerogative, he not only contended that the crown had been always possessed of it, but that, if it never had been, it was necessary that it should now. An invasion might take place when parliament was not sitting, and, in such case, the country might be lost

unless such a prerogative was exercised.

Lord Grenville, in explanation, said that he had never denied the prerogative of the crown, in extreme cases, to call upon all classes of the people: what he denied was, that the crown had a right to take individuals, and send them into regiments of the line or militia.

Earl Spencer could not approve of the volunteer system, although he highly respected the volunteer corps, and the individuals that composed that body of men. He thought administration had taken a wrong course with the volunteers, if, as they now said, they only intended them as an auxiliary force.

Lord Hobart defended the conduct of administration generally, and thought they had used exertions at least equal to any of their predecessors. There was now, in the united kingdom, a force of 621,000 men in arms, which was more than we have had at any former period.—The regulars were also really as numerous as at any period in the last war.

The Duke of Montrose did not object to the volunteer system, or to the principle of the bill; he disapproved, however, very much of some of the clauses. He had a high opinion of the efficiency of the volunteers, and he had been informed, by officers of great experience, that the first quality of a good soldier was the disposition to fight. In this quality, he was sure that it would be allowed, that the volunteers were not deficient.

Lord Westmoreland would not allow that the volunteers had hurt the regular army, or the militia: although it might have diminished the num-



number of balloted men, it increased the number of substitutes, by the military spirit that it diffused so generally.

Lord Auckland had by no means such a gloomy idea of our prospects in this war as some noble lords appeared to entertain. He hoped the war would end in abridging the power of France upon the continent. As to the defence of the country, he thought abundant exertions had been already made, and, both upon the grounds of œconomy, and for other reasons, he did not wish to see the system extended beyond its present limits.

The bill was then read a second time, and ordered to be committed the first day after the Easter recess.

On the 28th of March, there was a discussion in both houses on his majesty's message, informing his parliament of the offers of several regiments of Irish militia to serve in this country\*.

Lord Hawkesbury, in the house of lords, moved the address of thanks to his majesty, for his gracious communication. He did not wish, at present, that the house should pledge itself upon this subject. The time for discussion would come more regularly hereafter. He considered this patriotic offer of the Irish militia, as likely to produce the most important advantages. In the first place, it would increase that unity of sentiment and feeling, which ought to prevail between the different parts of the united kingdom. It would also increase the strength of every part of the empire, by making its means more disposeable, and by consolidating its forces.

The duke of Montrose approved highly of the spirit and loyalty from which the offer originated, although he generally disapproved of encouraging this sort of voluntary offers, as it introduced the spirit of deliberation among armed bodies of men.

The marquis of Sligo rejoiced in the prospect that was now held out, of reciprocal service between the militia of Great Britain and Ireland.

The earl of Limerick considered this offer of service as of great importance. He thought it could have only been obtained by a voluntary offer, as it would be a positive breach of faith, to compel those who had enlisted for one service to undertake another.

Lord Grenville agreed in what had fallen from the duke of Montrose. It ought not to have been left to the patriotism of particular regiments, to offer a more extended service. When it was recollected that the Irish militia was raised by bounty, and not by ballot, it must be allowed that, at their formation, it would have been easy to extend their services to this country by law. Ministers were advised to do so, but rejected that wholesome advice.

The question on the address was then put, and carried without opposition.

In the house of commons, on the same day, the address was moved by Mr. secretary Yorke, who observed, that he did not apprehend any opposition to an address of thanks to his majesty, for his communication, or to an expression of the approbation and satisfaction which the house felt at the spirited and patriotic offer of the Irish militia. He thought this a proper opportunity

\* Vide "State Papers."



to give a detailed statement of the military state of the country. The total of the regular force, on the 1st of this month (including the militia and artillery) amounted to 267,043 men; on the first of October, 1801, the effective strength of the army amounted to 279,000, which was about twelve thousand more than it did at present, although the war had only lasted ten months. The force of the country in April, 1803, immediately previous to the rupture with France, was 124,343 men. After stating, at some length, the exertions that ministers had made for the defence of the country, he went on to consider the state of our offensive and disposeable force. He admitted that great pains ought now to be taken, in recruiting for the regular army, and he so far agreed with the arguments of honourable gentlemen on the other side, that all competition with the recruiting for the regular army should be removed. The militia was now nearly filled up, and as the army of reserve had nearly accomplished all that was expected from it, he thought it might now be necessary to suspend its operation. It must, however, be recollected, that above ten thousand men had already volunteered from the army of reserve into the regular force. For the purpose of encouraging the recruiting service, he wished to suspend for a time the army of reserve act, and at present, while he wished to accept of the services of the ten thousand Irish militia, he wished to increase that body to the same number that they were at in the last war, namely, twenty-eight thousand men.

Mr. Pitt said, that as to the num-

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bers of men raised in the present war, they were abundantly sufficient to meet any reasonable man's expectations; but the degree of efficiency that was given to the numbers so raised, was a subject which might be discussed on a future day. He was satisfied with the magnitude of our force in a collective view, but he thought it necessary to pursue a better system, for the increase of our disposeable force. He considered, however, that it would be necessary to have some thing like the army of reserve operating in every county. It had been found that many persons had been induced to enter into the army of reserve, because the service was limited, and yet, after they had been in it for some time, and had contracted military habits, they were easily persuaded to extend their services, and enter into the regular army.—He therefore thought that not only as a temporary expedient, but as a measure of permanent policy, it would still be necessary, in some degree, to keep up the principle of the army of reserve. He concluded by again throwing out the ideas he had formerly stated, of uniting, as much as possible, the battalions of the army of reserve to the regulars, so as to encourage enlisting from limited to general service.

Mr. Windham was perfectly disposed to vote the address of thanks to his majesty, and to express his approbation of the conduct of the Irish militia; but still he had great objections to the adoption of the plan proposed. In the first place, he did not like encouraging those voluntary offers of extending the service beyond the original terms, because it would operate as a breach of faith, and as a compulsory mea-

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sure



sure to a great number of individuals. Besides the breach of faith, he did not like the idea of asking favours from military bodies of men; he thought it was subversive of discipline: he also thought that Ireland was in full as great danger as Great Britain, and ought not to be stripped of such a large portion of her natural means of defence. He certainly agreed with a great deal of what had fallen from the right honourable secretary, as it was only a promise of adopting many of those measures which he had been recommending for these twelve months past, for the improvement of the recruiting for the regular army.— He wished, however, that the house might not be tied down to adopt the plan proposed, of accepting this offer of the Irish militia, as it appeared to him a measure worthy of the most serious consideration. He then concluded by moving, as an amendment, that parliament should take the offer into its most serious consideration:

Lord Castlereagh considered, that the offer of the Irish militia proceeded from a wish to discharge the debt of gratitude which that country owed to the English militia, for extending their services to Ireland at a very critical period. The augmentation of the Irish militia was easy, as recruits could be got for four guineas a man, whereas the price of substitutes in this country was thirty or forty pounds.

Dr. Lawrence was surprised at the idea of withdrawing ten thousand disciplined troops from Ireland, which he always conceived to be the most vulnerable part of the empire.

Colonel Hutchinson disapproved of withdrawing ten thousand dis-

ciplined troops from Ireland, in its present situation; he thought that the loss would not be at all supplied by an equal number of raw levies. If, indeed, the plan were to exchange a certain number of the English militia against an equal number of Irish, he should rejoice at the exchange. The gentlemen of the Irish militia would probably be struck with the habits of industry and the comforts that they would see in this country, among the lower orders, and might possibly wish, upon their return, to introduce similar habits and similar comforts among their tenantry: while the officers of the English militia, that should go over to Ireland, would probably witness so much spirit and zeal there, as would convince them that that country ought not to have been so much neglected.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer opposed the amendment. He said, it never was intended to take the ten thousand men from Ireland at one time, but he conceived the adopting the measure would set at liberty a considerable number of our disposable troops. At the same time it was by no means the intention of government to diminish the strength of Ireland.

Sir John Newport was proud of the offer which had been made by the Irish militia, and felt convinced, that the great majority of the people of that country would be found ready, zealously to concur in the defence of the empire.

Lord de Blaquiere supported the original address, and approved of the plan which had been proposed. He could not help recollecting the signal service which the English militia had rendered, in going over to Ireland, during the rebellion. It

was the opportune arrival of the regiments of the marquis of Buckingham, and the duke of Rutland, which saved that country. He believed that the Irish militia would fight better in this country than at home, as they would not be opposed to their near relations.

The address was then carried, as it was originally proposed.

On the following day, the sum of £.265,326 was voted to admiral lord Hood, his officers and crews, being the value of the ships destroyed and captured at Toulon. The house then adjourned till after Easter.

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CHAP.



## CHAP. V.

*Meeting of Parliament after the Easter Recess—Volunteer Consolidation Bill much debated in both Houses—Passed—Debates on the Irish Militia Offer, and Irish Militia Augmentation Bills—in the Commons—and Lords. Mr. Fox's Motion for an Enquiry into the State of the Defence of the Country.—Lost—Debate on the Motion for the Suspension of the Army of Reserve Act.—Small Majority of Ministers upon a Division—The Earl of Carlisle's Motion for Papers respecting Admiral Rainier's Conduct—carried against Government—Increasing Weakness of Administration—Marquis of Stafford moves for a similar Enquiry in the House of Lords, with Mr. Fox's in the Commons—suspended at the Request of Ministers—Resignation of Mr. Addington—succeeded as Minister by Mr. Pitt.—Volunteer Consolidation Act passed.*

**B**OTH houses of Parliament met again on the 5th day of April: in the house of lords, the volunteer consolidation bill went through the committee, which was occupied several days in the consideration of its various clauses.

There were several amendments proposed, by noble lords in the opposition, which were mostly negatived without a division. The bill was then read a third time, passed, and ordered to the lower house.

On the 10th of April a motion of the earl of Suffolk, “that a committee be appointed to provide for the defence of the country, and to enquire into the preparations which had been made to meet the menaced danger,” was negatived without a division.

On the same day, in the house of commons, upon the question for the house resolving itself into a committee on the “Irish militia offer bill,”

Mr. Elliot objected to the mea-

sure, as he considered, that it was not consistent with good faith or discipline to encourage those sort of offers, and the deliberations which must have preceded them. He disapproved of it also both as a measure that would reduce the defensive strength of Ireland, and that would increase the number of those absentees, that drain so much money from that country already.

Mr. secretary Yorke observed, that in the year 1799, when that gentleman was in office, and Mr. Windham a cabinet minister, both of them supported a bill exactly similar to the present. This measure originated in the spontaneous gallantry of the regiments which had volunteered their services, and as for the mighty danger which was apprehended from military bodies deliberating, he must say, that it had not as yet been found, that those deliberations had hurt the discipline of the regiments which had volunteered, in the course of the last

war,

war, for general service, and who distinguished themselves so much in Egypt.

Colonel Calcraft opposed the measure, as he thought there was no sufficient grounds laid of such an expediency, as justified the abandonment of the great constitutional principle by which the militia of each country was raised.

Mr. Alexander supported the measure. He said, that as the *Boulogne* flotilla could not be used for the invasion of Ireland, that country might spare the number of men who now offered their services; and he considered, that if the offer was accepted, it would be of the most important advantage, in setting an equal portion of the disposeable force at liberty.

Mr. Bankes thought, that giving much encouragement to such voluntary offers, would disorganize and destroy the military system, by making that service more irksome and objectionable than it would otherwise have been.

Colonel Hutchinson supported the measure, principally because he thought it would be of great advantage to the individuals (whether officers or privates) who should come over, to witness the superior comforts of the people of this country; that, on their return, they might endeavour to introduce similar comforts into Ireland.

Mr. Canning denied, that Ireland could spare ten thousand militia, or that England stood in need of them: he therefore opposed the bill.

Colonel Vereker was confident, that if England were invaded, every regiment of Irish militia would be anxious to volunteer in its defence; but while Ireland was in, at least, as much danger as England, and

perhaps more vulnerable, he did not see the great merit in Irish regiments volunteering for England.

Mr. Windham said, that the case of the English militia volunteering in 1798, when a rebellion was raging in Ireland, was a case *toto cælo* different from the present; and although he then thought, that the constitutional principle of confining the militia to limited service ought to be relaxed, yet it did not follow, that he was bound always to support a similar measure, especially when there was no such exigency existing. It was a marvellous effort of ingenuity, to endeavour to create a disposeable force, by merely transferring a portion of troops, that were not disposeable, from one island to the other! The proposition of increasing the Irish militia, by eight or 10,000 additional troops, would also operate against the recruiting for general service in that country, by creating a competition.

Lord Castlereagh denied, that experience warranted the supposition of the recruiting service for the army being hurt by the increase of the militia.

Mr. T. Grenville opposed the principle of the bill, and thought that the offer did not so much proceed from the spontaneous feeling of the Irish militia, as from the sober deliberation of the cabinet, who had agreed to it as a government measure. He thought, that offers of this nature might be procured by means which differed little from actual violence.

Lord de Blaquiere was surprised, that there could be a doubt about the propriety of accepting the voluntary offer of the Irish militia. He thought, that the rejecting them would appear like a contumelious disdain



disdain of the services which Ireland could render to the empire.

The question was then put, for the speaker leaving the chair, in order that the house might resolve itself into a committee. It was carried by a majority of 70. The ayes being 124, and the noes 54.

On the 11th, the order of the day having been moved for the house to resolve itself into a committee on "the Irish militia augmentation bill,"

Colonel Crawford delivered his sentiments at considerable length on the whole of the measure, of which he considered the present bill to be but a part. Although he entertained great doubts about the policy of accepting the offer of the Irish militia, yet he felt no hesitation in giving his decided negative to the present bill. He disapproved generally of increasing the local force of either country; but, from particular circumstances, he had a still stronger objection to a large Irish militia acting in Ireland. Indeed, such was his opinion of the militia forces in general, that he was sorry they made a part of the *embodied* force of the country; and although the Irish militia had evinced equal loyalty and spirit in the year 1798, yet he could never approve of many regiments being kept up in Ireland, that were composed exclusively of Irishmen, for the most obvious reasons. It was inconsistent with prudence, common sense, or humanity, wantonly and unnecessarily to expose Irish regiments to the dreadful trial, of being obliged to fight against their nearest relations, when the feelings of nature might come in competition with the duties of a soldier. He saw no reason for not raising fencible regiments, in-

stead of militia, which would be as easily done, if the same provision were made for their families, as is made for those of the militia. He then made several observations on the statements, that had been made by Mr. secretary Yorke, of the situation of the army; and concluded, by expressing a wish that the actual returns of the state of the army should be laid before the house, in order to give them some real, official information on the state of the defence of the country.

Mr. secretary Yorke spoke in high terms of the formidable situation of our defensive preparations. When he saw 20,000 cavalry, of the same description as that of which a handful in India had destroyed the army of Scindiah; when he saw 700 pieces of artillery, manned by 7,000 well-trained Britons; and when he considered the zeal and spirit with which the country prest forward, in the formation of volunteer corps, he felt none of that alarm which appeared to have taken possession of the honourable colonel.

Sir John Wrottesley opposed the bill, on the same principles as colonel Crawford had done. He did not think the nation had much reason to be proud of those Indian victories which had been spoken of by the honourable secretary (Mr. Yorke), nor that our triumphs in that part of the world contributed any thing to the security of the empire. He found fault with the defensive system of warfare which ministers had adopted, and thought it was absolutely necessary to recur to some active operations, in order to give activity to the native gallantry of our troops and seamen. Upon the whole, he considered, that the nation had



had been driven out of the peace, which ministers had made, and did not know how to keep; into a war, they did not know how to conduct.

Sir J. Newport opposed the present bill, although he had approved of the accepting the offer of the Irish militia: he had hoped that the former might have produced an interchange of militia between the two countries, which would give some practical advantage from the union between the two countries; his hopes, however, were much diminished, from resolutions which he saw in the papers, signed by many officers holding commissions in the English militia.\*

General Maitland defended, at considerable length, the measures taken by ministers for the general defence of the empire.

Mr. Fox denied, that the resolutions entered into at the Thatched House Tavern, by several militia colonels, &c. were at all founded on views of personal inconvenience; but merely on the conviction, that such an interchange of militia was contrary to the constitution of the militia system, and to the spirit, as well as the express letter of the act of union. As to the act of union itself, he never had been a friend to it, and he did not know any benefit that Ireland had yet derived therefrom, unless it could be considered a benefit,

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to get rid of its legislature; which indeed, from some of the acts which it had passed, might, perhaps, be considered as such. All that he should, however, say at present, of the union, was, that it had not met with a fair trial, as it had not been followed up by any measures for improving the situation of Ireland. He had always found that the union could not be attended with any advantage, as he did not think it possible that Ireland should be ever fairly represented in that house. While there remained a lord chancellor in Ireland, who told the people of that country, that it was impossible for them to be good or loyal subjects, as long as they remained faithful to the religion of their ancestors; so long should he consider it impossible, that Ireland could be governed in any other way than it was at present; namely, by force; by the suspension of the *habeas corpus*; and by martial law. He would not allow (as had been contended by ministers) that more had been done in the present year than in the first year of other wars; and yet we must recollect, that other wars, such as the American and Dutch wars, which began with equal success, were concluded by a bad peace. As to the suspension of "the army of reserve act," which had been mentioned, all he should say

\* On the tenth day of April, pending the discussion of the "Irish militia offer," and "the Irish militia augmentation" bills, in parliament, a meeting was held at the Thatched House Tavern, composed of lords-lieutenants of counties, and members of parliament, holding commissions in the militia of Great Britain, who agreed to, and published, strong resolutions, hostile to the principle of both these bills. Their resolutions conclude with the following passage:—"That, even if it were wise and expedient to decide, at this moment, the question of reciprocal service between the militias of Great Britain and Ireland, the magnitude and importance of the question demanded a separate and distinct consideration, and ought not to be introduced into discussion, collaterally and indirectly."



say, was, that when ministers came forward to repeal their own acts, he had no doubt but the repeal was necessary. As to the difficulties of our present situation, he thought they naturally followed from ministers choosing to go to war upon a ground, that made it impossible for us to have an ally on the continent. Ministers appeared to be very sore whenever they were accused of want of energy. He allowed, that they had plenty of energies in doing mischief, and he might apply to them what the king of Brobdingnag, said to Gildrig, "If your power of doing mischief was but equal to your inclination, you would be the most mischievous little animals that crawl upon the face of the earth."

The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Addington) replied, that it was not his wish to weaken the defence of Ireland, but his object was, to liberate a considerable portion of the disposable force of the country, which could then be applied as the exigencies of the country might require. The increase of the disposable force was the very measure which gentlemen on the opposition benches so strongly recommended, and yet they objected to every plan that was proposed for that purpose. After taking a general view of the defensive force of the united kingdom; he concluded, by expressing his warm approbation of the bill then before the house.

Mr. Francis strongly opposed the bill, as did Dr. Lawrence and colonel Vereker: it was as strenuously supported by serjeant Best, colonel Hutchinson, and Mr. Alexander, when a division took place, the bill was committed by a majority of 57, the noes being 37.

On the 13th of April, Mr. secretary Yorke moved the third reading of the "Irish militia offer" bill, when a short debate took place, during which Mr. Fox took occasion to observe, that local attachments ought not to supersede general principles, yet, on the other hand, general principles should not destroy local attachments. The feelings of mankind were regulated more by habits, than by acts of parliament, and it would be vain to expect that Irishmen should not feel a peculiar attachment to that part of the united kingdom. He suggested a clause, to prevent the catholic soldiers, who should come into this country, in consequence of this bill, from being compelled to attend at protestant places of worship:—which was rejected, and the third reading was carried by a majority of 58.

On the sixteenth, a discussion arose on the question for the third reading of the bill, for augmenting the Irish militia.

Mr. Pitt strongly objected to it, as it appeared to him, that ministers had forgotten, that, in every force to be raised, it should not only be considered, how it would add to the defence of the country, but also how far it would contribute to the increase of an efficient and disposable force. He, therefore, much preferred the army of reserve to the militia; and considered that ministers had too hastily abandoned that system, and on no other ground, than, that it did not fill quite as fast as they calculated.

Lord Castlereagh said, the reason that an augmentation of the militia was proposed in Ireland, was, that it was found much easier in  
that



that country to get recruits for the militia, than for any other description of force.

Mr. Windham said, that he never went so far as to wish government to disband the militia, but, at the same time, he must object to its further augmentation. Government had already got together 400,000 volunteers; 70,000 militia; and 36,000 of army of reserve; and yet, notwithstanding this immense number, raised only for limited service, they seemed to wish still farther to increase the force that was not disposable. He did not approve of such a circuitous way of recruiting the army.

After several other members had briefly given their opinions on the merits of the question; the house divided, and the bill was carried by a majority of barely 21; there being 128 for, and 107 against it.

Upon this question, Mr. Pitt, and most of his personal friends, voted with the opposition, and the very small majority in favour of ministers, inclined the public to suppose that Mr. Addington's administration was drawing fast to a close.

On the next day, in the house of lords, there was a majority against ministers, upon a motion of the earl of Carlisle's, for papers respecting the date of the instructions sent out to admiral Rainier, commanding in chief in the East Indies. It was generally supposed that he did not receive his orders until 17 days after the war was known in India by private letters; and until admiral Linois had escaped. Lords Hawkesbury and Hobart insisted that he had received timely notice of the rupture, and opposed the motion, on the ground that public rumour was not a sufficient parlia-

mentary reason to alledge for the production of papers. The house divided upon lord Carlisle's motion, which was carried by a majority of 31 to 30. A discussion then took place on the second reading of the Irish militia offer bill, when the contents were 77, and the non-contents 49, leaving a majority in favour of ministers of 28.

On the 23rd of April, Mr. Fox, pursuant to notice, made his promised motion with respect to the defence of the country.

He began by observing, that the extraordinary zeal with which all ranks were animated in support of the war, was no sign that they approved either the principles upon which it was undertaken, or the manner in which it was conducted. He, himself, had felt as much zeal as any person for the defence of the country, but, he never did approve the mode of commencing the war, or of carrying it on. Ever since hostilities were declared, they had been followed up by an incessant cry of immediate invasion, and therefore it was no wonder, that the people should shew a very ardent zeal in the defence of their country, their liberties, and their lives. But, if it were attempted to be inferred from this, that they approved the conduct of ministers, the inference would be, that whatever administration brought the country into the greatest danger, it would always excite the strongest marks of this kind of zeal, which they would, doubtless, construe into approbation of their measures. Ministers sometimes charged those with whom he acted, as feeling a *panic* of invasion. As he understood the word *panic*, it applied to those who would fly from the danger, not those who only



only considered about the best way of repelling it. That considerable danger did exist, appeared not only from the papers on the table, but from the preparations ministers had already made. He might say, with the man in "the Critic,"

"——Oh pardon me, if the conjecture's rash,

"But I surmise—the state  
"Some danger apprehends——"

He neither approved of the opinion of those who wished to be invaded, nor of those, who considered the plan of invasion as given up, because it was not as yet carried into execution. If the enemy had well calculated the difficulties of the enterprise, it was of no consequence whether it were carried into execution the third, fourth, or fifth year of the war, but the longer it was delayed, the more formidable it would appear. It, therefore, was necessary to adopt a system of defence, which would be adequate to repel invasion, at whatever period it might take place. His ideas of the best military defence of the country depended principally on the regular army, and on what might be obtained from an armed peasantry. Upon the actual state of the regular army, the house had no sufficient documents. It was absurd to say, that it had not been injured by the competition of higher bounties given to persons for recruiting for a limited service. It was almost inconceivable with what obstinacy government persevered in the plan of raising soldiers for life, when other powers that were purely military, recruited only for a term of years. It was strange, that it should be only in that country

that boasted of its superior liberty, that the soldier was a slave for life, and that, at a time of life, when a boy is not permitted to dispose of his person in marriage, or his property by contract, he could be allowed to dispose of his personal liberty for ever, by entering into the army! He considered an armed peasantry as the best permanent means of security to the country, and he feared that even the enormous expence attending the volunteer system, would, in a short time, diminish its numbers. He thought the preamble of the general defence act, asserted a prerogative in the crown, which it would be monstrous to suppose it really did possess; and yet it was in consequence of this asserted prerogative, that many had been terrified into becoming volunteers. When he proposed an armed peasantry, it was not in substitution for the volunteer system, but as an additional force. He concluded by moving, "that it should be referred to a committee of the whole house, to revise the acts past for the defence of the country, and to consider what further measures were necessary."

The Chancellor of the Exchequer resisted the motion. He said, that ministers had been sanctioned in declaring war by the almost unanimous vote of that house. There was no precedent for the house of commons resolving itself into a military committee, as had been proposed by the honourable gentleman, and it would be a step extremely dangerous. He denied, that ministers had ever pledged themselves for the duration of the peace of Amiens. It was because they thought the ambition of France might



might make it necessary to renew the war, that they had kept up so large a peace establishment. He then entered at considerable length into the defence of ministers, from the general charge of incapacity or neglect. They had raised, for the defence of the country, the most considerable force that ever was collected in so short a term: and he felt confident, that in opposing the motion, he should be supported by a large majority of the house.

Mr. Pitt, by no means conceived the motion as calculated to unite all those, who differed in minute points from the government, in its general defence: but, on the contrary as one, that would completely unite those, who thought the defence which ministers had prepared, as inadequate: and who thought it necessary to take a serious and radical review of the situation of the country; and who supposed, that after twelve months had been allowed to ministers to prepare every thing which occurred to them, and to profit by the suggestions of others; that they had still brought forward nothing, that could induce any reasonable man to believe, that by their measures, or under their administration, the country would even have a fair chance of obtaining that weight in the scale of nations, which it was entitled to hold. He thought, that, if ministers were permitted to go on longer in their own course, there was no hope of safety remaining for the country. It appeared to him, that ministers had fairly confest, that they had no hope left of being able to suggest any measure for the increase of the regular army, and yet it was allowed, on all hands, that this was the measure, which of all others

would be of the most importance. The honourable mover, had not proposed an armed peasantry, as a thing to be *substituted* for the volunteer force; but, as a force to be added to them: and where it was considered that ministers had, for six months past, spoke of an invasion, as a thing that might happen, within the next twenty-four hours, and when it was also considered, that the enemy had already overcome, that preliminary difficulty, which we had supposed insurmountable, by collecting in one port a sufficient number of vessels, to carry over their army, it was certainly time to consider, most seriously, what preparation this country had made for its defence. He thought the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Addington) had even forgotten the usages of the house, when he represented it as an extraordinary motion, that it should be referred to a committee of the whole house, to consider a subject in which the religion, the laws, the finances, the commerce, and every question, that was dear and valuable to the country, was so much concerned. Ministers could hardly claim the merit of originating any one of the measures which had hitherto been taken for the defence of the country. They had rather retarded and enfeebled the volunteer system, than contributed any thing to its force and efficiency. When ministers gave such a pompous detail of the force of the country, they should have recollected that it proceeded from the resources and spirit of the nation, and not from their energy or wisdom: and he, and other members of the house, who had done as much as they could to raise that energy and spirit,



spirit, had full as good a right as the ministers to hear the statement with exultation. Ministers had no right to boast much of what others had suggested, or of what public zeal had effected. Enough had not been done for the defence of the country, unless such preparations had been made as would entirely defeat the invader, and in such a manner as would for ever deter him from renewing the attempt. He thought ministers were much to blame, in having prepared so small a peace establishment, and in having made no preparations for the renewal of a war, when, as they have since published in a manifesto, they had every reason to suppose the renewal of war unavoidable. They should have availed themselves of the period of peace to ballot for the militia, and to make such other preparations as would have enabled them to recommence the war with effect. Mr. Pitt concluded by pressing very strongly the different measures he had often proposed for the improvement of the volunteers, and the increase of the regular army. He thought ministers had been much to blame in not adopting his suggestions, and that he had, therefore, abundant right to complain of their conduct. He should, upon these grounds, support the motion for a committee.

Mr. secretary Yorke, opposed the motion, as one which was by no means called for by the present circumstances. No misfortunes had happened to the country, nor had any advantage been gained by the enemy, in consequence of the inadequacy of our preparations. As to the volunteers, he would insist that their progress in discipline had been the astonishment of all Europe,

as well as of this country, which had never before known the strength of which it was possessed. As to an armed peasantry, which had been suggested, although it might be useful in some other countries, he thought it by no means applicable to this country, when the majority of the peasants did not know the butt end of a gun from the muzzle! He concluded by entering into a general defence of the system adopted by ministers.

The Attorney General, said, that, it was evident that if the motion should be carried upon the principles advanced by Mr. Pitt, ministers must resign their situations; although no direct charge had been made against them.—Gentlemen had been brought to the house this night from the most distant parts of the country, with singular industry, and management. There was at present a most extraordinary coalition against ministers. An honourable gentleman (Mr. Fox) had approved of the peace of Amiens, as the best which, under the then existing circumstances, the country had a right to expect.—Another honourable gentleman (Mr. Windham) perpetually abused that peace. How these two gentlemen would reconcile their opposite opinions at a council board, was beyond his comprehension. He thought it would be most rash and imprudent to address his majesty for the removal of the present ministers, without considering who were likely to be their successors. One (Mr. Fox) would probably propose immediately a peace with France, through the mediation of Russia: but, could it be agreed to by his right honourable ally? (Mr. Windham). Was it possible that



that Mr. Fox, who had so often and so seriously arraigned Mr. Pitt's government, as unconstitutional and tyrannical, should now cordially acquiesce with that gentleman, in forming a new administration? How could they meet at the same council table, without practising a degree of dissimulation which would be degrading to each of them? He conjured Mr. Windham, by the memory of his departed friend (Mr. Burke), and by the memory of his departed self, to pause a moment before he would sign and seal his own inconsistency, by joining the advocates of French principles. He considered the adoption of the motion would immediately introduce a worse ministry, than that which now existed.

Mr. Windham, gave the last speaker credit for singing the funeral dirge of the administration, in melodious strains ;

“He sang, Darius great and good  
 “By too severe a fate  
 “Fall’n, fall’n, fall’n, from his high  
 estate.”

In another part of his speech he appeared not to consider the cause of ministers, as absolutely hopeless. It appeared to him that nothing could be fairer, than to move for an investigation, before any direct charge was made against ministers. As the right honourable and learned gentleman had been so much shocked at persons uniting in sentiment, who had differed on other topics, he thought he would do well to look at a gentleman, who sat near him (Mr. Tierney), who had been the friend and companion of the admirers of French princi-

ples, who had been the champion of reform, and of all those measures which were so obnoxious to the right honourable and learned gentleman.

Mr. Tierney denied, that he had been guilty of inconsistency. As to the question of parliamentary reform, it was yet to be seen whether he had or had not changed his sentiments. He had opposed the late administration, and one very principal reason of this opposition was, that the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Windham) made a part of it. He believed the country was full as well defended, as if that right honourable gentleman were still secretary at war, and he really believed there was no circumstance that would give the country so much alarm, as his re-appointment. He believed, that the feelings of the people were generally with the present ministers.

Mr. Fox, in his reply, observed, that he never heard any motion opposed with so little ability, or an opposition in which personalities and ribaldry were so much substituted for arguments. Whenever those who opposed him felt themselves worsted in the argument, they immediately recurred to his supposed attachment to French principles, or to the coalition administration. The learned gentleman (the attorney general) had declaimed furiously against coalition, and union of parties ; but, for his part, when the duke of Portland, lord Fitzwilliam, and many other valuable friends of his, had joined the late administration, however sensibly he was affected by the loss, he never imputed it to any principle, but an honourable difference of opinion.—The learned gentleman, however,

only



only found fault with those coalitions which went to disturb an administration, of which he himself formed a part. When he was so liberal of his advice to Mr. Pitt and Mr. Windham, he should have considered what his advice was worth, before he was so lavish of it. As for himself, there was no sort of coalition between him and Mr. Pitt. Nothing had past between them which might not be published at Charing-cross. They both of them agreed in thinking the present ministers incompetent to discharge the duties of their situation, with honour either to themselves or to the country, they therefore agreed in wishing them turned out: but as to the question, of who should be their successors, that remained altogether the prerogative of the crown to determine. The house then divided on Mr. Fox's motion.

For the motion 204

Against it 256

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Majority 52

The next day, in the house of lords, the "Irish militia offer" bill was past by a majority of 91 to 49, and the "Irish militia augmentation" bill by 94 to 62.

On the 25th of April, Mr. secretary Yorke moved, that the speaker should leave the chair, in order, that the house should go into a committee, on the army of reserve suspension bill.

Mr. Pitt opposed the motion: he considered the suspending the operation of the army of reserve bill a most unwise measure, especially at a time when government proposed to make a considerable augmentation to the Irish militia. He thought the army of reserve, had already done considerable good in increasing

the regular army: and he was convinced, that much more good might be derived from it. It was the best nursery for recruiting the army, and it was perfectly well known, that many persons who could never be tempted to enter into the regular army at once, could be tempted to enter into a body for limited service, and, after a short time, they contracted military habits, and were willing to extend their services.—Mr. Pitt then stated, at very considerable length, the outlines of a plan for diminishing the militia, and increasing the army of reserve, in such a manner as he thought must conduce much to the augmentation of our regular and disposable force.

Mr. secretary Yorke said, that all the measures which ministers had taken, had for their objects, 1st, to secure the internal defence and security of the kingdom, and 2dly, to augment the disposable force, so as to be able to attack the enemy in their own possessions. The first object had been obtained, the second, was what now remained to be considered. As to the plan which was proposed by Mr. Pitt, it was only to be considered as among the permanent means of recruiting the army, whereas the object of the present bill, as connected with the other measures proposed by government, was to add immediately 13000 or 14000 men to our regular force.

Mr. Whitbread, thought the inconsistency of ministers, in coming forward now to suspend the operation of their own bill, was a proof of their incapacity. He approved of the plan suggested by Mr. Pitt, in preference even to the army of reserve act of the ministers, but he was decidedly of opinion, that that plan ought to be discussed prior to the



the suspending the operation of the army of reserve.

The secretary at war (Mr. Bragge) considered the bill now proposed, as merely a temporary measure, arising from the present circumstances, and that it would be wrong to postpone it until a new plan, so full of details, should be discussed.

Mr. Fox conceiving, that the army of reserve bill had been completely abandoned by its authors, and that they had now no other measure to propose, thought it would be absolutely necessary to take Mr. Pitt's plan into consideration, before the suspension of the army of reserve bill was adopted. Ministers themselves confess that Mr. Pitt's plan was worthy of consideration. If so, they ought not to strike off the army of reserve which was the very foundation of it, without first having considered, that which they allowed to be worthy of consideration. He was astonished that ministers could expect anything from the present bill; when it was found impossible to get men, for limited service, at a very high bounty, how could it be expected that they would find recruits for unlimited service at a much smaller premium?

Lord Castlereagh said, it was now fully proved, that the army of reserve act, which had, at the beginning, produced considerable advantages, had now, in a great measure, ceased to be operative, and therefore it became the duty of ministers to propose its suspension. He certainly so far agreed with the general principle of Mr. Pitt's plan, as to prefer a force, constituted like the army of reserve, to the militia; and that he would have no objection to

a diminution of the militia, and an increase of the army of reserve, if the thing were practicable. But whatever he might think of the plan in general, it was evident, that it could not be brought into operation in less than three or four months, and, in the mean time, consequences, much to be deprecated, might follow from not suspending this act.— He had no objection to the recruiting by parishes, but he always wished TO HAVE TWO STRINGS TO HIS BOW, in case one should fail.

Mr. Windham declared, that, he was extremely glad to find the opinion, he had so often delivered, of the propriety of reducing the militia, at length supported by the powerful abilities of a right honourable gentleman (Mr. Pitt.) He now found, that many of his ideas, which were so violently censured when first proposed, were in a fair way of being adopted. In some instances, ministers seemed to wish to accommodate themselves to the opinions of all parties, and sometimes to take advice. But in this business of the army of reserve, they did not seem to know, how they should proceed, and would neither suffer it to live nor to die; but kept it like a ghost *in terrorem*, for the mere purpose of extorting money. If the army of reserve act had completely failed (as ministers had confessed) it was by no means because the country was exhausted, and men could not be had. If that were the case, there would be no hope left for the recruiting the regular army. The real reason that it had failed, was, that the measure was so tyrannical, the stomach of the country loathed it; and no officer could be found to put it into execution. It was like those penal laws, which, when



when too severe, fail in their effect, because no body can be found to put them into execution. He concluded, by condemning severely the whole system pursued by ministers; and expressing a wish that the plan proposed by Mr. Pitt should be taken into full consideration.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Addington) considered, that, Mr. Windham had been altogether inconsistent, in opposing the suspension of a bill, which he had always ridiculed as a most ineffectual one. The suspension was now proposed, merely for the purpose of augmenting the regular army. He should not consider at any length the very complicated plan proposed by Mr. Pitt; he objected, however, to the principles of it, as leading to a large permanent military establishment. He was not able to see any thing in that plan, which could induce him to postpone the present measure.

Mr. Canning observed, that, the chancellor of the exchequer was at variance with the opinions of his colleagues. They had all said, that Mr. Pitt's plan was worthy of serious consideration; but the chancellor of the exchequer appeared to consider, that it was absolutely good for nothing, and endeavoured to throw every kind of obloquy on it, as unconstitutional and oppressive. His colleagues in office, at the same time that they allowed the plan contained a great many things they approved of, yet wished to take away the very foundation upon which it was to be built. He concluded, by alluding, with some pleasantry, to the expression of lord Castlereagh, who, he was perfectly convinced, did like TO HAVE TWO STRINGS TO HIS BOW.

Lord de Blaquiere opposed the motion, and Mr. Pitt said a few words in explanation, when the question being loudly called for, the house divided.

For the motion 240

Against it 203

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Majority for ministers 37

This was the last victory, if it deserve the name, of Mr. Addington's administration, in the house of commons. Feeling that they could not combat, with any chance of success, such a great and increasing opposition, they wisely resolved on resignation. It was then understood, on all sides of the house, that such being the intention of ministers, on that account, no questions should be discussed, which were likely to produce any great difference of opinion. In the mean time the marquis of Stafford gave notice of a motion, similar to that which Mr. Fox had made in the house of commons; and it was the general belief, that, upon that question, ministers would be left in a minority, in the upper house of parliament, if they ventured to meet it fairly.

On the 30th of April, the order of the day having been read in the house of lords, for the motion of the marquis of Stafford,

Lord Hawkesbury rose, in considerable agitation, and entreated the noble marquis to postpone his motion. He was ready to pledge his personal character, both as a minister and a lord of parliament, that the reasons which induced him to make this application, were of such a nature, as if known to the noble marquis, would gain his ready acquiescence: they were, however, of that delicate nature, that he could not,



not, consistently with his duty, then mention them.

The marquis of Stafford agreed, under these circumstances, to postpone his motion.

Lord Grenville thought, that a more distinct communication should be made, of the reasons which his lordship had hinted at. If they respected the administration of the country, he thought the house of lords ought to have been made acquainted with them. Nevertheless, he should feel ready to acquiesce in the delay proposed, but, under the present circumstances, he thought the house should adjourn to the day to be appointed for the motion of the noble marquis.

Lord Hawkesbury again repeated, that the reasons to which he alluded, were not light or trivial, but of great importance. He had said all that he could, consistent with his duty, to prevail upon the marquis to postpone his motion. If he had been unsuccessful, he was sorry for it, and ready to meet the discussion. He thought it would be very wrong to stop the whole business of the nation, by an unnecessary adjournment.

The earl of Carlisle could not see any reason, which should induce the house to postpone the motion, except the certainty of ministers being about to resign their situations. This, indeed, would be an event which must give the fullest satisfaction to the house.

The marquis of Abercorn thought the question already determined.—The marquis of Stafford had agreed to postpone his motion, and he had certainly a right to do so, without asking the leave of the noble baron, (Lord Grenville,) who had since objected to it, with that degree of inflexibility, to which he was so prone.

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Lord Melville thought, that, at least, it would be proper, that no subject connected with the defence of the country, should be brought before the house, in the interval, before the motion of the noble marquis should come forward.

Lord Grenville said, he should be content, if this motion was to retain the priority it now had, over any other question connected with the defence of the country.

Lord Hawkesbury replied, that he should enter into no such engagement. If noble lords wished now to bring on the discussion, he was ready to meet it: but he must say, that he believed it was the first time that ever a request, made in the serious manner, and accompanied by the solemn declaration he had given, was ever treated in such a manner, in either house of parliament. It appeared to be a *faction* pressing forward a motion, which was not necessary to be hurried in that manner.

Lord Mulgrave and earl Spencer condemned, severely, the application of the term “*FACTION*” to such a number of most respectable noblemen. They, however, felt content to take the language of lord Hawkesbury as an implied pledge, that nothing likely to produce much disagreement of opinion should be brought on in the mean time.

The motion was then postponed.

On the same day, in the house of commons, Mr. Addington, as chancellor of the exchequer, opened the budget for the year. He began by expatiating on the advantages which had already been found to result from the system of raising within the year, the greater part of the money wanted for its service, so as to prevent an increase of the national debt; and then entered into a very

G

detailed



detailed statement, to shew, that the war taxes, which he had only calculated, last year, at nine millions, would probably produce, in future, no less than twelve millions and a half; and they had already exceeded the amount at which he had calculated them. He then stated, that the permanent taxes had been as productive as in former years.—The supplies necessary for the year, amounted, in the whole, to £.36,283,348, to be defrayed by Great Britain alone. Among the ways and means, he proposed to add a million to the war taxes, by again increasing the duty on wine, from £.12 to £.20 per ton, and by laying a duty of  $12\frac{1}{3}$  on all imports, except tea, wine, and cotton wool. The produce of the consolidated fund, he should reckon at five millions, instead of six and a half, at which he had before calculated it, in addition to which he should propose a loan of ten millions, and a vote of credit of two millions and a half. The interest of the loan, and the one per cent. for its extinction, would amount, with the charges of management, to £.736,190. To meet this, he should propose an alteration in the stamp duties, which would give an addition of £.800,000 annually. After dwelling for some time on the advantages of the system of finance which he had introduced, of raising within the year a great part of the war expences, he concluded by proposing his resolutions, which were agreed to in the committee.

Mr. Fox wished to know whether ministers would wish him to postpone the motion, of which he had given notice, for the same reasons for which an important motion in the house of lords was postponed.

Mr. Addington wished it should be postponed, and, in the mean time, his majesty's ministers did not intend to bring forward any measures likely to provoke considerable difference of opinion.

On the 3rd of May, in the house of lords, the marquis of Stafford asked lord Hawkesbury, whether the same reasons still subsisted for postponing his motion to a later day.

Lord Hawkesbury replied in the affirmative.

Lord Grenville was ready to agree to a postponement of the motion for a few days; but, unless some information was given to the house before that time, he could not agree that the motion should be any longer delayed.

On the same day, upon the motion of lord Hobart, the thanks of the house was unanimously voted to the marquis Wellesley, and the civil and military officers in India, as well as to the army, for the splendid victories recently obtained, in that quarter of the world. Besides the marquis Wellesley, lord Clive, governor of Fort St. George, Jonathan Duncan, esq. governor of Bombay, and generals Lake, St. John, and Wellesley, were mentioned in the vote of thanks.

On the same day, lord Castlereagh proposed a similar vote in the house of commons. He observed, that the motion was carefully drawn up, so as only to relate to the military transactions in India, without taking any notice of the political administration of the noble marquis, or the causes of the war. As to the victories which had been obtained, nothing could be more splendid, or more important. The army, and the territory of Scindiah were completely



pletely conquered, in the course of three months, and such had been the exertions used, in the war with Scindiah, in which we brought into the field no less than 55,000 men. Besides the importance of the conquests which those victories in India had gained us, they were peculiarly important, as adding to our glory as a military nation. He believed many of the exploits performed by our troops in India, had been full as brilliant as any thing done on the continent last war, and our Indian victories added to the renown our armies had gained in Egypt. With such troops, he thought nothing was to be feared from an invasion, by the enemy that now threatens us.

Mr. Francis thought the motion ought to be postponed, as it would be difficult, indeed, to go fairly into the consideration of the policy and justice of the war, after having first given the governor-general the unreserved thanks of the house, both for its plan and execution. Instead of speaking with exultation of our territories being extended, in consequence of the war, it was a *prima facie* ground to suppose the noble marquis had violated that law, which expressly forbids entering into wars for the sake of extension of territory. He thought the great danger that general Wellesley's army was exposed to, was no proof of the prudence or precaution of the governor-general.

Mr. Addington said, it was purely an accidental circumstance, that exposed general Wellesley to such a superiority of numbers; for colonel Stevenson's reinforcement, amounting to 10,000 men, were only half a day's march behind; if they had previously effected their

junction, there could have been no reasonable doubt of the issue of the action.

Mr. Fox objected to it as a new and unusual thing to return thanks to any but the military persons actually engaged in those services: upon such a principle, the lords of the admiralty might expect to be thanked, in this country, for every naval victory which might occur: besides, as the marquis had only the title of captain-general, and had neither the advantages of military education or experience, it would appear to be laughing at him, to return him thanks for military plans, when it was perfectly known that he had not military knowledge enough to undertake, or be entrusted, with the command of an army. He, therefore, moved the previous question on the resolution for thanking his lordship.

Mr. Wallace stated several instances, where the governors of the different establishments had been thanked for their share in military successes, in that part of the world.

Mr. Johnstone said, it would be, at least, time enough to wait till the campaign was over, before any thanks were returned for the victories in its commencement. Such had been the practice in the case of the duke of Marlborough; and the recent instances of the house voting thanks to the commanders for the success at Copenhagen; and the first movements of the army in the expedition to Holland, shewed, that the house might be too precipitate and hasty in such measures.

Mr. Wilberforce wished, that the question of thanking lord Wellesley should be postponed, until the whole of his conduct had been examined by parliament, in order



that he might be able to give it his cordial and entire support.

Mr. Grey supported the previous question. He could not bring himself to return thanks even to our own army, until it was first ascertained that their bravery and alacrity had been exerted in a just war.

Sir Theophilus Metcalfe defended the war in India, as a just and necessary one, and pointed out those parts of it in which our success appeared owing, principally to the excellent arrangement and combination of the plan of the noble marquis. In the course of his speech, he was called to order for entering, fully, into the grounds of the war, when it was universally understood, that they should not be gone into on the present occasion.

The previous question was then put and negatived without a division, and the original resolutions were carried.

On the 9th of May, Mr. Fox moved for an account of the transports employed by government, for the purpose of bringing the Hanoverian army over to this country. If it should appear, that ministers had made no preparations, either to save Hanover, or bring away the army, it would certainly be a very strong imputation on their conduct.

Mr. Addington did not resist the motion. He considered, that the treaties of Luneville and Ratisbon ought to have been expected to be sufficient security to the north of Germany. As for not bringing away the troops, it would be found that their exertions, for that purpose, had been defeated by circumstances, which could not have been foreseen.

On the 11th of May, the mar-

quis of Stafford rose, in the house of lords, and said, that as he had been informed, that a new administration had been appointed, which, though not formed on the broad and extensive basis that he could have wished, yet as it included a right honourable gentleman (Mr. Pitt) who had turned his great mind to the consideration of the best means of national defence, he should withdraw the motion, of which he had formerly given notice.

On the 12th, it was publicly announced, that Mr. Addington had resigned the office of chancellor of the exchequer, and that Mr. Pitt had been appointed to succeed him.

On the 18th of May, Mr. Pitt took his seat in the house of commons, upon being re-elected for the university of Cambridge.

The first business, of any importance, which took place after the appointment of the new administration, was, the passing of the volunteer consolidation bill, about which parliament had been occupied the greater part of the session. The principal discussions were upon some amendments made in the lords, which the house of commons considered as trenching on their privileges.

It seemed to be the generally prevailing opinion of parliament, that, although no great advantages were to be expected from the bill; yet, as it contained much unexceptionable matter, particularly the provision for calling out the volunteers upon permanent duty, it was deemed better, upon the whole, to pass it as it was, than to recommence, at so late a period, the revision of so many disputed and complicated details.

## C H A P. VI.

*Parliamentary Proceedings continued.—Debates in the House of Commons on the Abolition of the Slave Trade—Bill brought in by a considerable Majority.—Additional Force Bill brought in by the Minister,—Debate thereon.—Petition against the Lord Advocate of Scotland—presented and ordered to lie on the Table.—Debate on the second Reading of the Slave Trade Bill—on the second Reading of the Additional Force Bill,—and on its Committal.—Slave Trade Bill committed.—Debates on the Amendments of the Additional Force Bill—engrossed, and read a third Time—passes the House of Commons by a small Majority.*

**M**R. Wilberforce, in pursuance of a notice he had formerly given, on the 30th of May, in the house of commons, submitted a motion relative to the slave trade. He began, by saying, that he was much afraid, a considerable portion of the information which gentlemen had possessed upon that odious and pernicious traffic, had vanished from their minds, so long was it since it was given in evidence at their bar; and so short-lived are the feelings of humanity! He would not, however, go into a recapitulation of that evidence, but briefly state, how the matter at present rested, both with respect to the steps which had been taken by parliament towards its extinction, and the complicated mass of evil to which its existence gave rise. After a long and serious investigation, that house, in the session of 1792, had resolved to abolish the slave trade, from the 1st of the following May, and that it should totally cease in four years from that period. This resolve had not, unhappily, been followed up, and the trade, with a few modifications, then

enacted, continued ever since.—Thousands, therefore, of our fellow subjects were continuing to suffer from this pernicious system. Mr. Wilberforce then entered into a detail of the various modes by which the wretched natives of Africa were reduced to slavery. Such, he said, were the cupidity and eagerness of our traders, in this infamous commerce, that they violated the most sacred duties of mankind, and introduced violence and injustice, by their incitements and example, into these unfortunate countries, which became, from ignorance, a prey to their avarice. Those evils, to which he alluded, were not extended over a small tract of country, or they might, perhaps, be less to be regretted; but they are spread over a tract of coast of not less than between three and four thousand miles, and to a distance of nearly seven hundred miles into the interior of the country. The manner of conveying the slaves, thus made, had certainly been ameliorated, by the intervention of parliament, but yet little was done to remedy the vast



mass of human calamity, still practised, and even encouraged, by Britons. When these wretched creatures arrived at their place of destination, they were not only doomed to slavery for life, but the same fate was entailed upon their posterity for ever! Nor was their treatment, under this severe destiny, such as was calculated to soften the cruelty of their fate, or, indeed, worthy the name and condition of man. The principal argument made use of by the partizans of the trade, was, that the negro was no better than a species of brute, and all who were willing to consider them as men, were stigmatised as enthusiasts, and their pleadings in favour of their fellow creatures set down as mere cant and jargon. Another prominent argument used to defend this sort of dealing in human flesh, was the assertion, that the African was, by nature, incapable of civilization, and merely on a level with the brute. Such is the assertion which Mr. Long has deliberately placed in his *History of Jamaica*. He had said, that the blacks had no moral sentiment, no feelings of the beauties of nature, and that “an Ouran Outang husband would not disgrace a negro woman!” Such were the assertions in books that were called histories; but they were assertions most opposite to the fact. When, indeed, they were obliged to shelter themselves in the woods, and morasses, from our violence and cruelty, it was not to be expected, that their villages were to be built in the most beautiful situations. At the first discovery of America, the Europeans were unwilling to acknowledge the Americans to be men; but the pope, in the year 1537, issued a bull, in which he acknowledged the Ameri-

cans to be real men, and admitted them to the privileges of such! Our historians appear now to entertain the same doubt about the Africans. In St. Domingo, however, they have lately shewn, that they are not only men, but men who are capable of courage, discipline, and resolution, and not to be conquered in war, even by the most warlike Europeans. It has been often known, and is mentioned by the French voyagers, that, when an African prince cannot make a sufficient number of prisoners, from his enemies, to satisfy the demands of the European merchants, he will make no scruple of selling his own subjects. In Africa, slavery was quite mild, in comparison of what it was in the West-Indies. It was not easy, in Africa, to distinguish the slave from the master, as both enjoyed nearly the same comforts. As to the arguments that were attempted to be drawn from scripture, in support of the slave trade, he considered them as most profane; and that it was abominable to say, that religion countenanced such inhumanities as had been proved to proceed from its practice. The theories in support of these cruelties had been found fallacious; for, though it had been formerly contended, by the body of West-India planters, that regulating the manner of carrying over the slaves, would transfer the trade to other countries, experience shewed, that, after these regulations had been enacted, the trade, so far from being ruined, or transferred to other countries, was positively increased; so that those who were so completely wrong, in their former calculations, might equally be wrong in the clamour, they would probably raise, against the bill he should propose



pose. He could not, however, allow it to be said, that experience justified the necessity of this cruelty, as, in the instance which he had mentioned, it had been fully proved, that the cruelties practised in the middle passage, were contrary even to the interests of the West-India planters, and slave importers. If it were attempted to be said, that this trade gave us a great number of seamen, he should prove, on the contrary, that it was more destructive to the lives of our seamen, than any other in which this country was engaged. As to the ill-treatment of the slaves in the West-Indies, he thought it was sufficiently proved, by the necessity of continual importations. In every part of the world, excepting our West-India islands, slaves multiplied, in the natural way, instead of diminishing their numbers. Malouet, the French author, who was forced, by order of the first consul, to write in defence of slavery, was obliged to confess, that, since the revolution, the decrease of negro population was less, on account of the pregnant women being allowed more rest, and the working men not so much confined to labour. In America, instead of decrease, there was a positive increase of the negroes, without recurring to importation. Since he had moved this question, in 1792, there had been no fewer than 300,000 Africans imported into our West-Indies, 140,000 of whom were for Jamaica alone. This would be sufficient to shew the dreadful mortality among our slaves, whereas, all over the rest of the world, the human race is increasing even in slavery. He said, that he had, hitherto, been supported in his exertions, by almost every man of dis-

tinguished talents, and virtue, in the country; and he now called upon the Irish members, who were added to the house since the business had been last agitated, to display that benevolence and generosity which were supposed to mark the Irish character. He concluded, by moving "for a committee," to consider the propriety of introducing a bill for the abolition of the slave trade, "after a time to be limited."

Mr. Fuller contended, that the situation of the slaves, in the West-Indies, was better than that of the labouring poor in this country; they were better lodged and fed, and their labour was lighter. He insisted, that the tyranny of the native princes in Africa was much more galling than that of the slave owners in the West-Indies. He asserted, that the cause of the necessity of fresh importations continually, was, that it was impossible to keep up the stock in the natural way, on account of the scarcity of females.

Mr. Barham supported the motion, but, at the same time, was able to state, from his personal knowledge, that the negroes were in general treated by their masters with kindness and humanity. He did not consider, that the argument, of the abolition leading to an emancipation of the slaves now in the West-Indies, had much weight, or belonged to the present question.

Mr. W. Smith complimented the last speaker, on the liberality of his sentiments, and wished, that all the other West-India merchants had conceived such enlarged and enlightened ideas, respecting their own interest. He condemned severely the slave trade, both in its principle and in its practice, and pointed out



several gross absurdities in the evidence, which was laid before the privy council, in its support.

General Tarleton vehemently opposed the motion, as one that would go to deprive the country of a valuable part of its commerce and resources.

Mr. Manning moved, that the other orders of the day be read, as he conceived it contrary to justice, to admit a motion which attacked private property, without declaring, at the same time, that a full indemnity should be given for every pecuniary loss that might be sustained by its adoption.

Mr. Addington considered the question of abolition to be rather a question of practicability, than a question of expediency. He considered, that it would be, at present, entirely impracticable to carry into execution a bill founded on such resolutions as Mr. Wilberforce had described. He should, therefore, oppose the motion.

The chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Pitt) declared, that, if the question was for the immediate abolition, it should have his support, as he thought, the first moment for suppressing that inhuman traffic was the best. He should, however, give his support to any measure that went even to a gradual abolition. As to what was said by the last speaker, about the practicability of even a gradual abolition, as that honourable gentlemen (Mr. Addington) had assigned no reason for his opinion, it was not necessary for him to repeat the reasons that had been adduced, to shew that it was practicable.

Mr. Fox was surprised, that, so many years after it had been resolved, that it should be abolished, we were now arguing, whether it

were practicable to abolish it or not! He considered, that the honour and character of the nation, as well as the consistency of parliament, were pledged on the carrying into effect the resolution of 1792. The acquisition, of Trinidad, made the present time the most proper for the abolition; as, if it were allowed, that the trade was in itself an evil, which ought not to be permitted to exist, it was more peculiarly necessary to interfere, when that evil was likely to be extended. After the solemn resolution, for the abolition of the slave trade, it would appear, to all Europe, that we only loved talking about morality, humanity, and justice, if we hesitated to carry it into effect.

After some farther conversation, the house divided, when Mr. Wilberforce's motion, for a committee, was carried by a majority of 75, the noes being 49.

On the 5th of June, the chancellor of the exchequer (Mr. Pitt.) brought forward his plan for the military defence of the country.—He began, by stating, that he felt considerable pleasure, in finding that the house was almost unanimously agreed, that it was, at present, a matter of the first necessity, to consider the means of providing not only for our internal security, but for the increasing our regular army, and gaining such a disposable force as would enable us to interfere with effect, in case any favourable opportunities should occur on the continent of Europe. The first object of his plan was, to remove the difficulties which now stand in the way of recruiting for the regular army, by destroying the competition which exists between those who recruit for limited serve, and those who



who recruit for general service. The enormous bounties which grew out of this competition, were among the greatest obstacles to the increase of the regular army. Besides the removing those obstacles, he intended to propose, that an additional force should be created, for the permanent increase of our regular army: he also wished, that this additional force should be of such a nature and quality, as would render the troops of the line more disposable. There was, at present, a deficiency of 9,000 in the number appointed to be raised under the army of reserve bill. It should be his first object to complete that number. His next would be, to reduce the militia to its ancient establishment of 40,000 for England, and 8,000 for Scotland. The remainder, and what is now deficient of the number voted, he would wish to be transferred to the additional force. This, he conceived, would lay a foundation for a permanent establishment, which would yield 12,000 recruits annually to the regular army. He did not dispute the policy of the army of reserve, as a temporary measure, but he wished to preserve the advantages of it, as a permanent means of recruiting the army. The disadvantages of the army of reserve act, at present, were, that its penalties induced such high bounties to be given for substitutes, as interfered materially with the increase of the regular army. He, therefore, wished to make the ballot less burdensome on individuals; and both to encourage and oblige the parishes to find the number of men that was assigned as their proportion. If the parishes failed, he wished to impose on them a certain and moderate fine, which was to go

into the general recruiting fund.— This force he would wish to be raised for five years, and not to be liable to be called out for foreign service, but to serve both as an auxiliary force, to assist the regular army, and to form a stock from which the army could be recruited; he wished it to be joined to the regular army, in the way of second battalions.— He considered, that the intercourse arising from such a connexion must induce a considerable number of them to volunteer for the regular army. After dwelling at great length upon the general principle of the plan he proposed, and on its different details, he concluded, by moving for leave to bring in a bill, for the creation of “an additional force,” for the defence of the realm.

Mr. Windham agreed in the general principles laid down by the right honourable member; but he thought the plan, although in many respects superior, still bore too strong a resemblance to the system hitherto pursued. He then proceeded to state, shortly, his fundamental objections to some of the parts of this plan. He considered, that there was, in the present measure, an injudicious mixture of voluntary and compulsory service, which was the principal objection he had to the army of reserve. The danger was not now so imminent as to require compulsory levies; and we had sufficient leisure to consider what measures should permanently be adopted. Under arbitrary governments, such as Turkey, Russia, Prussia, or France, compulsory levies are the simplest and most efficacious mode of recruiting; but in a free country, like this, it is not practicable, without



so many restrictions, and modifications, that half the power of the machine is lost in overcoming the friction. In this country, therefore, the service should be voluntary. Although it would undoubtedly happen, that many who entered in the force for home service, might, by acquiring military habits, be persuaded to enter for general service, yet it was likely, that there would be as many who would have otherwise entered for general service, finding another force for home service only, and for a short term of years, would prefer entering into that. Although he approved of the removal of the ballot, so far as it was oppressive to individuals ; yet, he thought the proposed mode of recruiting, by parish officers, for this additional force, might operate full as strongly against the recruiting for the general service, by a competition of bounties. He knew no legal mode that the parish officers had, to find the men ; and he thought that they must have recourse to crimping and high bounties. He did not believe, that the attaching battalions of men, so raised, to regular battalions, would be any encouragement to them to enlist, as it confined them to the one battalion to which they were attached. He did not think the way to have a military nation was to make every man a soldier, but rather to have the regular armies on the best possible footing.— He was perfectly certain, that if discouragements were removed, our army would always find plenty of recruits. We had a vast population ; and as for trade, he was convinced it was favourable to recruiting. He thought, upon the whole, the great error of the plan was, in taking cir-

cuitous modes to effect what might be done directly.

Mr. Johnstone said, the plan was nothing more than the carrying into effect the ideas of the late administration, which had been so often accused of inefficiency.

Mr. Addington objected to the plan, as being of a compulsory nature, and unfit for a country that had a free constitution. He could not approve of the reduction of the militia, unless something more effectual could be found in its place.— The plan appeared to him, like that of the “ quota ” bill, in the last war, which put the nation to great expence, without producing any beneficial object.

Lord Castlereagh supported the plan, which he could by no means consider as a measure of severity.

Mr. Fox would not oppose the bringing in the bill, although he could not bring himself to approve of the plan proposed. He disapproved entirely of the principle of creating a limited force, for the purpose of recruiting a general one : neither did he approve of those artifices, by which those who had enlisted for limited service, were to be enticed to serve in the regular army. If, however, the house should consider the bill as likely to be productive of any good, the sooner it was passed the better.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer, (Mr. Pitt,) in his reply, declared, that his opinion was decidedly opposite to that of the honourable gentleman, who objected to the principle of a limited force being made the foundation of a general one. As to the suggestion, that had often been thrown out, of altering the term of service, there was



no indisposition in ministers to adopt it, if it should be the opinion of the first military characters, that, in the peculiar circumstances of this country, the measure was adviseable.—He denied that there was any severity of compulsion in the plan he had proposed: and after replying to several objections of different gentlemen on the other side, he observed that they differed so much from one another, that, instead of annoying him, they only hurt each other, by their cross-firing.

Leave was then given, and the bill was brought in and read a first time.

On the 6th of June, Mr. Whitbread, according to notice, made a motion for papers, in order to give the house information respecting the conduct of the lord advocate of Scotland towards a Mr. Morrison, a farmer in Bamffshire. The lord advocate had, from his official situation, a very great power in Scotland, and that power he had exercised violently, if not tyrannically. It was the bounden duty of parliament to take care that public authority should not be abused, and to petition his majesty to remove those who exercised it an arbitrary and tyrannical manner. The transaction which he had to state was this:—Morrison had a servant who, contrary to his desire, joined the volunteers, for which he discharged him. The servant laid a case before the lord advocate, who in his legal opinion stated, “however oppressive and unprincipled the conduct of Morrison may have been.” The lord advocate then wrote a letter to the sheriff depute of Bamff, stating “the conduct of Morrison to be most atrocious;” he exhorted every one around him

to treat him with contempt and scorn, and to have no dealings with him. He went on to direct the sheriff, in case of an invasion, to arrest and imprison Morrison; and he desired that he (the sheriff) should do all in his power to prevent Morrison obtaining any compensation, in case his property was pillaged by the enemy, or taken by the king’s troops.” After dwelling forcibly on the tyrannical conduct of the lord advocate, in this respect, he concluded, by moving for a copy of the public records of the county of Bamff, containing that letter.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer did not oppose the motion, but hoped the house would come entirely unprejudiced to the consideration of the question, which he allowed to be of great importance. He thought, that if the motives of the lord advocate were considered, and that if it appeared, that his conduct proceeded from pure zeal, acting upon an ardent mind, in a critical period: if his motives of action entirely proceeded from that ardour of mind, this particular case ought not to be too much dwelt on, nor should the house be too eager to condemn him. He had proved himself an ornament to the public office he held, to his country, and to his friends.

Mr. Fox sincerely hoped, that when the day of discussion should arrive, the lord advocate would be able to make a much better defence for himself, than the right honourable gentleman had made for him. He hoped he would have a better defence than merely to say, that his conduct proceeded from the impulse of a zealous and ardent mind, acting, in critical times, contrary to the law. It was strange, that this new doctrine



doctrine should be broached in that house (which had so often heard complaints of the extravagancies, and atrocities, which marked the different stages of the French revolution) that, whatever was done from the impulse of ardent minds, was to be excused!

The motion was then agreed to.

On the next day, sir James Stewart presented a petition from a Mr. Hart, against Mr. justice Fox, one of the Irish judges. The petitioner was a gentleman of considerable estates, in the counties of Donnegall, and Londonderry, and had frequently served as one of the grand jurors for the said counties. On his giving testimony in support of the character of a person indicted, justice Fox had charged the jury, “but who, gentlemen, will give a character of this Mr. Hart, degraded and disgraced as he was, by this transaction, which must entail eternal infamy and shame upon his posterity?” The petitioner further stated, that Mr. justice Fox, had had him arrested, on an information drawn up under his own special direction; that he ordered him into the dock, and having him placed in the situation where condemned felons are brought up for judgment, he asked him, “What he had to say?” That, afterwards, he procured a bill of indictment to be sent up against the petitioner, which the grand jury threw out; that the petitioner conceived, that the rights of the subjects of this realm were grossly and wantonly violated in his person, by Mr. justice Fox; and that he had no redress but by application to parliament.

The petition was then ordered to lie on the table.

On the 7th of June, Mr. Wilberforce's bill for the abolition of the slave trade, was read a second time, after a long discussion.

Lord Temple opposed the bill *in toto*. He thought the emancipation of the negroes, in the West Indies, must, upon the same principles, follow, immediately, the abolition of the trade; and, in such case, he conceived, that the passing this bill would be sealing the death warrant of every white person in those islands.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Pitt) denied, that an immediate emancipation of the negroes was the necessary consequence of abolishing the trade. It was, however, one of the first consequences to be expected, that the situation of those, who are actually slaves, would be much ameliorated; and that, in time, they might be brought to that degree of improvement, as to be fit for a condition of much less rigour, than they are now exposed to. He then, most ably, pointed out the advantages which would result to the planters themselves, from improving the condition of their slaves. Besides, it was evident, that the danger of the West Indies was increased by the prodigious increase of the number of slaves, and the planters themselves are coming, year after year, to parliament, for relief, from the consequences of their own conduct, in raising more sugar than they could find purchasers for all over the world. To continue, and extend the trade, would be to extend those evils and dangers. He then pointed at the danger to which our islands were exposed from the emissaries of the blacks in St. Domingo, and concluded by contend-

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ing, that if we were to abandon the trade, there was no other country that had the capital, or the means, of taking it up.

Lord Castlereagh, thought it was in vain to argue it as a question of humanity, but rather as one of practicability. Unless we could find out a mode, in which other powers would engage to co-operate with us, he thought the measure would do infinitely more harm than good in every point of view in which it could be taken.

Mr. Fox, thought the abolition was certainly practicable, if parliament chose to enact the measure. He did consider it as a question of humanity, justice, and morality; and thought it was most disgraceful to this country, that we should visit Africa for the purpose of adding oppression, and aggravating the miseries of slavery, to all those whom we should find already oppressed and enslaved.

Mr. Windham opposed the bill, from fearing, that other nations would take up the trade.

He was replied to by Mr. Whitbread and Mr. Wilberforce.

Upon the division, the question of the second reading was carried by a majority of 58; the ayes being 100, and the noes 42.

On the next day, upon the question of the second reading "the additional force" bill, (Mr. Pitt's),

Colonel Calcraft was surprised, that the right honourable gentleman, who had talked so much about vigour and energy, should have produced a plan in which there appeared so little of either quality. By removing the ballot, he had taken away the only means there was of raising men with expedition and effect. The mode of officering was

extremely unjust, for, as it was proposed, that the senior officers in the second battalion, should be promoted to the vacancies in the first, it would often happen, that when the first battalions had been bravely serving abroad, their officers would find their chance of promotion taken from them by others who had been living comfortably at home. He then suggested, that if the West India service was a separate establishment, the public force might be very rapidly increased.

Mr. Yorke declared, that, in his opposition to this measure, he should abstain from any thing like a factious opposition; he could not see how, at present, it was possible, without a ballot, to afford a regular supply of recruits to the army. In all the military countries of Europe, compulsory modes of recruiting were resorted to, and it appeared to him impossible to raise sufficient armies without having recourse to some degree of compulsion. The principle of the ballot had been the foundation of the militia, which was always considered as a constitutional force; and, therefore, was that sort of compulsion which was recognised as legal and constitutional. We had now 500,000 men in arms; if they were not sufficient to defend the country, it was not worth defending: the grand object, at present, therefore, was to increase the regular disposable force. The former administration had presented a plan for forming second battalions, and raising ten new battalions in Ireland and Scotland. Those plans, he supposed, were now to be abandoned, and it did not appear to him, that the present bill was likely to produce the object so much desired, of  
speedily



speedily augmenting the regular army. He, therefore, opposed the second reading.

Mr. Sturgess Browne supported the bill, upon nearly the same grounds with the chancellor of the exchequer.

Mr. Bastard felt a considerable deal of constitutional jealousy, of a measure, which, like this, professed to be permanent. He preferred much, the constitutional defence of the militia, to this new force, which was to be put in its place. He liked a defensive force, commanded by the independent gentlemen of the country, better than a force commanded by officers, serving merely for pay. He thought he could see as much tardiness and inefficiency in the present ministers, as they had themselves imputed to their predecessors.

Mr. Bankes supported the bill, and particularly rejoiced, that the odious and oppressive principle of the ballot was to be done away.

Mr. Atkins Wright disapproved of making the parish officers recruiting serjeants, and of the circuitous way of raising one kind of force, in order to get another of a different description.

Mr. Ellison and colonel Mitford opposed the bill, and sir John Wrottesly supported it. After several other gentlemen had shortly delivered their opinions,

Mr. Windham replied, to the arguments of the different members who had upheld the measure. He denied that the principle of compulsion was excluded from the present bill, for the fines upon the parishes acted as a screw, to force them to proper exertions, and to punish them, if their exertions proved not to be successful. When he was called upon for his plan, he should

again repeat, that his plan was merely to get rid of the evils and obstacles that now stand in the way of recruiting for the regular army; and he was convinced that then we should never want soldiers. He entirely disapproved of the motion of this limited force. He thought, that to make a military nation, all military decorations, honours, and advantages, should be given exclusively to those who were to meet the dangers of war; and not to those who were to stay at home, and not see the face of an enemy. He disapproved, also, of those second battalions being formed, merely for the purpose of recruiting the first, or of the electioneering sort of discipline that must be used in those battalions, that are raised for such a purpose. He had heard much of the connexion between church and state, but this plan established a new connexion between church and army, in making church wardens turn crimps, and making recruiting the subject of discussion at the parish vestry. The best way of getting a regular army was, to remove competition, to allow the soldiers more comforts, and to provide liberally for those whom wounds, or length of service, obliged to retire.—Such was the practical plan that he should propose, instead of the wild and visionary theories which had been adopted by others.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer replied, at some length, to the different objections which had been made to this bill. He expressed some surprise at the unqualified opposition given to it by Mr. Windham, when the two great objections which he had before made, namely, the ballot, and the high bounties were both, by it, completely done away. The reason of  
his



his laying aside the ballot was, that he found that of 40,000 men, raised in that manner, there were only 2000 of those who were drawn that served personally. He therefore thought it right to remove the pressure on individuals, and to distribute it equally upon the counties and parishes. He never had said, that the *quantum* of the force raised was not sufficient, he had only found fault with its distribution. He thought the only fair way to argue the merits of the plan was, to consider whether it were not preferable to the ordinary mode of recruiting. He should therefore insist, in the first place, that local exertion would powerfully assist the regular recruiting; 2ndly, experience had shewn, that men were much readier to enter into a limited service, and afterwards were easily induced to extend it; and lastly, that volunteers coming from such a force, must be allowed to be much more efficient, than those who were taken directly from the loom or the plough. He defended the mode of officering, as that, which would be the most likely to procure good officers for the new levies, which was, in his opinion, a point of the very first importance.

Mr. Fox, thought the balance of argument entirely against the bill: he was surprised that it was now objected to those who opposed it, that they had produced no specific plan. It was but a few weeks since he moved for a committee of the whole house, to consider the measures necessary for the defence of the country, and then the right honourable gentlemen (Mr. Pitt), approved of his motion, because it contained no specific plan, but left the measure to the united wisdom

of the house. If the danger were imminent, it appeared a matter of more urgency to arm the maritime counties, and improve the discipline of the volunteers. He found fault with the measure as not being likely to operate soon, and as being full of objections, if it were considered a permanent measure. He never could approve of the principle of raising men for one kind of service, and thereby inveigling them for another. He thought, that this conduct was a downright fraud, and a disgrace to the country which practised it. As to the officering, he doubted whether good officers could be had for such a force; but he very much feared, that, in the end, it would be officered by men, who had no other connexion with the country than their commissions. He entirely concurred in the opinion of Mr. Windham, that the best plan would be, to remove all obstacles, and give the general recruiting fair play. The house then divided.

For the second reading	221
Against it	181

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Majority for the bill 40

The "additional force bill" was again debated on the 11th of June, on the house going into a committee.

Mr. Jekyll opposed the committee. Instead of a vigorous and efficient plan, as he had reason to expect from the great talents of the right honourable gentleman, he saw one in which there was no novelty, except in making the parish officers recruiting serjeants. He opposed it principally on the ground, that it would diminish materially the volunteer force, as those who had entered on account of the exemp-

tions



tions would now retire; and the real patriotic volunteers would find themselves charged as well as others for this new force.

Mr. Peter Moore knew of no measure in the history of the country similar to this, except one, which was proposed by James the second to his parliament, for increasing the standing army. Our ancestors, however, disclaimed the justice of his majesty's proposition, and refused to grant it. He objected therefore, on constitutional grounds, to a large permanent standing army, officered by the crown.

Mr. M'Naghten saw no similarity between the time of James the second and the present. Whatever danger there might formerly be supposed to be in standing armies, they were now necessary to defend the constitution and the country from an upstart usurper. The annual mutiny bill was sufficient to put a stop to such a force when it was no longer necessary.

Colonel Crawford opposed the bill. He thought it was neither one which could speedily increase our defensive or our offensive force. Although it profest to be a permanent measure, it would be so slow in its operation, as to be hardly applicable to the present war. He did not believe, that it would add a single man to the army, who could not be got as easily without such a bill. He rejoiced, that the ballot was done away, but he must recollect that it was from the suggestions of his right honourable friend (Mr. Windham), that Mr. Pitt had been induced to abandon it. The present plan was vexatious and oppressive, although not to such a degree as the ballot had been. He was convinced, that if

government would listen to the other suggestions of Mr. Windham, respecting the removal of competition, the enlisting for a term of years, and improving the condition of the soldiers, there would be no occasion for any compulsion to be used in this country, to procure regular troops. He considered this plan as neither one thing nor the other. There was compulsion enough in it to be vexatious to the parishes, but not enough to get men: nor was there any additional inducement held forth to encourage voluntary services. As to training and arraying the nation, so that it should be able to act immediately, in case of invasion; in such a case, he thought compulsion might be fairly used: but as to the permanent means of recruiting our regular army, he thought no degree of compulsion should be hazarded, at least until it had been fairly tried what could be done by encouraging voluntary enlisting. As to the principle that men could be easier got to enlist from limited service into the regulars, he would not admit it. The 13,000 men who enlisted immediately from the army of reserve would probably have gone into the regular army without it, and only entered the army of reserve in order to get the bounties that were then given. He thought the taking away the power of chusing the regiment into which they would enlist, would prevent the enlisting much more, than the attaching this new force to particular battalions would tend to promote it. He concluded by pressing strongly the exempting the regular troops from West India service, and contended for the adoption of the suggestions that had been frequently made on that side of the house, for  
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the purpose of bettering the condition of the soldier.

After several other members had shortly given their opinions, the house divided upon the propriety of going into a committee on the bill. The ayes were 219, the noes 169—majority 50.

On the next day Mr. Wilberforce moved that the house should go into a committee upon the slave trade.

Mr. Fuller objected strongly to the principle of the bill, and denied that the slaves were treated badly in the West Indies. He quoted Mr. Park's book, to prove that slavery had been very long established in Africa, and that the African princes had a right to transport out of their country persons convicted of crimes.

The bill was supported by Mr. Francis, Mr. Barham, and Mr. Somers Coxe; and opposed by Mr. Brooke, Mr. Ellis, Mr. Dent, and Mr. Deverell.

Mr. Wilberforce replied to the various objections that had been made to the bill. He cited a number of authorities, to prove that the situation of the blacks in Africa was as he had before stated; and he had the testimony of Mr. King, the late American ambassador, (one of the worthiest men living,) to prove that the negroes increased in America, so as to hold out a fair prospect of doubling their population in twenty-five years.—As it had been proved that, in other hot countries, the slaves increased their population, there was no good reason to be assigned why it was only in our islands they should diminish.

After some observations from sir William Young, against the bill, and of Mr. William Smith, in favour

of it, the house adopted the motion for going into a committee, by a majority of 79 to 20.

On the 14th of June, the additional force bill was recommitted, and some amendments agreed to in the committee.

On the following day, upon the motion for the amendments being read a second time,

Mr. Peter Moore objected to the principle of the bill, which went to keep up a large permanent standing army. He thought that if ministers would treat the Irish people as they ought to do, they might bring over to this country, a great part of the army which is now kept as sentinels upon that country.

Mr. Denis Browne denied that the army in Ireland were kept as sentinels upon the people, and asserted that the disposition of the Irish had completely changed, and that they were now warmly attached to the government.

On a division, there were 69 against reading the amendments a second time, and 63 for it, being a majority of 6 against the government.

The proceedings of this night bore a very singular appearance. The ministers' friends, not having calculated on opposition, did not come down to the house early, and, for the beginning of the evening, the opposition, as we have seen, wore the majority. On Mr. Grey, immediately after the division, moving, that the amendments should be read a second time on that day three months, the supporters of the ministers made long and elaborate speeches, to which the members of the opposition made no reply, but by calling loudly for the question. As the evident object of the friends



of administration was merely to gain time, to get together the ministerial voters, it is unnecessary to detail their speeches. By the latter end of the evening, however, a ministerial majority was collected, and Mr. Grey's motion negatived by 214 to 185, being a majority of barely 29 in favour of ministers.

On the 18th the amendments were read a third time, and another debate took place upon the question, "that the bill, with its amendments, be engrossed."

Mr. Elliot objected to the measure, both in its principles, and from the difficulty of its execution. He thought one of these three things must happen, if the men were to be had under it;—either the parish officers must employ crimps, or they must use oppressive means of obliging men to enlist, or else the whole plan would turn out to be only a parochial tax. He considered, that the surest means of immediately reinforcing the regular army, were by the mode of recruiting proposed by Mr. Windham. General Maitland opposed the bill, and suggested the propriety of giving larger pay to the soldiers who were employed for general service, than was given to those upon limited service.

General Gascoigne warmly supported the bill.

Mr. Canning considered the plan as the best that had hitherto been proposed, both for keeping up an army in time of war, and in time of peace. He said, the opposers of the bill were so divided in their opinions about the best mode of increasing the army, that though they might agree in their votes, they would disagree in the lobby. As to the formation of the present administration, he confessed that he

was as much disappointed as any man, but did not think he ought to relinquish the part he was called upon to act, merely because it was an arduous one. The principal points in which he had complained of the late administration had been changed.

Mr. Addington observed, that when Mr. Pitt first proposed his plan, the ballot was to have been retained; but, that since that time, he had been induced to abandon it: all he should say upon that point, was, that it was only a change from a measure of rigour, to a measure of inefficiency. He could not but look with constitutional jealousy on so large a force, that was not under the direct control of parliament. It had been his object to draw forward as much efficient strength as possible, without entirely altering the domestic habits of the people. He considered the militia as our constitutional force, and therefore he objected to its being reduced. He always thought that it should be increased in the same proportion that the regular army was increased. For home defence he should prefer the old militia, to the force now proposed. He, therefore, decidedly disapproved of the bill.

Mr. Sheridan, considered the argument of the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Addington) as clear and conclusive on the constitutional ground. He thought that gentleman's entering into office, was a sacrifice, and that his retirement was a triumph. His opposition to the minister, on this business, was manly and constitutional, and he had given him no insidious promises of assistance and support. He thought the manner of his retiring from office, did him much honour. When

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he found himself opposed, by a very formidable majority, he thought it right to quit the helm, and he wished the present minister would act in the same manner, now he found that his majorities were still smaller. Mr. S. here entered, at considerable length, and with much pointed sarcasm, on the composition of the present administration. As to this plan, which was expected to have come forth as an armed Minerva from the head of this great political Jupiter, we found it, on the contrary, to be a little puny, ricketty bantling, which, though sent to the parish nurse, had not the *stamina* to arrive at manhood. The man that had produced it, was always vaunting, gigantic in promises, and trifling and miserable in performance. The object of the bill was merely taxation, for it was ridiculous to suppose it could produce men. He objected to a great increase of the regular army, because large armies were always found destructive to civil liberty; but, he approved of arming the people, because there was no instance of an armed people acting as *felo de se* to the destruction of their own liberties. In this country, the rights of the people were to be attended to, as much as the defence of the country.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Pitt) said, the question might be resolved into these two heads: 1st, whether we had a regular army sufficient, under all the circumstances in which we are placed; and, 2dly, whether the present measure is not the best for supplying the deficiency? As to the first, it was universally admitted, that our regular army was not sufficient. As to the second head, he must ob-

serve, that he could not conceive that it was at all unconstitutional to keep up, in time of war, and with the consent of parliament, whatever description of force might be considered most necessary for the defence of the country. This was a force, which would be no expence in peace, and which might be speedily brought forward upon any emergency. There was, certainly, no idea of keeping this force embodied in time of peace. He was sure, that no better mode of recruiting the regular army had, as yet, been pointed out; and, he really believed, none better could be pointed out. As to the *hint*, that had been kindly given to him to resign, it was not *broad* enough for him to take it. If even the present bill was lost, he should regret it, as he considered it would be the loss of a measure likely to contribute a great deal to the public advantage. But, even in that case, he should not consider it his duty to resign. His majesty had, undoubtedly, the prerogative of choosing his own servants, and it was now too evident, that the wish for a change of ministers, had a great effect in the opposition to the present measure. He was a little surprised at meeting such decided opposition from many, with whom he had been in the habits of cordially uniting for such a length of time. He was surprised, that a noble lord (lord Temple) and his friends, who once were so partial to him, as to say, "that if he were once admitted into administration, their fears for the public safety would be considerably abated," should now consider it their duty to withhold their services from the public, on account of the ex-



clusion of Mr. Fox, with whom they had been so little in the habit of coinciding.

Mr. Fox said, that whatever personalities had been brought forward in this debate, were introduced by the right honourable gentleman, and by his friend, who sat near him (Mr. Canning). As to the principle, that his majesty had the undoubted prerogative of choosing his own ministers, it was universally allowed; but, it must also be granted, that the house of commons had a right to conduct itself in such a manner as to convince his majesty, that he ought to remove those ministers who did not possess its confidence. He thought it an indecent observation of the right hon. gentleman to say, "that if they threw out his bill, they should not get rid of him so easily." As to the bill, he thought it was bad in itself, as being both oppressive and inefficient. He also opposed it for another reason, because he thought much better measures had been often recommended by his right honourable friend (Mr. Windham). He thought it ridiculous to fine the parishes, for not raising men, at a bounty that it was impossible to get them for. He doubted, very much, whether it was possible to carry into execution, a project contrary to the opinion of the country, and those who were to carry it into effect.

The house then divided upon the question for engrossing the bill, which was carried by a majority of 42, the noes being 223.

On the next day, upon the question for the third reading,

Mr. T. Grenville, (who was not in the house on the preceding day) took this opportunity of vindicating himself, and those with whom he

was most closely connected, from the inconsistent conduct that had been imputed to them by his right honourable relation, (Mr. Pitt). They never did take such a view of the situation of the country, as to suppose, that the accession of any one individual, whatever might be his abilities or talents, would be sufficient to work out the salvation of the country. He thought, in the present times, a broad and comprehensive administration ought to have been formed, and, however highly he respected the talents of his honourable relation, (Mr. Pitt) it was with pain and regret he saw him in the situation he now held.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer said, he understood, that the noble lord (lord Temple) had, on a former occasion, declared for himself and his friends, that if he (Mr. Pitt) was put at the head of the administration, their fears for the public safety would vanish. The expression was, indeed, so flattering to him, and perhaps so unmerited, that, certainly, they must be at liberty to recal it, or explain it as they thought proper; but, as he had understood them in that manner, it was a great surprise to him, to find them commence a systematic opposition, from the moment his majesty had placed him at the head of the administration.

Earl Temple, utterly denied having ever used such an expression, and said, that however highly he might value the talents of the right honourable gentleman, yet, certainly, he could never conceive, that the accession of one individual could make a good administration, of that which he had so long opposed.

Mr. Windham observed, there were

were different modes of construction adopted in different cases ; penal statutes were always construed strictly, but he did not think, that the same rule of construction applied to compliments and effusions of friendship. In considering a military measure, it was necessary to have our whole military system in one view. He was, therefore, surprised, that no mention should have been made of the volunteers upon the present occasion. It was evident, that although many of the volunteers had enrolled themselves as such, purely from patriotic motives, yet, many others had entered on account of the exemptions. This measure would set those men entirely free, and the volunteer force would be sensibly diminished. The exemption which the volunteers had hitherto as a privilege, was now extended to every body. This most material change had been made in the plan without giving any notice. When he was asked, what plan he

would propose in the place of it, he must observe, that every thing that was valuable in the plan, was taken from those ideas which he and his friends had so often suggested ; but those ideas had been spoiled by the honourable gentleman, in his manner of using them. He must always contend, that there was nothing more injurious to the military spirit of the country, than keeping up a great home army, which was to have all the distinction of real soldiers, without sharing any of the dangers of the profession. As to the comparison which had been made between this measure and the army of reserve, the real difference was, that the latter professed to be only a temporary expedient, whereas the measure now proposed, was announced as permanent.

The sense of the house having been taken on the preceding night, there was no division upon this question, and the bill was read a third time, and at length passed.

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CHAP.



## C H A P. VII.

*Parliamentary Proceedings continued and concluded—Debates in the House of Lords on “the Additional Force Bill”—carried by a considerable Majority.—Corn Trade Bill—Charge on the Lord Advocate of Scotland—Proceedings on the Petitions against Judge Fox—Stamp Duty Bill—India Budget—Aylesbury Election Bill—Speaker’s Address to the Throne—His Majesty’s Speech—Close of the Session.*

ON the 25th of June earl Camden brought “the additional force bill” forward, in the house of lords: he stated, that it had been found that the army of reserve bill had failed in its operation, and interfered considerably with the regular army. The object of the present bill, therefore, was to provide such a force as should not interfere with, but, on the contrary, promote the recruiting for the regulars.

The duke of Clarence conceived, that some very strong reasons ought to be assigned, for the introduction of a bill of so novel and extraordinary a nature; and, that the mere *ipse-dixit* of a chancellor of the exchequer was not sufficient. After commenting on several of the clauses of the bill, he declared his general opinion, that it would be found nugatory and vexatious: he therefore should vote against it.

Lord Spencer also opposed the bill: there were some parts, however, to which he entirely agreed. He approved of the reducing the militia to its original establishment; he also approved of the removal of the ballot; and the high bounties; but he disapproved of the complicated machinery of the bill, which, he thought, must render it ineffi-

ent. The object was professed to be, to raise men; and he was convinced, the effect of it would be only to raise money by the fines upon the parishes. The tax that would be so imposed, would fall most unequally upon the proprietors of lands and houses, instead of being raised in the regular way, from the general revenues of the country.

The duke of Montrose defended the bill, which he said was likely to raise a considerable number of men, and to forward considerably that object which was so much desired, namely, the increase of the regular army. If the objection that noble lords had, were to the ministers who proposed the bill, he would much rather see them come forward directly, and move for an address to his majesty, to remove them.

The earl of Caernarvon insisted, that the bill could not succeed in raising men, as there were none to be got, at the small bounties it offered: he thought it must turn out merely an oppressive parochial tax. Many rich men, who were now obliged to find substitutes for the militia, would be entirely exempt from any share of the expence of the present levy. He considered the bill as unconstitutional and oppressive,



sive, and, therefore, felt himself obliged to oppose it.

Lord Mulgrave contended that this bill was much less oppressive than the system of raising men by ballot, which it destroyed; and that it was likely to produce the objects it professed. He was as sorry as any man, that such an administration could not be formed as had been expected, but that was no objection to the present bill.

The earl of Moira said, it was almost universally allowed that the measure now proposed fell infinitely short of what had been generally expected, and which, in the present circumstances, appeared to be necessary. On the very face of the bill, it appeared that the measure was likely to be so very slow in its operation, as not to raise any considerable reinforcements for our regular army, for a length of time; and yet it was an object of the first importance, that they should be raised without delay. Until we had a regular force fit to enter into the field, we could not expect any interference or co-operation of the continental powers in our behalf.—It was because the bill did not go to the speedy creation of a disposable force, that he should find it his duty to oppose it. It was his decided opinion, that the recruiting service of this country could never go on with proper spirit, while the custom prevailed of enlisting men for life. His lordship, in the course of his speech, took an opportunity of paying a high compliment to the volunteers of Scotland, who were men whom he would be proud to lead against any enemy, with the fullest confidence of success.

Lord Melville strongly supported the principle of raising men first for

a limited service, in order to tempt them afterwards to enter into general service. He said, that experience had always shewn the case of prevailing on men to extend their services. If the present bill only assembled a considerable force for home defence, it would do a great deal; but there could be little doubt that, when the men were collected, many of them would enter for general service.

The duke of Richmond thought the measure much too feeble to oppose so mighty a danger as threatened us from our Gallic foe, who had an army of 400,000 regulars under his command, and an immense population of fifty millions to recruit from.

The earl of Limerick complained of the noble duke, for over-rating the power and resources of the enemy, and under-rating that of his own country. The population of France was well known not to be fifty millions, nor any thing like it.

Lord Hobart opposed the bill, because he thought it went to perpetuate the principle of the army of reserve, which could only be justified as a temporary expedient.—The army of reserve was grievous, but it produced men; this would be equally grievous, and would produce none.

Lord Suffolk also opposed the bill, and thought that a large regular army, assisted by an armed population, was the only system of permanent safety for the country.

Lord Grenville disapproved highly of the reflections that were thrown out by some noble lords, on what they supposed to be the motives of those who opposed the bill: he thought that he might safely say, that he had been actuated by no



personal considerations upon a late occasion, on which he sincerely lamented that the country was disappointed in the expectation it had formed, of an administration which should unite all the distinguished talents that could be found in parliament or the empire. He objected to the bill, first, upon the ground of its going to establish a large permanent standing army in time of peace; he objected to it still more strongly, because it did not seem likely to increase our regular army as expeditiously as it might be done by other means. He was astonished that neither the present minister nor the last could, among the multitude of military plans which engaged their attention, bestow time for the consideration of that very simple plan, which had often been suggested to them, of trying the experiment of removing the obstacles and discouragements that now stand in the way of recruiting for the regular army; and change the term of service from that for life to a term of years. This plan was not the less valuable because it was simple. It appeared to him the government, of late, had shewn a sort of *mania* for manufacturing plans, where the machinery was complicated, and that they despised what was easy, simple, and natural.

Lord Hawkesbury insisted that the army of reserve, upon the principle of which the present plan was formed, was one of the wisest and most efficient measures ever adopted by parliament to meet a particular crisis. That measure had produced great benefit, but, having answered its purpose, the present bill went to retain the most essential parts of it; and instead of imposing new burthens, took away a great deal of

the heavy and unequal pressure of the former act. He considered that the force to be so raised would be preferable to the militia in some respects. It would be disposable for the defence of every part of the united kingdom, and it would be commanded by experienced officers. He could not see how this force could be considered unconstitutional; as it would be as much under the control of parliament as any other description of force that was to be kept up. As a permanent measure of security, it would in future free us from those embarrassments which we always experienced at the commencement of every new war, for want of men.

The house then divided, and there appeared, including proxies, for the bill 154, against it 69.

This was the last question during the session, in which the strength of government and opposition was tried. The remaining part of the session was principally employed upon the corn laws; the charge against the lord advocate of Scotland; and the proceedings on the case of Mr justice Fox. The India budget was also presented by lord Castlereagh, and the stamp duty bill was passed with some modifications.

The corn trade bill was introduced by Mr. Western into the lower house. He stated its object to be, to procure a fair price for corn to the grower; and for that purpose to regulate the importation and exportation. The increase of the poor rates, and of the price of all articles of life, were at present so much greater than at former periods, that it was impossible the farmer could continue to sell his corn at the same price. The bill he  
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proposed to enact, was to regulate the importation and exportation, by the average price of corn, grain, and flour, in the twelve maritime districts of England, and the four maritime districts of Scotland.

Mr. Pattison thought the great increase of the poor rates was principally owing to the allowances to the families of militia men; and that, as to the high price of provisions, he hoped that also depended upon temporary causes, which would soon be at an end. He wished both the price of labour and the price of corn to be left, in a great measure, to find their own level.

Mr. Spencer Stanhope thought the bill would fall heavily on Lancashire, and other manufacturing counties, which were accustomed to be supplied with corn from abroad. He was certain it would be better to regulate the price at which it should be exported in each district, by the average price of each district.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer replied, that, in such a case, we should be exporting from some districts, while we were importing in others. From the great facility of inland communication, by canals, Lancashire, or any other district which was deficient in corn, might be easily supplied from other parts of the country.

After a few words from some other members, the resolution was agreed to in the committee, and a bill founded on it was brought up, which, after a few observations, as it past through the different stages, was at length agreed to, and ordered to the lords.

Upon lord Hawkesbury moving the order of the day, for the second reading of the corn trade bill, in the house of lords,

Lord Stanhope rose to propose resolutions of an opposite tendency. The object of the bill, was to encourage the growth of corn by increasing the price of it. The object of his resolutions would be to produce the same effect, by decreasing the price. He thought that, as the farmers increased the price of their corn, the poor rates and the price of labour would increase in the same proportion, and neither agriculture nor the farmer would have any benefit. Whereas, by his plan, every body might be satisfied, and the country would enjoy plenty. His first resolution was for building public granaries, which, at the same time that they kept down the price of corn, would ensure a market for the farmer in years of plenty. His lordship stated the many advantages which all classes of people, in Switzerland, experienced from those public establishments. His second resolution would be to permit the free warehousing of corn, the growth of this country: and the third, that farmers should be exempt from all direct taxes, rates, cesses, dues or tithes. After expatiating a long time on the advantage of adopting such resolutions, he concluded by moving that the bill be rejected.

The duke of Montrose thought it was, in the highest degree, mischievous for the noble lord to state that this was a bill to starve the poor, when it was, in fact, a bill to prevent famine and scarcity. If all the taxes were taken from the farmers, they must immediately fall on the other classes of the community, who would be little benefited by adopting these resolutions.

The Lord Chancellor, lords Mulgrave and Hawkesbury highly condemned the resolutions moved by  
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Stanhope, with the inflammatory language in which they were introduced, and supported the original bill, which was then passed without any further opposition.

On the day appointed for the discussion of the motion respecting the lord advocate of Scotland,

Mr. Whitbread moved that the clerk should read those letters on which he founded his charge. The first was from the lord advocate to the sheriff substitute of Bamffshire, stating, "that the conduct of Morrison was most atrocious, and that every possible means ought to be taken to stigmatize him, and to punish him, by the scorn and contempt of all the respectable men in the county, who ought to enter into a resolution, to have no communication or dealings with him;" and directing the sheriff "to apprehend and imprison Morrison, upon the first landing of a Frenchman in Scotland;" and concluded, by stating "that he would do all in his power, that Morrison should receive no compensation for any property that might either be destroyed by the enemy, or the king's troops." This letter, so sent to the sheriff, was entered in the records of the county of Bamff.

Mr. Whitbread then said, that those were the letters upon which he intended to ground his accusation of the lord advocate, (Mr. Hope,) whom he was happy to see in his place; for he thought it right, in all cases, that the accused should be confronted with his accuser. It was now incumbent upon the house, to come to some decision on the subject, as, if his charge was substantiated, the people of Scotland were exposed to great oppression and injustice. The first resolution

that he should move was, that "the conduct of the lord advocate, in writing the said letters, was oppressive, illegal, and contrary to his professional duties." The lord advocate had attempted, from his own head, and without hearing the accused, to have Morrison cut off from every comfort and advantage of civilized society; in a certain case, to have him imprisoned contrary to law; and to deny him compensation for the loss of his property. The plain statement of the case was, that a servant of Morrison's had, against his consent, left his work to attend a volunteer inspection, and therefore his master discharged him, as he had a right to do: and for so discharging him, he was thus publicly calumniated and oppressed by the lord advocate. After dwelling forcibly and eloquently on the aggravated nature of the oppression, in the present case, he concluded by moving his first resolution.

The Lord Advocate of Scotland (Mr. Hope) then rose in his defence: he said, it had never before been his lot to be charged with injustice and oppression, and he was glad the charge proceeded from a gentleman who was unacquainted with him or his character. He was ready now to admit that Morrison was a person respectable in point of property, and that there was not any charge against his loyalty; but, at the time the letter was written, Scotland was in a most critical situation, left without regular troops, and the defence of the northern parts rested entirely upon the volunteers: in addition to which, an invasion was daily expected. Under such circumstances, it did appear to him a *prima facie* evidence of disloyalty, to impede the

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the volunteer service, as Morrison had done. In the case, that had been stated to him, it appeared that the servant had been so anxious to reconcile his volunteer attendance with his duty to his master, that he actually got up in the middle of the night to finish the task which had been assigned him, and offered to atone by any *extra* labour for his absence as a volunteer. Notwithstanding this, Morrison discharged him, without even paying him the wages due at the time. Such conduct, at such a period, was, in his opinion, highly suspicious. The lord advocate then stated, that the powers of his situation in Scotland were almost unlimited: the whole burden of the executive government, with its responsibility, rested upon his shoulders: that he had no malice to Morrison; but acted merely from a sense of what his duty required him to do in critical times. If in so doing, he had gone beyond the letter of the law, he relied upon the candour of the house to determine upon his real motives.

After a few observations from lord A. Hamilton, in support of Mr. Whitbread's motion,

The Attorney-General, (Mr. Percival) said, there were certainly many of the expressions in the letter which were by no means justifiable; but still, they did not lay a sufficient ground for parliamentary interference. If Morrison had really been apprehended, the law was open to him for redress; but it appeared to him, that he had acted right in choosing this mode of applying, as he was convinced a jury would have given him little or no damages. Although, as Mr. Whitbread had stated, men were not to be dragooned into being volunteers,

yet, on the other hand, they should not be dragooned out of that service. He concluded, by moving the other orders of the day.

Mr. Grey supported, at considerable length, the motion of Mr. Whitbread. He thought the house was bound to come to a decision on the case that was laid before them; and not get rid of the question in the manner that was suggested by the attorney-general.

Mr. Dallas would rather have rejected at once the motion of Mr. Whitbread: he thought the conduct of the lord-advocate justified by the circumstances; and instead of censuring him, he would be ready to support a vote of thanks for that very act.

Mr. Windham thought it absolutely necessary, that when any man was invested with such extraordinary powers as the lord advocate claimed, great care should be taken that such power was exercised with moderation and discretion. He thought there was no case that demanded parliamentary interference more, for it was ridiculous to send the weak to their actions of law, against the strong and powerful. The lord advocate himself had stated, that he was so powerful in Edinburgh, that even the life of the man would not be safe, who would charge him there with injustice or oppression. If so, it would be ridiculous to tell Mr. Morrison, that his only redress was by an action in the Scottish court of law.

Mr. Fox also contended, that it was incumbent upon parliament to interfere, and take care that no such formidable authority, as the lord advocate had described himself to be possessed of, should be used again in a similar manner. If  
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the only excuse were, that the lord advocate was a very warm man, he thought that was a very ample reason why he should not be trusted with those extraordinary powers. In the present instance, he conceived, that those powers were most grossly abused, and he should, therefore, support Mr. Whitbread's motion.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer would not undertake to justify the whole of the letter; but he would contend, that Morrison's conduct could not be justified at all, either on the ground of humanity, or of common honesty. The lord advocate was a man, who, in a high situation, had served the state with great zeal and ability for a considerable length of time; and if, as he had before said, it should appear to the house, that his conduct, on this occasion, was dictated purely by an ardent zeal for the defence of the country, in a critical period, he trusted he would experience some indulgence from the house.

The house then divided on the attorney-general's motion, for passing to the other orders of the day, and, on a division, Mr. Whitbread's motion was rejected by a majority of 77.

The proceedings respecting the Irish judge, Mr. justice Fox, also occupied some time in the discussions of this day in the house of commons.

Colonel Cole, presented a petition to the house from the persons composing a petty jury at Enniskillen, complaining of Mr. justice Fox. The petition stated, that the jurors were impannelled to try three persons on a charge of murder. Very

high rewards had been offered for the discovery of the murderers, which might have proved a temptation to false evidence, and the witnesses not having, by any means, identified the prisoners, they found them—"Not guilty:" upon which, Mr. justice Fox was so angry at their verdict, that he had their names posted up in the grand jury room, and ordered, that they should be handed down to every succeeding judge and sheriff, as persons not worthy of belief upon their oaths. The petitioners felt extremely hurt at this treatment; and, therefore, prayed for such satisfaction or reparation, as might be thought meet.

The petition was ordered to lie on the table.

On the 31st of May, the marquis of Abercorn presented, to the house of lords, a petition from Mr. Hart, similar to that which had been presented to the house of commons.

On the 21st of June, lord viscount Carlton presented a petition from Mr. justice Fox, praying, that he might have a copy of this petition of Mr. Hart, in order that he might be able to shape his defence.

The prayer of this petition was immediately allowed.

On the 27th, the marquis of Abercorn stated, that he did not think that the business could be fairly brought to a decision that session, as many of the petitions sent over to him, were put in language so unparliamentary, that he would find it necessary to send them back again, to be altered. He understood also, that the learned judge was not as yet prepared with his defence.

Lord Moira thought, it was a punishment



punishment so severe to have so heavy a charge hanging over the head of any man, that he thought the noble marquis ought, at least, in the course of the session, to have all the charges concluded in a precise form.

A long desultory conversation then took place, which ended by the interference of the lord chancellor in point of order.

On the 5th of July, the marquis of Abercorn brought up the articles of accusation against Mr. justice Fox, which were under four distinct heads. The 1st was, that he had urged the grand jury of the county of Fermanagh, to address his majesty to remove the lord lieutenant and government of Ireland, with the intent of exciting discontent against his majesty's government. The 2d was, for endeavouring to induce the commanding officer of a corps of yeomanry, to procure an address from his corps to that effect. The 3d related to his misconduct on circuit, the high sheriff of a county complaining of being fined 500*l.* by him, in an arbitrary manner; and the petty jurors, and Mr. Hart, of being stigmatised by him as perjured persons. The last was for grossly and wantonly insulting the marquis of Abercorn, and publicly stating, that he did so for the purpose of vexing and annoying him. These articles were ordered to lie on the table, and a copy of the same to be furnished to Mr. justice Fox.

During the remainder of the session, the stamp-duty bill and the India budget were the most important matters that were brought forward in parliament: as to the question of the slave trade, it was so late in the season before the bill passed the commons, that it was

found too late to introduce it into the house of lords, where it was probable that it would meet a strong opposition, and that its opponents would insist upon the examination of evidence. It was, therefore, postponed to the next year.

The corn trade regulation bill was also, on account of some amendments, in the lords, to which the commons could not agree, postponed till the next session.

On the 9th of July, the chancellor of the exchequer moved, that the stamp duties bill should be committed. This was the tax proposed by the late minister, to cover the interest of the loan of the year.

Mr. Sheridan wished the business to be postponed for some time longer, in order to give the house time to understand the nature of a regulation so extremely complicated.

Mr. Fonblanque complained severely of the bill, as it would operate upon the administration of justice, by increasing enormously the expence of legal proceedings.

Dr. Lawrence instanced a case in the court wherein he practised, in which the stamps upon the pleadings amounted to 70*l.* but if this bill had previously past, they would have amounted to eleven or twelve hundred pounds, at least.

The chancellor of the exchequer (Mr. Pitt) stated, that, in the committee, all those great defects would be remedied. The lawyers were not such a helpless class of people, as not to be able to defend their own interests; and he had such a respect for their profession, that he did not wish in the least to injure them.

The bill was ordered to be committed.

When the order of the day was moved



moved for its committal, Mr. Sheridan strongly objected to that part of it, which must sensibly affect the administration of justice—namely—by enhancing the expence at which it was to be procured. On this subject, it had been said, by one of the most acute men in the country, Mr. Horne Tooke, “The courts of justice are open to every man, and so is the ‘London tavern;’ but, unless one has plenty of money, it is in vain to look for justice in the one, or to expect a dinner in the other.” He considered, that it was contrary to MAGNA CHARTA, which stated *nulli vendemus justitiam*, to lay such enormous taxes upon law proceedings: he moved, that the committee might have power to divide this bill into two.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer stated, that the gentlemen of the profession generally acquiesced in the regulations of this bill. So far from the stamp duties being a tax upon obtaining justice, it was a penalty on injustice, as the costs finally fell upon the person bringing an unjust suit.

Mr. serjeant Best opposed the tax, on nearly the same principles as Mr. Sheridan, and was replied to by the attorney-general.

Mr. Windham said, that, at present, law proceedings were so expensive, that no liberal or conscientious lawyer would advise a client to come into court for any thing less than 40 or 50*l.* which bore a great proportion to the whole fortunes of many persons in society.—This afforded an extensive range, within which injustice might act with impunity. He must, therefore, object to extending that circle, which was already too wide.

The bill then went through a

committee, in which many objections, and some alterations, were proposed; it was then read a third time, and passed.

On the 10th of July, lord Castlereagh presented the India budget to the house of commons. He called it to the attention of the house, that the affairs of the company had been affected both by the European war, and by the war against the Marhattas. He then stated the detail of the accounts of the year, by which it appeared, that the debts of the company had increased, in the last year, by 1,229,821*l.* that their assets had increased 1,959,396*l.* leaving the nett improvement for the year 729,575*l.* When he had before stated the prospect of the company being able to pay the annual 500,000*l.* to government, it was on the presumption of the continuance of peace, and of the general situation of affairs being very different from what they are at present.

Lord Archibald Hamilton observed, that the house was annually amused with splendid promises of the extinction of the Indian debt, and of India contributing to the expences of the empire. On the contrary, the debt was last year 18 millions, it is this year 19 millions, and there was every prospect of a still farther accumulation.

Mr. Johnstone also insisted, that the affairs of the company were growing every year more and more embarrassed, and considered the accounts fallacious.

Mr. Francis said, that his opinion of the situation of our affairs in India, remained the same as he had expressed last session. He thought the mischief was in a state of progression, and that every year would find our affairs still worse. It was expressly



expressly stipulated, at the renewal of the company's charter, that the country should receive half a million annually; and yet, after the first year, this sum was never paid. It was strange, that, out of a territorial revenue of 13 millions, and a flourishing home trade, there was not surplus enough to pay a sum so comparatively trifling. The company may say, "We have spent the money, there is no surplus, and therefore you can have no claim." Such an answer ought not, however, to satisfy the country. Parliament should enquire how they spent their money, before they admitted such a plea. Our Indian prosperity is always in hope, and in future prospects, and the estimates are always made higher than the event justifies. This had been the constant practice for the last 21 years, and appeared the system of those who produce Indian accounts. He hoped, at a future day, that the whole system of the administration of the company's affairs, in India, would undergo that full examination that its great importance deserved. If no other gentleman, more competent, would bring the subject before parliament, he should consider it his duty to do so.

Mr. C. Grant (deputy chairman of the East-India company) admitted, it was a national misfortune, that the affairs of India were so little known, or attended to. He asserted, from his own positive knowledge, that the company's affairs were in a much better situation now, than they were in the year 1793.

After a reply from Mr. Francis, and some explanations from lord Castlereagh, the resolutions were agreed to in the committee.

On the day appointed for the discussion of the resolutions, lord Castlereagh entered into a very detailed statement, to prove, that neither he nor his predecessor had ever held out any promises which would not have been fulfilled, if it had not been for wars, that could not have been foreseen. He concluded, by moving, that the proper officer should be directed to lay before the house an account of the revenue, and charges of India for the last 10 years, distinguishing each year.

This motion gave rise to a long conversation, in which Mr. Johnstone, Mr. Prinsep, Mr. C. Grant, and lord Castlereagh, were the principal speakers. The motion was at last carried, without a division.

Independently of the subjects of great general importance, which gave rise to the debates which we have already detailed, the Aylesbury and Liskeard elections produced some eager discussions.—Those in the Liskeard case were confined to the house of commons; but in that of Aylesbury, there was a bill of partial disfranchisement, which produced warm debates in both houses of parliament. The committee, upon the petition on the Aylesbury election, had reported, that Mr. Bent had been guilty of bribery.

Sir G. Cornwall, who was chairman of that committee, stated, from the report, that many of the voters, not being content with having only two candidates, looked out for a third, and accepted bribes of money for giving him their suffrages. The object of the committee was not to prosecute nor disqualify those corrupt voters, but to extend the right of voting for that borough to other persons in the neighbouring hundreds.



dreds. He, therefore, moved for leave to bring in a bill for preventing bribery and corruption, at the elections for the borough of Aylesbury.

The Marquis of Titchfield opposed it. He had no objection to punishing the guilty, but he thought it unfair to infringe upon the rights of 300 electors, because 50 of them had been guilty of bribery.

Mr. C. Wynne begged to set his noble friend right. Although but 50 names had been mentioned, at least 200 had taken bribes. It was a case of the most open profligacy that he had ever heard.

Mr. Rose stated the fact to be, that above 200 voters had been collected in one room; that at one end of the room there was a bowl of punch, and at the other a bowl of guineas, and that every man was given his *douceur*.

Sir John Newport confirmed that statement, and thought it was a very favourable moment to throw open the borough; and he thought, that, for the purity of our representation, the house should be glad to avail itself of such opportunities.

Sir George Cornwall then obtained leave to bring in the bill.—On its second reading, the marquis of Titchfield renewed his objections, and moved, that the second reading should be postponed till that day three months.

Sir John Newport, and the secretary at war, opposed the motion, and supported the bill.

Mr. Hurst, Mr. P. Moore, lord Ossulstone, the master of the rolls, and Mr. Fox, opposed the bill, as quite unnecessary, and that the case which had been made out was not stronger than the common cases of bribery and corruption, which were

punished in the ordinary manner.—The house then divided, and the second reading of the bill was carried by a majority of 19, the noes being 49.

Every step of the bill produced fresh discussions, on nearly the grounds as have already been stated. On the question, that the bill should be engrossed, the ayes were 154, the noes 126, being a majority of 28 in favour of the bill.

When the bill was introduced in the house of lords, the lord chancellor said, the bill appeared to him unfair and unjust. If the measure was right to be adopted, he thought it should be a general measure, extending to the whole of our representation; and he disapproved of picking and choosing particular boroughs, to try experiments on, of a partial reform. The common law of the country afforded a sufficient and severe punishment against bribery at elections, and he thought this case should be left to that remedy.

Lord Grosvenor supported the bill, conceiving the case to be one of such flagrant corruption, that it was necessary to make a striking example.

Lord Grenville strongly supported the justice and necessity of the bill. He thought, the interference of the legislature, at present, would be precisely on the same principles as in the Shoreham case. He considered it one of the greatest excellencies in the constitution, that any striking evil could be remedied, without recurring to wild theories; and thought, that when a case of flagrant corruption was proved, there should be an example and a warning given to the other boroughs of the kingdom.

Lords



Lords Auckland and Hawkesbury supported the bill, and lord Ellenborough opposed it, as one, that went to punish the innocent as well as the guilty.

On the day appointed for the final discussion, lord Grenville again supported the bill, on the grounds he had before urged.

The Lord Chancellor considered, that this bill rested on principles very like those of the corresponding society, and reform clubs. He considered it most unconstitutional, and unprecedented, as the punishment was not intended to fall upon the guilty, but upon all, indiscriminately.

After a pretty long discussion, the house divided: for the bill 39, against it 32.

Previously to the termination of the session, Mr. Windham took an opportunity of asking for information from ministers, respecting the case of captain Wright, who was made a prisoner of war, when commanding his majesty's sloop "Vincago," and who had since been committed to close confinement in the Temple, for refusing to answer interrogatories put to him by the enemy, after his capture.

On the 31st of July, the session closed. On that day the speaker, in presenting some bills for the royal assent, addressed his majesty on the throne\*. He stated, "that the

house of commons had the proud satisfaction of seeing the national debt diminished, and the resources and prosperity of the country increase; that the commons had deliberated, with unceasing solicitude, on the best system for military defence; and, that the voluntary zeal of all ranks of people, to obtain the necessary discipline, had co-operated powerfully with the measures taken by parliament. They trusted, that with the blessing of God, this empire would outlast the storms, that had overwhelmed the continent of Europe; and that the other nations might witness the destruction of a tyranny, founded on fraud and violence, and cemented with innocent blood, and that they might recover their ancient power and independence."

His majesty then addressed his parliament†. In the first part of his speech to both houses collectively, he praised the wisdom with which they had directed their attention to the encouragement and improvement of the volunteer force, which the ardour and spirit of his subjects had enabled him to carry to an unprecedented height: he concluded by noticing the additional force bill. He thanked the house of commons for the addition they had made to his civil list‡, and for the extensive provision which they had made for the exigencies of the public

\* Vide "State Papers" page 591.

† Vide "State Papers," page 599.

‡ Mr. Addington, while chancellor of the exchequer, moved certain resolutions for the purpose of paying the debt on the civil list, and increasing its establishment. The debt, that was to be paid off, amounted to 590,000*l.* and the annual increase he wished to make to the civil list was 60,000*l.* The debt had been two years and a half in contracting, and the necessity of incurring it had appeared, from various reports upon the subject, which had been before parliament during the last and present session. The causes of the debt, were the increased salaries



public service, and especially for their prudent attention to the permanent credit of the country, by making such great exertions to prevent an accumulation of the debt, and to raise, within the year, a considerable part of its expences.

He then informed the parliament, that the preparations of the enemy, for carrying into execution the attempt they had so long menaced, were daily augmenting, and it seem-

ed as if it were only delayed for the purpose of obtaining increased means. He had no doubt, however, but, that by the blessing of Providence, it would end, not only in repelling the danger of the moment, but in establishing, in the eyes of foreign nations, the security of this country, upon a basis, never to be shaken. He also indulged a hope, that the exertions and example of this country, might have such an effect

and establishments of foreign ministers; the increased expences of the royal household, in consequence of the high price of provisions; and, lastly, occasional payments, such as the payments to French emigrants, foreign secret services, and law charges: upon his proposing his first resolution,

Mr. Bankes disapproved of the custom of coming to parliament with applications like the present. He thought the expences of the crown ought to be kept within the estimates which were presented. He wished that every possible œconomy might be used in the different apartments of the state; and asked if the  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. duties, which were applicable to the purposes of the civil list, had been paid to that account.

Mr. Addington said, it was not in contemplation either to increase the magnificence of the throne, or the indulgencies of the illustrious family that filled it: all that was intended, was to support the monarchy in the same splendour, as the arrangement in 1786 was meant to give. The increased prices of every thing since that time, made it absolutely necessary to make an addition to the sum then granted.

Sir Francis Burdett, did not think it right, that the high price of provisions, and the pressure of the times, should be made an argument for imposing additional burdens on the poorer classes of society, in order to relieve those who were more opulent. He thought, that the pressure of the times should be proportionably borne by every man: and even those who administered the government, should feel some share of the inconveniencies to which the mass of the people was exposed. On looking over the list of those whose incomes were derived from pensions and sinecure places, he saw, with grief, that scarce any of them were obtained by merit. Lord Nelson, lord Hutchinson, and sir Sidney Smith, were poorly rewarded in comparison to many others, who had no claims but ministerial favour and patronage. He could not consent to vote a farthing for the payment of debts, that had been contracted contrary to law. He would not allow, that the country had at all improved its situation during the present reign. He concluded, by giving his decided negative to the resolution.

The resolution was agreed to.

On the question for the second reading the resolutions on the second of July,

Mr. Johnstone opposed them. He would by no means allow, that his majesty had not been fully compensated for the loss of his hereditary revenue. He thought, that with proper œconomy, the present allowance was sufficient.

Mr. Rose, and colonel Calcraft, were of opinion, that the addition of 60,000*l.* annually, was necessary to support the proper dignity of the throne.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Pitt) replied to the objections which had been made, and the resolutions were agreed to without a division.

effect upon other nations, as might lead to the re-establishment of such a system in Europe, as would oppose an effectual barrier to those schemes of unbounded ambition and aggrandisement, that threatened to overwhelm the continent of Europe.

The parliament was then prorogued.



## CHAP. VIII.

*State of Parties at the Close of the Session of Parliament in the Year 1803 illustrated by an intercepted Letter, from Lord Grenville to the Marquis Wellesley.—Account of that Letter—generally conceived an authentic Document—and why.—Situation of the great Political Parties at the Commencement of the Year—Union in Public Conduct of the “Old” and “New” Oppositions—gradual Accession of Mr. Pitt and his Friends thereto—Mr. Addington’s Administration draws to a Period—and terminates—Mr. Pitt accepts the Office of Prime Minister—and forms a Government, to the Exclusion of the Two Parties with which he had lately acted—Great Disappointment of the Public thereon—Defence made for him—on what Grounds—Letter from Lord Grenville to Mr. Pitt.*

**I**N our last volume, we brought down the narrative of the political situation of the different parties in parliament, to the close of the session in 1803. The publication of an intercepted letter, written about this period, from lord Grenville to the marquis Wellesley, governor-general in India, enables us to exhibit, for the information of our readers, a general view of this subject, such as it was then represented, by a person having a considerable share in these transactions; and writing, in the most unreserved manner, to his intimate friend.

The letter in question was published by the enemy. Of the motive and practice of such publications, most men will, on cool reflection, be inclined to disapprove: but as this, and a subsequent letter to Mr. Pitt, from the same person,

were inserted in all the public papers of the day, and throw a considerable light on the political transactions of the times, our readers will naturally expect, that they should find a place in this collection.

With respect to the letter to lord Wellesley, it seems just to observe, that the original has not yet been published. A bald, and in some places, evidently, an inaccurate translation of it into French, was printed by the government of France; and this was again retranslated into the English newspapers. It is probable, therefore, that there must be considerable variation in the expressions, although the sense has perhaps not been materially altered.

“My dear Wellesley,\*

“Two days ago, I received your letter,

\* The letter here inserted, was one of eighty-four, from individuals in Great Britain, to their correspondents in India, found on board the Admiral Aplin, East India Company’s ship, bound to Madras, when captured by the French squadron, under Admiral Linois.

It will be recollected, that this letter has undergone a double translation.



letter, of the 16th of February, and I now reply to it, though I am not entirely certain when I shall have an opportunity of transmitting to you my answer. In regard to your stay in India, this question has been long ago decided; and so great is the distance which separates us, that before this can reach you, the time fixed for your departure will have arrived. I am not certain whether the event of the war which our wise ministers have at last declared, may not have induced them to beg you to continue your stay in India some time longer. No one was better able than they to appreciate the certainty of this event, so that we ought to suppose they have taken all those measures which the moment required; but every thing, however, shews that they were taken as much unawares, as if that event had been little expected. It is consequently not improbable, that when they found war unavoidable, that is to say, on the day when they declared it, they may have dispatched orders to you to remain in India. But as I am entirely ignorant on this subject, I cannot reason on it. Should this not be the case, I hope nothing will prevent me from having the pleasure of seeing you next year, supposing at that period that you have still *a country to revisit*.—When I make use of this expression, do not imagine that my dissatisfaction with the conduct of the government has made any change in my opinion respecting the means and resources of this country; I have never been among the number of croakers on this subject. It is not so much opinion (if I do not deceive myself), as a perfect knowledge equivalent to a certainty, which induces me to say, that the country

possesses not only abundant and ample means of defence, but means sufficient to make our enemy repent of his hostile conduct, and to force him to fear, and consequently to respect us. But hitherto there has been so much indecision, timidity, and slowness, in all the measures taken to call forth our resources, and all our courage at this moment exhibits so much the impression of fear, that I cannot speak with any satisfaction of the talents which have been called into action, or of the dispositions which have been made.—My course of political conduct, as you must have seen, differs more and more from that of government. In regard to the opinion I expressed on the peace, I have the satisfaction to find that justice is now done me in every part of the country. Not only have subsequent events proved that the small body with whom I acted in concert on this occasion, were composed of the only persons who then knew how to appreciate this measure and its consequences; but it has been generally acknowledged, that we rightly foresaw what would take place. All the infamous calumnies of government have fallen with double force on their own heads. In every thing I have since done, and in every thing I have abstained from doing, you will, I hope, perceive those sentiments, and those principles, from which no opinion, however unfavourable it may be to the personal conduct of any individual, shall ever make me deviate. Had I been certain of an opportunity, I should have written you a detail of what has taken place since April last, in regard to the projected change in the government, and would have explained (as far as I have been able to understand them) the grounds



of the conduct which Pitt has since observed. It gives me great pleasure to see, that while my difference with Addington becomes every day more marked, all the motives which made Pitt and me differ in opinion and conduct, daily decrease.—We have not, however, yet been able to assimilate completely our plans of political conduct. Our situation, indeed, in one essential point of view, is entirely different.—Though he did not recommend Addington to his present employment (and, indeed, who is there that knows him would have done it?), he nevertheless gave him a certain portion of influence, more active than my opinion would have permitted me to grant, in the formation of the new administration. He advised their measures a long time after I had ceased to have any intercourse with them; and he approved of them in different points, which appeared to me the most criminal, and which were indeed so, as proved by the event. He is consequently more hampered in his conduct than I am, and he does not at present enjoy the inestimable advantage which I possess, of never having concealed nor compromised my opinion, in regard to matters of so much political importance; but, I believe that his ideas on their political conduct are not much different from mine, if they differ at all, and to all this must be added a resentment justly merited from the personal conduct of Mr. Addington towards him. He does not endeavour to conceal his sentiments. If he has written to you (which he certainly must have done, had he not contracted the bad habit of never writing to any one) he must have expressed to you, I am persuaded, all these sentiments with-

out reserve; and it is under this persuasion that I enlarge so much to you on his opinions. The measure, indeed, which he has lately adopted (I allude to his motion of adjournment, on the vote of censure, ill judged in itself, as I think it was, and unfortunate in its result, since it lessened his public influence), has, at least, the merit of expressing, in an unequivocal manner, his disapprobation of the conduct of government. I will not hazard a conjecture in regard to the new events which may take place before your arrival, and the only advice I wish to give you is, what I have more than once suggested, not to engage for any thing until you return, but to retain the liberty of acting, according to such motives as you shall judge proper to direct your conduct when you are on the spot, and according as the different relations between persons at the head of affairs in the different subdivisions of parties, shall have enabled you to judge what suits you best. In regard to the idea thrown out, in the extract you have sent me from your letter to Mr. Addington, you ought, in my opinion, to consider it only as a possible, though remote event. As for eternal enmity, I detest the idea; and, if I have an eternal enmity, it is against the partisans of a principle so detestable. But much is due to public opinion, as well as to the personal situation and character of individuals, which ought to be respected long after they have ceased to have resentment, or to take pleasure in giving proofs of it; and nothing appears to me less probable than to see Pitt and me, at any near period (perhaps I may say, at any period of our lives), reconciled, and disposed to re-establish with Addington



dington our former relations. The papers, if you have them, will inform you, that all our conversation at present turns on invasion, and that we at length begin to take measures for enabling us to face our enemies, if they should be able to effect a landing, which, though very improbable, is not, certainly, in any manner impossible. To speak of conquering, or subduing ten or twelve millions of men, if prepared for the contest, and directed by a government desirous and capable of animating their efforts, would be completely ridiculous. But experience has shewn, that the number of inhabitants alone, and even advantage of local situation, are nothing, if the direction of the defence remains in the hands of men distinguished only by their imbecility and weakness. In Holland even, and still more in Germany, Italy, and Switzerland, the countries were given up by the weakness, not of the people, but of their governments; and in like manner, if in this island, or in Ireland, we should experience any considerable check, we shall owe it not to the timidity or ignorance of the nation, but solely to those of government. You must be already enabled to judge to what a degree these qualities exist in the present government, if (as I suppose) you have, before you receive this letter, read the correspondence of lord Hawkesbury with Otto and lord Whitworth, and compared the dates of the different counter-orders in regard to the Cape, during the course of our communications with France. It would be superfluous to add to the length of this letter, by expatiating on the pleasure which I experienced, on finding in your letter those expressions of friendship which belong to our old and uninterrupted

intimacy. I never did more for you than you would have done for me, on a like occasion; and if the intrigue planned against you is totally without effect, and your measures have been approved before they were arraigned, I cannot flatter myself with having contributed to this result by my efforts;—but you may, in my opinion, consider the affair as terminated. It does not appear that a single word of it was mentioned in parliament before Christmas, and I really believe that you have nothing to fear. You can now have nothing further to apprehend on the subject, except perhaps the trouble and unpleasantness of a controversy of this description.

“ I remain, &c. &c. &c.

(Signed) “ Grenville.”

Of the view of political affairs, presented in this letter, the result may perhaps shortly be stated to be, that, while the sentiments both of the “old” and of the “new” opposition (as those parties were termed, of which Mr. Fox and lord Grenville were the chiefs) were avowedly unfavourable to the measures of the existing government, the predilection originally manifested in their favour, by the late minister (Mr. Pitt) had gradually subsided, first into coldness and indifference, then into an expressed disapprobation of some parts of their conduct; and, that at the period of which we are now speaking, he was supposed to entertain sentiments not much less hostile to administration, than those of the parties by whom their measures were directly opposed.

No material change appears to have occurred in this respect in the course of the autumn of the last year; and, at the opening of the following session of parliament, the



four parties into which the public men of the day were chiefly divided, namely, the supporters of government, the friends of Mr. Pitt, the "old" and the "new" opposition, were found nearly in the same relation to each other, as we have here stated. A common sentiment, however, of the inadequacy of the administration, to whom, in the most critical and alarming circumstances, the safety of the British empire was now confided; confessedly to the exclusion of so many persons of all descriptions, distinguished both by experience and talent, appeared to have led to more intercourse than had hitherto taken place between the "old" and "new" opposition: and it was generally understood, that, without any compromise of their opinions, on points respecting which they had formerly differed, these parties were now disposed to unite their efforts, for the accomplishing an object, on the necessity of which they both perfectly agreed, that of the substitution of as vigorous and efficient a government as the talents of the country could supply, in order to meet a danger, against which no exertions could be considered as too powerful.

The course of the discussions which took place in the earlier part of the session, will be found particularly stated under the head of our parliamentary proceedings. From most of these, Mr. Pitt was either absent, or took in them only such a part, as did not convey any distinct pledge of his sentiments respecting the great question on which the public opinion was now so much agitated—that of the sufficiency of the government to meet the urgency of so difficult a crisis. At length, however, early in the spring of the

present year, Mr. Pitt came forward, with a more decisive avowal of his sentiments on this important subject; and not only declared his total disapprobation of the particular measures for the national defence, proposed by ministers. (and then under the consideration of parliament) but also arraigned, in terms of the bitterest sarcasm, and severest invective, their general conduct of the public interests, both at home and abroad; expressing, at the same time, his absolute conviction, grounded on experience, that the safety of the country required the formation of a more efficient government. This opinion, which had so long been urged by the other parties in opposition, was already very generally prevalent in the public; and the declaration now made, of the accession of Mr. Pitt and his friends to the same sentiment, was at once decisive, upon the existence of Mr. Addington's administration. It became now manifest, that, with the exception of the immediate adherents of that administration, all other parties were agreed, both as to the necessity of a change, and as to the means by which that change might most speedily be effected—namely, those of a strong opposition in parliament, avowedly directed to produce, by constitutional means, that great national object.

The strength of the government, on the one hand, and, on the other, that of the three parties thus united for the purpose of compelling a change of administration, were found, by repeated divisions in both houses of parliament, to be nearly balanced: but the weight of public opinion, in favour of the latter, left no doubt which scale must ultimately preponderate.



It is to the praise of Mr. Addington, that to this state of things, with such an opposition ranged against him, as could leave no question of the real sentiments of parliament or the public, he yielded without hesitation; and instead of attempting by a fruitless resistance, to prolong a struggle, which, in a moment of so much difficulty the public interests could but ill endure, he gave to his sovereign, that, which, in such a case, was the only sound and constitutional advice—namely, that a new ministry should, without delay, be formed, possessing more of the confidence both of parliament and of the public; and declarations, amounting in substance to this effect, although couched in terms of some ambiguity and reserve, were made both in the house of lords and house of commons.

When the resignation of Mr. Addington was thus announced, there universally prevailed throughout the country a greater degree of unanimity, as well of wish as of opinion, as to the steps to be next taken, than has, perhaps, ever been witnessed in any other case of a similar description. The increasing dangers of the country had produced a general call for the union and co-operation of all those, whose services could in any manner be useful to the interests of the public. This sentiment had been echoed by every party, and by every description of people. The government had recommended, that all political differences should be swallowed up in an universal exertion for the common defence, to be made under their united auspices. The three parties which had at length joined in opposition, had successively shewn, both by their language and their practice,

that they also wished to bury in oblivion the memory of past differences, and to unite in exertions for the common security; although they deemed it essential to the success of these exertions, that the direction of them should be entrusted to such hands as might, in the general opinion of mankind, be reasonably deemed adequate to such a task.—The country at large rejoiced to see those great political leaders, by whose divisions the public mind had so long been distracted, now united in the same course of conduct, and acting in parliament with that commanding effect, which was naturally to be expected from such a concurrence.

Whatever private predilections were rumoured to prevail in ANY QUARTER, no doubt was entertained, but that the general wish would be gratified by the formation of a government, such as this new state of things seemed to render practicable, and as all men felt to be desirable: a government, embracing all that could be found in the country most eminent in talent and consideration.

Such was the course, by which, in former periods of public danger, (formidable at the period, though little to be compared in magnitude with that by which the country was now menaced,) the public spirit had been raised from dejection and despondency to the highest animation and most vigorous exertion: and a train of disgraces and defeats had been followed by a long series of triumph and victory. The hope of a similar result, in the present instance, was strengthened by the public declarations of the most considerable persons of every political party, and by the uniform language



of their friends and adherents.—What the circumstances were which prevented its accomplishment, we are unwilling too minutely to enquire. It appeared, from repeated assertions made, in Mr. Pitt's vindication, both by himself and his friends, that no man was more strenuous than himself in declaring in **EVERY QUARTER**, that the formation of such a government, comprehending, without any exclusion whatever, all those who could best contribute to its efficiency and weight, was imperiously required by the present necessities of the country. But those who give him the fullest credit for entertaining and urging this opinion, remarked, that by the constitution of this country, a minister is answerable, not for his private sentiments or secret counsels, so much as for his public conduct;—that it is in the acts of government, that the advice given by ministers to their sovereigns is to be looked for;—that a public man, who accepts any part in an administration, much more who undertakes to form and direct it, pledges himself to his country for his own conviction of the expediency and the rectitude of the prin-

ciple on which it is established;—and that all idea of public responsibility would be overthrown, as well as the dignity of the royal station essentially compromised, if a minister were allowed to justify any part of his conduct, either in forming or conducting a government, not by his own opinion and sense of right, but by a submission to predilections and prejudices, which he may allege to have found in “the closet,” and to have in vain attempted to combat.

Under these circumstances the public experienced the severest disappointment, when they found, that of the three parties to whose union in their service it had looked with so confident a hope, one only, that immediately attached to Mr. Pitt, composed the new administration; which was thought to be little strengthened by the addition of two or three individuals belonging to the government which he had overthrown, and in which they had held such stations as had particularly exposed them to the bitterness of his sarcasm and reproachful scorn.\*

By those who wished to justify this step, it was universally said, that it was not to be attributed to Mr.

\* Mr. Pitt was gazetted First Lord of the Treasury, and Chancellor of the Exchequer, on the 12th day of May, in the room of Mr. Addington. For the dates of the other arrangements which took place, *vide* the “Promotions” of this vol.

Of Mr. Addington's administration, the following Cabinet Ministers, viz.

The Duke of Portland, President of the Council.

Lord Eldon, Lord Chancellor.

Earl of Westmorland, Lord Privy Seal.

Earl of Chatham, Master-General of the Ordnance. And

Lord Castlereagh, President of the Board of Control.

Retained their several situations in the government formed by Mr. Pitt:

Lord Hawkesbury, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, under the late minister, also adhered to the present, but his office was changed to the home department, *vice* Mr. Yorke.

The



Mr. Pitt, whom they represented as sincerely lamenting it, but, on the one hand, to objections said to prevail in the ROYAL BREAST against the admission of Mr. Fox to stations such as those which Mr. Pitt had recommended to be offered to him: and on the other hand, to a determination, on the part of the "new opposition," to withhold, without sufficient motive, those services which both their sovereign and their country were entitled to demand from them.

The public opinion appeared, however, by no means to coincide with those who sought to apologise for the contracted and confessedly inadequate scale on which a government was now formed, destined to replace that, which the new ministers themselves had opposed in par-

liament on no other ground, than that of its alledged insufficiency to meet the dangers of the crisis. All considerate men lamented to see the sacred character and person of the sovereign brought forward on such an occasion, and mixed in questions of political discussion among his subjects. Nor could they avoid condemning the principle of resorting to his name, as an apology for measures, which by that very use of it, were confessed to be objectionable. It was sufficiently obvious, that if this practice were once admitted, no minister could be made responsible for any part of his public conduct; nor could the dignity of the crown of itself be maintained in that situation of sacred and inviolable reverence in which the constitution has placed it, when it has said, that

The new arrangements stood, therefore, as follows:

Mr. Pitt, First Lord of the Treasury, and Chancellor of the Exchequer, *vice* Mr. Addington.

Lord Melville (late Mr. Dundas) First Lord of the Admiralty, *vice* the Earl of St. Vincent.

Lord Harrowby, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, *vice* Lord Hawkesbury.

Earl of Camden, Secretary of State for the Department of War and the Colonies, *vice* Lord Hobart.

And Lord Mulgrave, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (with a seat in the Cabinet) *vice* Lord Pelham.

Thus it will be seen that a majority of the late cabinet ministers were retained, and formed a majority also of the present administration.

The government of Ireland continued unchanged, with the exception of Mr. Wickham, Chief Secretary, who retired, from ill health, and was succeeded by Sir Evan Nepean. Nor were there any changes made in the law departments of either country.

The alterations in the different public offices were as follows:

The Right Hon. Wm. Dundas, Secretary at War, *vice* Mr. Bragge.

Right Hon. George Canning, Treasurer of the Navy, *vice* Mr. Tierney.

Right Hon. George Rose,

Right Hon. Lord Charles Somerset, } Joint Paymasters of the Forces, *vice* { Mr. Steele,

Duke of Montrose, Joint Postmaster-General, *vice* Lord Auckland.

William Huskisson, esq.

William Sturges Bourne, esq. } Secretaries to the Treasury, *vice* { Mr. Vansittart.

With various changes in the high offices in the king and queen's household. For the particulars of which, we refer our readers to the "Promotions," at the end of the "Chronicle" of the present volume.



that the king himself can do no wrong: but that in every exercise of any part of his constitutional authority, those servants who execute his commands are considered as advising them, and are responsible for them both to themselves and to their country.

It was also agreed, on all hands, that this principle, universally true, is, nevertheless, most particularly applicable to those acts of sovereign authority, which are of a harsh or ungracious tendency. The personal proscription of any individual, (much more, that of so great and eminent a statesman as Mr. Fox,) when his services were thought necessary by the ministers themselves;—by the parliament;—and by the people, was felt to be new to our constitution, both in practice and in principle: and it was remembered, that in the instances of all the greatest statesmen whom the country had seen, their sovereigns had condescended to dismiss all recollection of the opposition made by such persons to the men and manners of preceding administrations. Such had been the practice ever since the Revolution: a practice to which the nation owed whatever advantage it had derived from the services of sir Robert Walpole, of lord Chatham, and even of Mr. Pitt himself: and the recollection of these circumstances naturally led the public to ascribe their present disappointment to other causes, than those held out by the supporters of the new administration.

With respect to the accusation made by the friends of Mr. Pitt against the “new opposition,” for declining to take a share in a government so constituted, the publication of the letter, to which

we have before alluded, enables us to state their defence in the fairest manner, that is, in their own words.

It was understood, that when Mr. Pitt consented to yield to the principle of exclusion, in the case of Mr. Fox, he was authorised to propose to lord Grenville and his friends, that they should form a leading part of the administration to be thus established; and that, this proposition having been considered by them, the answer was immediately returned in a letter, a copy of which was published, tho’ without the authority either of lord Grenville or Mr. Pitt, but which has never been disavowed by them, and is generally allowed to be authentic. It is as follows:—

“ My dear Pitt,

“ I have already apprized you,  
 “ that all the persons to whom, at  
 “ your desire, I communicated what  
 “ passed between us yesterday,  
 “ agree with me in the decided  
 “ opinion, that we ought not to  
 “ engage in the administration which  
 “ you are now employed in forming.—We should be sincerely  
 “ sorry if, by declining this proposal, we should appear less desirous than we must always be,  
 “ of rendering to his majesty, to  
 “ the utmost of our power, every  
 “ advice of which he may be graciously pleased to think us capable.  
 “ —No consideration of personal ease or comfort, no apprehension of responsibility, nor reluctance to meet the real situation into which  
 “ the country has been brought,  
 “ have any weight in this decision:  
 “ nor are we fettered by any engagement on the subject either  
 “ expressed or implied; we rest  
 “ our



“ our determination solely on our  
 “ strong sense of the impropriety  
 “ of our becoming parties to a sys-  
 “ tem of government which is to be  
 “ formed, at such a moment as the  
 “ present, on a principle of exclu-  
 “ sion.

“ It is unnecessary to dwell on  
 “ the mischiefs which have already  
 “ resulted from placing the great  
 “ offices of government, in weak  
 “ and incapable hands. We see no  
 “ hope of any effectual remedy for  
 “ these mischiefs, but by uniting  
 “ in the public service ‘ as large a  
 “ ‘ proportion as possible of the  
 “ ‘ weight, talents, and character  
 “ ‘ to be found in public men of all  
 “ ‘ descriptions, and without any  
 “ ‘ exception.’ This opinion I have  
 “ already had occasion to express  
 “ to you in the same words, and  
 “ we have, for some time past, been  
 “ publicly acting in conformity to  
 “ it ; nor can we, while we remain  
 “ impressed with that persuasion,  
 “ concur in defeating an object  
 “ for which the circumstances of  
 “ the times afford at once so strong  
 “ an inducement, and so favourable  
 “ an occasion.

“ An opportunity now offers,  
 “ such as this country has seldom  
 “ seen, for giving to its government,  
 “ in a moment of peculiar difficulty,  
 “ the full benefit of the services of  
 “ all those who, by the public voice  
 “ and sentiment, are judged most  
 “ capable of contributing to its  
 “ prosperity and safety. The wishes  
 “ of the public, upon this occasion,  
 “ are completely in unison with its

“ interests ; and the advantages  
 “ which, not this country alone,  
 “ but all Europe, and the whole  
 “ civilized world, might derive from  
 “ the establishment of such an  
 “ administration, at such a crisis,  
 “ would probably have exceeded the  
 “ most sanguine expectations.

“ We are certainly not ignorant  
 “ of the difficulties which might  
 “ have obstructed the final accom-  
 “ plishment of such an object, how-  
 “ ever earnestly pursued. But  
 “ when, in the very first instance,  
 “ all trial of it is precluded, and  
 “ when the denial is made the con-  
 “ dition of all subsequent arrange-  
 “ ments, we cannot but feel that  
 “ there are no motives, of whatever  
 “ description, which could justify  
 “ our taking an active part in the  
 “ establishment of a system so ad-  
 “ verse to our deliberate and de-  
 “ clared opinions.

“ I remain,

“ My dear Pitt, &c. &c. &c.  
 (Signed) “ Grenville.”

We shall here conclude the pre-  
 sent chapter ; once more referring  
 our readers to the ample detail of  
 the parliamentary proceedings, which  
 occupy the preceding pages, for the  
 few public measures which took  
 place after the change of govern-  
 ment ; and reserving to our next vo-  
 lume the account of the changes,  
 which, at the opening of the suc-  
 ceeding session, appeared to have  
 been made during the autumn, in  
 the relation in which the parties led  
 by Mr. Pitt, and the late minister,  
 stood towards each other\*.

\* An attempt was made, on the 19th of June, at a common council held in the  
 city of London, and which was very numerous attended, to pass a vote of thanks  
 to the late prime minister (Mr. Addington) “ for the patriotism and public spirit  
 “ exemplified in his acceptance of that arduous situation, at a period the most event-  
 “ ful, and for æconomical application of the national resources ; and, above all, for  
 “ the



“ the steady attachment to the principles of the constitution, and that uniform regard  
“ to the liberties of the people, which have so eminently distinguished his administra-  
“ tion.” To the substance of this motion, it was objected by a warm opposition to  
its passing, that, at the time of Mr. Addington’s acceptance of office, he was un-  
known to the world as a statesman; that he accepted the ministry on a principle  
of exclusion, and as the declared enemy of the liberties of a great proportion of the  
people, so far as respected the Catholic question; points, for which it would be ri-  
diculous to thank him: That the people had spontaneously provided for the na-  
tional defence, which his complicated and feeble measures rather impeded than put  
into effect:—That his economy could not be praised, as, during his administration,  
no enterprise of glory had been undertaken or achieved; and, therefore, our ex-  
pences could not be great, when our operations were solely confined to defence:—  
And, that his regard for the liberties of the people, and the constitution, were best  
shewn by the operation of his income tax, and the late window duty, (which last  
gave surveyors the right of entering our houses) which were direct infringements  
upon both. An amendment was consequently moved on the original motion, which  
was carried by a great majority, and was in the following terms:—“ That, however  
“ this court may regard the good intentions of his majesty’s late ministers, it is their  
“ decided conviction, that the extraordinary circumstances of the times do impe-  
“ riously require a strong, extended and efficient administration, combining men of  
“ the first talent and consideration in the country:—They do, therefore, highly  
“ approve of the conduct of the right honourable Henry Addington, in resigning  
“ the important and responsible situation which he held under his majesty’s govern-  
“ ment, when he found he no longer enjoyed that confidence and support, so es-  
“ sential towards conducting the public affairs with energy and success. They  
“ cannot, at the same time, but deeply regret, that the late partial changes in his  
“ majesty’s councils, should appear so little calculated to promote the great inte-  
“ rests of the nation, and to secure the confidence of the parliament and the peo-  
“ ple, so necessary at this momentous crisis.”

## C H A P IX.

*Retrospective View of the Situation of the Country.—Reduced State of the Army and Navy—Causes thereof.—State of Europe at the Beginning of the Year.—Capture of Goree by the French—Recapture.—Loss of the Apollo and her Convoy on the Coast of Portugal.—New Naval Administration.—Conduct of Lord Melville, as First Lord of the Admiralty.—Unsuccessful Attempt of Sir Sydney Smith on the French Flotilla.—Capture of Surinam by the British Force.—Farther unsuccessful Attempts on the French Flotilla.—Defeat of Admiral Lincolns in the Indian Seas by the East India Company's Homeward-bound Fleet.—Catamaran Project—Total Defeat thereof.—Capture of the Spanish Treasure Ships.—Conclusion,*

WE were unwilling, in the course of our last volume, too minutely to enquire into the causes of that want of decision and energy in the operations of the war, which materially affected the character of the nation abroad, and damped, in a considerable degree, its spirit at home. The want of information, on many points connected with these subjects, induced us to defer our investigation, until time had afforded sufficient lights for so important a branch of our duty; and we shall now proceed, before we narrate the great events of the year, to consider, retrospectively, the circumstances which crippled our national exertions, and which at length induced the country to call, with irresistible effect, for a change of government.

The immense pecuniary resources of the empire, and the liberality with which they were contributed for every purpose of national defence, gave the public a right to look for armies and fleets, sufficiently numerous not only to place the coun-

try in a state of indubitable security, but to give the enemy that general and effectual annoyance, which might induce him to curb his restless ambition, and restore tranquility to Europe.

In the application of these great means, however, Mr. Addington's ministry were miserably deficient.—To restore the reduced regular force, disposable for every purpose of defensive and offensive measures, no direct means were taken: while to raise an armed body, limited both in respect of locality and duration of service, the legislation were wearied for the greater part of two sessions of parliament, in discussing and enacting bills for its encouragement, to the extinction of any possible means of recruiting the regular army. To the individual who entered into the former service, the premium, for his life engagement, to serve in every clime, was small and bounded; in the latter, as a substitute, he might demand and obtain any sum, his principal was disposed to give: and even the volunteer



teer system was rendered hostile to the increase of the army, by the doctrine of exemptions.

In vain did the advocates of administration contend, that their various projects induced a military spirit throughout the country, and that thence the ranks of the regiments of the line would eventually be filled. To these assertions were opposed facts. And the government was necessitated, for nearly two years, to keep up, by the various modes abundantly within its power, the rumours of immediate invasion, which, while they prevented too narrow a scrutiny into their measures, afforded some colour for the local force alone created, which, making allowance for the rawness of the levy, and its want of discipline, would certainly be applicable to a war solely defensive.

To avoid recapitulation, as the measures to which we allude were strenuously attacked and defended in parliament, we beg leave to refer our readers to our account of its proceedings during the last session,\* in the course of which it will be found that these feeble, complicated, and circuitous modes of national defence, are detailed at considerable length; that they were opposed by the united talent and weight of the legislation; and were, finally, among the principal causes of the declension and overthrow of Mr. Addington's administration.

But it was on the subject of the mal-administration of the navy, that Mr. Pitt chose to put forth all his strength, and to come down to parliament, towards the close of the last session, to move for an enquiry into a comparative statement of

that force, during the periods of his and Mr. Addington's administrations, on which to ground an enquiry into the conduct of the earl of St. Vincent, then first lord of the admiralty. On this point it was that government was most vulnerable. The moment that it was seen, that the late prime minister was prepared to substantiate charges of mismanagement and misconduct in that great branch of the public defence, the tide of popular opinion turned strongly against Mr. Addington; and but a short period ensued, between this formidable attack, and his retirement from official situation.

It is not easy to conjecture with any tolerable certainty, had the proposed enquiry gone forward, what would have been the result. The change of ministers, from motives which we shall not here enquire into, suspended the blow. But it behoves us briefly and impartially to state, what the grounds were, on which the admiralty were open to attack, and what the causes of the want of popularity in the naval administration, at the period to which we allude.

When his majesty's ministers, at length assumed a lofty tone towards France, and that a war seemed inevitable, they were doubtless led to expect, from the high professional character of the earl of St. Vincent, then at the head of the naval department, exertions far beyond those of any former period: and that the formidable state of our navy, when directed by him, would dazzle and confound the projects of Bonaparté. It cannot be denied, that, in every light, his lordship must be considered

\* Vide Chapters VI. and VII.



considered, as well from his great naval skill, as from the variety and extent of his services, in which many other useful branches of knowledge might have been learned, a most valuable acquisition to a set of men, new to office, whose talents had hitherto been confined to the narrow circle of our domestic policy.

In this estimate, however, it should seem, that government had greatly over-rated the powers of the noble person in whom they reposed so great a trust, or at least, his application of them to the duties of this important station: but it was the fate of Mr. Addington's administration, to fail in all its component parts, and always most strikingly so, in those in which it was supposed lay its principal strength. In the case before us, the truth of this conclusion is eminently conspicuous; and the thorough disorganization, and impending ruin of their favourite service, must have painfully convinced ministers of the erroneous judgment they had formed.

It was strongly impressed upon the mind of the first lord of the admiralty, that the most enormous abuses and peculation existed in the civil branch of the naval department; and although, in a considerable degree, these ideas might be well founded; yet, unfortunately, so little did he avail himself of those acute powers of mind he was supposed to possess, or so little was he acquainted with the nature of the service over which he presided, as to conceive that those evils admitted of an instantaneous and radical mode of cure. Dear bought experience could alone convince him, that

this object, however meritorious to attempt, or desirable to attain, could not be accomplished either in the time, or by the means which he proposed; and that the knife which amputated the mortified part, might, when not used discreetly, prove fatal to the patient.

So deeply, however, was this impression rooted in the mind of the admiralty, that the ordinary progress of the naval system was entirely suspended, until (as it was asserted) its projected plans of reform had taken place. A board of commissioners was appointed accordingly, upon whose reports several of the oldest and best officers of the dock-yards, and a vast number of artificers of every description, were turned adrift, without being heard in their defence; while, by the orders of the admiralty, the navy board were forbidden to make any contract whatever for stores; nor, during this period of interdict, were the usual and regular supplies of the naval arsenals kept up. The consequence of these measures (as in every other vast and complex engine, where the failure of one wheel in its duty, deranges the whole machinery) was dreadful, and was, indeed, prognosticated by all the wisest and most experienced of the naval profession. Our account of the debates in the session of 1803-4, will shew, that even then, an honourable gentleman, high in the navy, apprized and warned administration of the ruinous system which was pursuing; but no pointed attack was made in parliament upon the subject, until the agitation of the "defence bill," in the house of commons,\* when it gave rise to

\* Vide Chap. III.



many severe and strong animadversions, which finally induced Mr. Pitt, as we have seen, to take up the matter in a far more serious manner. But, even on the occasion to which we allude, that gentleman seemed unwilling to enter too minutely into the most material errors of the marine administration; doubtless, through the apprehension of betraying to the enemy (were official documents produced) the deplorable and disastrous deficiency, which must then appear to exist in all our naval equipments.

It had been the proud boast of the minister who concluded the peace of Amiens, and of every other person who spoke or wrote in defence of that ill-starred measure, “that we might avert any threatening storm by the terrors of a naval war, by which we could always humble the arrogance of France, and produce in her a desire of continuing the peace.” If such were the firm and unshaken basis upon which England was to build; if this were the elevated ground, whence Mr. Addington was to wave “the olive-branch” to the world; miserably disappointed must the country and the minister have been, when they witnessed the difficulties which attended the equipment of a sufficient armament to thwart the views of France on the declaration of hostilities, from the deficiency of stores, the very nerves and sinews of naval warfare. To such a pitch had this wretched system been carried, that even the ~~emp~~ <sup>empire</sup>, which the vigilance of the ~~our~~ <sup>our</sup> admiralty had amassed, was

sold upon the peace,\* under the æconomical idea of not paying the expences of the warehouses in which it was stored!

By such, and other means, equally detrimental to the naval exertions of this country, were the ministers deceived, (for surely it is charity to suppose Mr. Addington was deceived, when he confidently promised to the house of commons, that fifty ships of the line could be equipped in a month), to the very moment they had determined to declare war, when, instead of having a well-appointed fleet, with a regular supply of every necessary, to keep up its equipment, they were equally astonished and dismayed at finding the royal arsenals thoroughly exhausted, even before the first part of the intended armament was fitted out: and such was the hurry and demand for ships, and so urgent the want of timber, and stores of every kind, that many were sent to sea, which were actually in course of repair!——To complete the calamitous situation of the fleet, so strongly had the suspicion of fraud and this principle of mistaken reform, pervaded every branch connected with the naval department, that not only the exertions of the merchant ship-wrights were totally suspended, (nor were they allowed to finish the men of war they had contracted to build,) but even those which were upon the stocks, in the king’s yards, were left imperfect, as the hands employed upon them were dismissed from work! Thus, when his majesty’s message was delivered to parliament, scarcely a ship of war was in any forwardness, and not a new one

\* Agents from France were the principal purchasers!



could be launched in time to replace the casualties or occasional exigencies of the service.

That hostilities had been foreseen and decided upon, long before parliament or the country were so apprized, may fairly be supposed; yet were not the naval preparations, as we have shewn, calculated for such an event, nor our measures such, as to impress the enemy with awe, or even respect, for our means of hostility. In the military branch of the naval department, the greatest deficiency, both in measures of precaution, as well as of offence, were observable. The different convoys were unprotected, even at the moment the admiralty were stating to parliament the security which the merchants derived from their exertions, and they were sent to their respective destinations, under the protection of vessels utterly incompetent to the service. Among many other proofs of this fact, may be adduced that of the Newfoundland fleet, which was taken, and the vessel of war (the *Wolverene*, of eight guns) sent as an escort, was actually sunk by the paltry privateer by which it was captured.

A far more serious disaster occurred, in the non-appraisal of admiral Rainier (who commanded the British fleets in the East-Indies) of the certainty, or, at least, the probability, of a war with France, whilst that event was in contemplation, by an overland dispatch. From this fatal neglect, the French admiral, Linois, not only made his escape from the very anchorage which the English squadron occupied before Pondicherry, but was enabled to capture, unopposed, not only many of

our most valuable India ships, but also to plunder the settlement at Bencoolen\*! In fine, our trade, in every part of the world, suffered much more than in any former period of war; and the incapacity of the admiralty, either to protect it, or annoy that of the enemy, became universally apparent.

As it was to the success of a naval war (that trusty and well-tryed species of defence, which had so often rescued Britain from the greatest difficulties, and poured dismay and confusion upon her enemies) that the country looked with confident eagerness, so was their disappointment bitter in the extreme, when it became but too apparent, that little chance existed of adding to the national glory, or even of protecting ourselves, were the naval administration of the country entrusted to such incompetent hands as those, in whose direction it was now placed. It was found, that, at the awful crisis of a renewed war with France, who had, by force of arms, or insidious negotiation, enslaved or terrified half Europe into subjection to her views; that, to combat this hitherto unconquered power, we had an exhausted, unrepaired, and ill-equipped fleet, and, worst of all, a system of naval management which forbade any hope of amendment or amelioration. Nor was the evil confined to naval equipment alone—it pervaded the whole of the service. The harsh and tyrannical measures of the admiralty, from which they never deviated, were imitated and adopted by many officers, in the interior regulations of their ships: and the privations which the sailors endured, in consequence thereof, induced

\* Fort Marlborough.



several to fly to foreign service, in complete disgust, rather than serve on board the king's ships; nor could bounties, nor the impress, procure men for a service become odious to them.

It was in vain that the high professional character which the first lord of the admiralty formerly bore, was urged by the minister, as a sufficient refutation of the complaints which were poured in against him from every quarter: it was in vain that the talents and the eloquence of his best friends, the "old opposition," were exerted in vindicating him personally from the accusations levelled against him. The tottering situation of the navy, the disgust and dissatisfaction of its officers, and the total want of ships and men, as well as the methods taken to employ those few which existed, flashed conviction upon the most incredulous, and the truth could not much longer be concealed from the public.

The war was scarcely determined upon, and declared, when the naval force of the empire, upon the exertions of which ministry placed its greatest dependence, to carry terror and dismay upon the shores of France, was called upon to execute a project, which the inexperience of the cabinet concluded would be fatal to the views of Bonaparte.—This was, the blockading the enemy's ports, or, as it was more quaintly termed, in some of the speeches made in parliament, by the partizans of government, "the hermetically sealing up their harbours and trade." It is but justice to the noble lord, at the head of the admiralty, to suppose that he was far from really approving this ridiculous and impracticable scheme of his col-

leagues;—experience had taught him its futility. But that, whatever his reasons might have been for not opposing it, he did not choose that either his professional science or his former conduct, when he commanded the Channel fleet, should be implicated; and, therefore, that while he silently acquiesced in its execution, it must have been the object of his contempt.

In placing admiral Cornwallis at the head of the Channel fleet, the first lord of the admiralty was well aware that he entrusted it to a man whose persevering character would attract the eyes of the public: he well knew that gallant officer would never retire to Torbay; and, that while it was possible to keep the sea in his own ship, he never would issue his orders to a second in command, to encounter and endure the fatigue and hardships of a winter's campaign in the narrow seas. Well and wisely, therefore, did he choose; nor could his election fall upon a man better calculated, in every respect, to keep up the spirits of both officers and men, on so irksome a duty.

It is surely matter of wonder and surprise, that it never occurred to the promoters of this plan, that the want of ships to prosecute it, and of the materials to repair them, would be sooner or later severely felt. One of the lords of the admiralty had, indeed, once intimated, in the house of commons, that "the enemy had no fleet;" which, if true, was certainly a happy circumstance for the country, but certainly afforded no reason that every ship which could be equipped, should be dispatched to a station in the blockading squadrons. It was urged, repeatedly, by every professional man, whose experience



had enabled him to judge of the expediency of this measure, that utter ruin to the navy must ensue from its continuance; and that while our ships were wearing themselves fruitlessly in the winter gales, the enemy would equip his fleets in perfect security, and which, when fit for sailing, might put to sea at a moment when our storm-shattered squadrons were compelled to return and refit. How true these predictions were, subsequent events have shewn; and it is stated, (at the period at which we write) as a matter of some surprise and astonishment, that the French have a fleet now ready for sea, and equal, if not superior, to the English force, which was “hermetically sealing them up” in their harbours!

It was not on the great scale of naval warfare alone, that the public were to be made the dupes and victims of erroneous opinion. In the late war, our coasts had been guarded and our commerce protected, by the existing admiralty, who not only kept up our number of line of battle ships and frigates, but built a considerable number of brigs and vessels of war, which could go into shallow water, and being armed with heavy metal, and calculated to row in calms, were thus enabled to annoy the enemy’s coasting trade, convoy our own, and even bid defiance to the batteries on the coast of France. Protected by these gun-boats, as they were termed, the threats of invasion, by small vessels, were held in contempt, and while our Grand Fleet rode triumphant and superior in the deep water, our coasts were completely protected by this flotilla. These vessels were, however, on the peace, sacrificed at the shrine of œconomy: but when the present war was inevitable, and

Bonaparte not only declared his intention to invade us, but made no secret of the means by which he meant to carry his threat into execution, it raised the astonishment of every naval officer, to find that this species of defence was totally abandoned, and a sort of querulous attack made upon those who ventured to differ upon this subject from the high authority of the admiralty, whose opinion was said to be decidedly hostile to the use of such vessels. At the same moment, the admiralty made a most ostentatious display of the number of small boats, which they affirmed could be fitted out, round the widely-extended coasts of the kingdom:—a sort of Lilliputian fleet, which, even if collected, was utterly incompetent to act against the flotilla of the enemy, and which, if the opinion of the admiralty, on such a mode of defence were well founded, must indeed, have been the worst and most inefficient branch of the gun-boat system.

The debates in the house of commons upon this subject, (which was warmly adverted to by Mr. Pitt,) afford abundant proof of the neglect of the board of admiralty to the moment when the attack was made upon their conduct: but if the charge were not then substantiated, it was thoroughly confirmed by the steps afterwards taken for contracting, building, and equipping that sort of vessel which had been so much decried; and as had been loudly recommended by Mr. Pitt and his friends, as the most effectual mode of defence in the event of invasion; and which (if those gun vessels which the wisdom of earl Spencer’s naval administration had constructed and employed, had not



been broken up and sold for little or nothing at the peace of Amiens) would, in all human probability, have prevented the junction of the enemy's flotilla at Boulogne, and in every event have placed the possibility of invasion, according to the plan at present adopted by France, at a period far more remote.

Thus, after reprobating a species of defence as inefficient and expensive, did the admiralty rush into the opposite extreme, and, until the change of government drove them from office, did they hire, build, and fit out an armament of the very description they had so much and so long neglected: and thus have subjected themselves, in whatever light they can be considered, as the most weak and undecided, or the most remiss and culpable naval administration Britain has ever witnessed.

The want of decision and energy in the councils of the British empire, at the commencement of the present year, had produced a considerable degree of torpor and despondency in the public mind. On the part of England, the war with France had assumed no decisive character; and its immense resources seemed entirely absorbed in providing means of defence against the threatened invasion. On the capture of a few ill-defended French and Dutch West India settlements, it appeared as if the energies of the country could go no farther, or make the slightest attempt to shake or produce any impression upon the vast mass of territory and power acquired by her ambitious and encroaching rival.—While, on the contrary, the ruler of the French, although he appeared unceasingly engaged in securing advantages in Italy and Germany,

much more than equivalent to any which England could gain in colonial warfare, yet pursued with unremitting exertion the equipment of his armament at Boulogne, which at once menaced the country with invasion, and obliged us to confine within our own islands, for home defence, a considerable portion of that army which might otherwise have been employed in foreign service. It was in vain that the British government attempted to raise the hopes of the nation at home, or gain respect abroad, by suggesting the probability of coalitions being formed on the continent against France. Unfortunately, however, for such views, the grounds which Mr. Addington's administration had assumed on commencing hostilities, were fatal to any rational hope of continental co-operation. The objects which were known to govern Great Britain on that measure, were such as totally disconnected her interests from those of the other European powers. In the king's declaration, indeed, some stress had been laid upon the usurpations of Bonaparte, and his attacks upon the liberties of other nations, but a long period of acquiescence to those arbitrary measures, had sufficiently proved that they would still have been submitted to, if France had consented to have left Malta in the possession of England. To Austria and Prussia it was indeed, matter of indifference in whose hands that island remained; but with Russia the case was different: that power had views of her own upon Malta, and certainly could not but see with displeasure, the determination of Great Britain on its retention. It, therefore, was not matter of surprise, that we should have begun the war, and  
hitherto



hitherto continued it, without a single ally, or the possibility of acquiring one, if the restless violence of Bonaparte did not compel the greater powers of Europe into a system of common defence against his encroachments.

The first military operations of any consequence which occurred in the course of the year, was the capture of the English settlement of Goree, on the coast of Africa, by a small French force, under the command of the chevalier Mahè, which effected a landing on the rocks to the east side of the town, where the surf raged with the least violence, on the morning of the 18th of January: and having overcome the small force which col. Frazer, the commandant had posted there, succeeded in penetrating through the town, and in surprising the main guard, of which he gained possession, though with some loss, and in the course of the day reduced colonel Frazer to the necessity of capitulating; the force of the English being reduced to 25 white men, and that of the enemy being considerably augmented by the landing of the whole strength of the expedition, which had been fitted out at Cayenne for this purpose.\*

This conquest, however, did not long remain in the hands of the enemy. On the 7th of the March following, captain Dixon, of his majesty's frigate *Inconstant*, with a store ship and some sloops under his command, having arrived off the island of Goree, and suspecting the settlement to be in the hands of the enemy, dispatched his first lieutenant

to ascertain the fact: who not returning, nor making the signal agreed upon, captain Dixon commenced hostilities by cutting out a ship in the harbour, and stationing his small force in such a position as to cut off all succours from Senegal. On the following morning, as he was preparing to attack the town, he was agreeably surprised to see the English colours hoisted over the French, and shortly after, received information that the garrison had capitulated to the officer sent on shore! He consequently stood into the harbour, anchored, and disembarked a sufficient number of troops to secure his conquest.—Thus was the settlement recaptured, and 300 black and white troops made prisoners, without a blow being struck.†

Early in spring, a most heavy calamity occurred to the country, in the loss of the *Apollo* frigate, of 38 guns, captain Dixon, and the greater part of her convoy off Cape Mondego, on the coast of Portugal. She had sailed from the Cove of Cork, in company with his majesty's ship *Carysfort*, and sixty-nine sail of merchantmen, bound for the West Indies, on the 26th of March. On the 2nd of April, the *Apollo* and her convoy went on shore, and with difficulty 29 of the latter were saved, and proceeded with the *Carysfort* frigate on their voyage. To what circumstance this disastrous event was owing has never yet been fairly accounted for; whether to the captain's not having kept a proper reckoning, or to his having taken charge of some vessels bound for Lisbon

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\* *Vide* Col. Frazer's dispatch. Appendix to the Chronicle, p. 52

† *Vide* dispatch, Appendix, p. 529.



and Oporto : but whether it were to private or public mismanagement, certain it is, that the loss to the nation was that of a fine frigate, her captain, many of her officers, and sixty of her crew, with forty sail of merchant ships, richly laden, and more than five hundred seamen.\*

On the 15th of May, the accession of Mr. Pitt to the office of prime minister, gave the country a new naval administration. At this period, the situation of the British marine was indeed critical. The total want of stores, the neglected state of the dock yards, and the universal dissatisfaction which pervaded both its civil and military departments, called loudly for new men and new measures. True it is, that the perseverance and unshaken spirit of loyalty in that service, gave just cause for national exultation ; and the blockading system was still continued by those, whose shattered ships and worn-out crews hardly enabled them to obey orders, which, when executed, could neither add to their own renown, nor to the advantage of the nation. But deep and loud murmurs daily broke forth at the instances which occurred of the inefficiency of that measure, which nearly two years' experience had completely exposed ; while, from the abandonment of the gunboat armament, the enemy sailed along his own coast in perfect security, (with the exception of the capture of two or three of his vessels, which boisterous weather had driven into deep water,) and assembled his immense flotilla, destined for our invasion, at Boulogne, in defiance of the sort of force which the admiralty had confidently boasted was the

only class proper to be effectively employed on such service. Scarcely a wind that blew that did not bring an account of losses at sea, originating in want of judgment. In fine, an opinion universally prevailed, that the very existence of the British navy depended upon a speedy change of the admiralty.

A perfect knowledge of the weakness of this branch of the government, induced Mr. Pitt here to direct his principal attack, and may be assigned as one of the means, which enabled him, eventually, to overthrow Mr. Addington's administration. Under the circumstances of unparalleled difficulty in which our naval affairs were situated, it certainly was matter of the utmost moment to place at their head a successor to the earl of St. Vincent, who should, at once, be able and popular, and possess sufficient talents to restore them to the prosperous condition in which they had been left by earl Spencer. The appointment of lord Melville (heretofore Mr. Dundas) as first lord commissioner of the admiralty, appeared therefore, utterly strange and unaccountable, as it was well known, that although, as a statesman, he had filled almost every high office under the various administrations of this country for the last 20 years, with the exception of that to which he was now called, he was utterly unqualified, by his total ignorance of naval matters, for his proposed situation. Whether this nomination arose, from the want of some other person of sufficient abilities in the narrow circle of Mr. Pitt's political adherents to occupy so important a trust, or, that it was his lordship's

\* *Vide* a particular account of this event, Appendix, p. 530.



own ambition, certain it is, it at the time was predicted (and which subsequent events but too fatally proved), one, not founded in judgment, nor likely to revive the drooping laurels of the favourite service of the country.

As subsequent events (which do not come within the scope of this volume) have not only necessitated lord Melville to retire from his situation at the admiralty, but have tumbled him headlong from the eminence, where his abilities and good fortune had placed him, "never to rise again," we are glad to have it in our power to state, to the credit of this fallen minister, that to him the civil department of the navy was indebted for measures at once timely and decisive. If it must be allowed, that, in nautical affairs, he was entirely unversed, yet in activity of mind, and plenitude of resource, he infinitely excelled his predecessor; and he deserves no small degree of praise for the care and pains he instantly took upon his entering into office, to repair the dreadful breaches which the æconomical system had made in every department of the naval service. Nor, in fact, was this an easy task: for such was the mutilated and shattered state of the fleet, and to such an extent had this spirit of parsimonious reform been carried, that when stores and timber were offered at comparatively very moderate terms, they were refused by the late admiralty, and suffered to be sold to the agents of the enemies of the country, rather than deviate from their pernicious principle, although at that moment our dock-yards were in want of those articles for their daily consumption. Thus stripped and reduced, as our

arsenals were found by lord Melville, he was compelled to accept the offers of timber, stores, and masts, at whatever prices the contractors chose to demand, and which, under any other circumstances, might, with justice, have been deemed a most culpable and lavish expenditure. Thus were the errors of the late admiralty paid for by the public, without its possessing any confidence in its better government under the present. The deficiency of ships, which had been suffered to rot at their moorings, without the addition of a single new one to replace them, was made up by the purchase of East India ships, and by contracting for the repair of others. And a sort of patch-work fleet was thus created, which, in numbers, were to tell against those of the enemy, but which, in fact, were very little intrinsic strength to our fleet. But the principal service which the new first lord of the admiralty rendered to the navy, and to his country, was by laying down new ships of the line, and frigates, in the king's yards, and by restoring the practice of contracting for the building of others in those of the merchants, which had been totally laid aside; and thus providing for the future existence of our best and surest defence.

On the appointment of lord Melville, much apprehension prevailed in the navy, that those predilections which he was supposed to entertain, (in common with all those who come from the same part of the world,) for his countrymen, would have filled up every subordinate station with Scotchmen. It is, however, but justice to declare, that in this respect, much impartiality governed his conduct during the period when



he presided at the admiralty; and, so great were his fears of incurring this censure, that although sufficient grounds existed (which, by subsequent failures, have been too fatally confirmed) for the removal of some very improper appointments, yet he did not take advantage of his power, but continued those men in office and situations, much to the disadvantage and discredit of the country. It may also be asserted, with truth, that during his administration, mutual confidence, harmony, and satisfaction, were, in a considerable degree, restored to the navy.

To all those points of service, (on which we have endeavoured to render lord Melville every credit) the talents of the new first lord of the admiralty were perfectly competent; and his indefatigable turn for business, enabled him to apply them with ease to himself, and satisfaction to others. But here his merits end. Far other qualities did it require, than he was known to possess, to wield the power of the British fleets, and direct their thunder in awful vengeance against the enemy. The few warlike events we have to detail, which took place under his direction, shew him to have been manifestly incapable of conducting a naval war. They exhibit as much deficiency in judgment and imbecility in execution, in the military department of his office, as he was intelligent and vigorous in its civil branch: and another inactive and inglorious year sunk the British nation in her own eyes, and in those of Europe.

On the 16th of May, an unsuccessful attempt was made by com-

modore sir Sydney Smith, in the *Antelope* frigate, and some sloops of war, to prevent the junction of the enemy's flotilla from Flushing with that at Ostend. The failure of success principally arose from the want of gun-boats, which, from the depth of water in which these vessels move, could alone act against the enemy with effect. Fifty-nine sail of the Flushing division reached Ostend in safety; and the English force, on the falling of the tide, were obliged to haul off into deep water, after being nearly a whole day engaged, and the loss of about fifty men in killed and wounded\*.

Intelligence of a far more flattering nature was received by Government on the 22d of June, in dispatches from the commander-in-chief of the land and sea service in the Leeward Islands, announcing the capture of the Dutch colony of Surinam, with very little loss on the part of his majesty's troops. This expedition sailed from Barbadoes, under the command of Major-general Sir Charles Green, and Commodore Samuel Hood, who hoisted his broad pendant on board the *Centaur*. On the 25th following, the squadron came to anchor about ten miles off the mouth of the river Surinam. On the next day a corps of 600 men, under the command of brigadier-general Maitland, was detached to effect a landing at the Warappa creek, about ten leagues to the eastward of the Surinam river, where the enemy occupied a post. The same day brigadier-general Hughes, with the 64th regiment, took possession of Braam's Point, after some slight resistance from the fort which defends the entrance of the river Su-

\* Vide "Appendix," page 540.



rinam, and on that and the following day the greater part of the fleet anchored in the river. The Dutch governor being now summoned, after some short delay, refused to capitulate. On the 29th it was determined to send two hundred soldiers and seamen, under brigadier-general Hughes, to try for a practicable rout through the woods, to come in the rear of the forts Leyden and Frederici, which formidable defences of the river it was considered unadvisable to attack in front. Accordingly, about eleven at night, this force landed at Resolution Plantation, and proceeded, led by negro guides. After a most laborious march of nearly five hours, by paths always difficult, but then almost impassable, in consequence of the great quantity of rain which had fallen, the detachment arrived in the rear of the Frederici battery, which was immediately assaulted and taken, the enemy flying to Fort Leyden, first setting fire to the powder magazine, by which a few British officers and men were severely wounded. A repetition of the same gallantry at Fort Leyden was attended with similar success. The success of brigadier-general Maitland's division, in effecting a landing at the Warappa Creek, was equally complete. By these operations the junction between the latter corps and the main army could always be effected, and the command of the finest part of the colony was secured. On the 3d of May, brigadier-general Maitland, having overcome every obstacle, came up the Commewine River, and was reinforced by a detachment from the main body. On the next day he advanced through a wood, and approached fort New Amsterdam,

situated on the confluence of the Surinam and Commewine Rivers, and defended by eighty pieces of ordnance, but which formed the last defence of the settlement. When on the point of investing the fortress on every side, a flag of truce arrived from the commander-in-chief of the Batavian troops, with proposals to surrender on terms of capitulation, which, after some modifications, were agreed to, and Fort New Amsterdam was taken possession of the same evening, and with it the whole of the colony, of which, general Green writes, "the inhabitants seemed greatly to rejoice at the event which had taken place restoring them to the powerful protection of the British government, and the solid advantages arising therefrom."

On this occasion there likewise fell into the hands of the captors, the Proserpine frigate, of 32 guns, and the Pylades sloop of war of 18; the quantity of ammunition, ordnance, and stores taken, was immense. The loss of the English force on this occasion, did not amount in killed and wounded to more than sixty men, whilst the prisoners taken, (navy included) exclusive of staff and departments, exceeded two thousand. In this affair, the only conquest Britain had to boast over the enemy within the year, the valour and perseverance of her soldiers and sailors, were eminently conspicuous\*.

In the month of August an attempt was made on that part of the French flotilla, which lay at anchor in the road of Boulogne, by captain Owen, of the Immortalité frigate, and the sloops of war and cutters under his command, but with slen-

\* Vide Appendix, p. 543.



der success \*. And on the 24th of July, and 2d of August, captain Oliver, of the *Melpomene*, was equally unfortunate in his attempt upon the enemy's vessels in Havre Pier; some damage, however, was done to the town, by the shells and carcasses thrown into it on that occasion †.

We have already adverted to the unfortunate circumstance of the French admiral having escaped from the roads of Pondicherry, in consequence of the English commander-in-chief, admiral Rainier, being ignorant of hostilities having commenced. Since that period admiral Linois had carried on a predatory warfare against the English commerce and possessions in that part of the globe, to a considerable extent. Not only had he, in the *Marengo* line of battle ship, of 84 guns, and some frigates, captured several of the East India Company's ships, and others of the private trade, but he had also made a successful descent on Fort Marlborough (Bencoolen) and plundered the settlement. Flushed with his uninterrupted success, and in consequence of a pre-concerted project of the French government, he now determined on a bolder game. About the beginning of this year he cruized with his whole force in the Indian Seas, near the entrance of the Straights of Molacca, with an intention of capturing or destroying, at a single blow, the whole of the homeward-bound China fleet. In this measure, sufficiently well concerted, were his courage equal to his views, severe indeed would have been the consequence to Great Britain.

An official letter from captain

Dance, who acted as commodore, dated the 6th of August in the present year, to the court of directors of the East India company, announced his defeat of the French squadron, which had lain in wait for him, and doubtless considered him an easy and certain prey. On the 5th of February, the fleet under his command, as senior captain, consisting of fifteen company's ships from China, twelve country ships, a Portuguese East Indiaman, and a fast sailing brig, (destined to execute the orders of the commodore till he had passed the Straights of Malacca,) passed Macao Roads, on the night of the 5th of February, when the Portuguese vessel, and one of the company's ships, the *Rolla*, parted company and never joined the fleet again. On the 14th the signal was made by the headmost ship, of four strange sail in the south-west, which, upon reconnoitring, were perceived to be an enemy's squadron, consisting of a line of battle ship, three frigates, and a brig. The signal was immediately made, by the intrepid commodore, for his fleet to form a line of battle in close order. At sun-set the enemy was close up with the rear of the company's ships, and an immediate action was supposed inevitable. The country ships were then placed by the commodore on the lee-bow, for their more perfect protection. At day-break on the 15th, the enemy was three miles to windward, lying-to; at this moment both fleets hoisted their respective colours, when the French displayed a rear-admiral's flag, and battle was offered to him by the English, if he chose to accept the challenge. At one in the after-

\* Vide Appendix, p. 548.

† Appendix, p. 549, 50.



noon, commodore Dance, not wishing to wait an attack, and fearful that his rear might be cut off, executed a bold and gallant manœuvre, which decided the fate of the day. He made the signal to tack and bear down on the French line, and engage them in succession. This order being correctly performed, the company's fleet bore down upon the enemy, under a press of sail. admiral Linois then closed his line, and opened his fire upon the headmost of the English ships, which was not returned by them till a nearer approach, but before the three leading ships of the latter could get well into action, the enemy's squadron hauled their wind, and stood away to the eastward under all the sail they could set. At two the commodore made the signal for a general chase, and pursued his dastardly antagonists for two hours. Thus did the intrepid valour of a handful of British merchant ships, and the gallantry and presence of mind of captain Dance, of the East India company's service, bring to action and put to flight, a French admiral, commanding ships of war superior in force and in men, to the indelible disgrace of the French navy, and the immortal honour of the British name. Nor should it be forgotten that the property; so rescued from the insatiate gripe of France, was estimated at a million and a half sterling! On the arrival of commodore Dance in England with his fleet, rewards were distributed with an unsparing hand, by the East India company, to the various commanders and their brave crews; the wounded and the representatives of the few killed in the

action were nobly remunerated; and, to crown the whole, the gallant captain (now sir Nathaniel) Dance, received the honour of knighthood at his majesty's hands.\*

Towards the latter end of the year a great proportion of the enemy's flotilla having assembled in safety and in considerable force at Boulogne, the alarm of invasion universally prevailed. It was at this period, that a project for its destruction was set on foot, of the success of which the greatest hopes were entertained, as it was well known, that Mr. Pitt and the first lord of the admiralty had given it their entire approbation, and that the partizans of the government anticipated a result, which should at once confound the designs of France, and establish the superiority of the present naval administration over their predecessors in office.

This plan, which some wretched projector had influence enough to induce lord Melville to countenance, was one, which, to every experienced naval officer, appeared open to the severest animadversion. It was principally to be carried into effect through the medium of copper vessels, of an oblong form, containing a quantity of combustibles, and so constructed as to explode in a given time, by means of clock work.—These vessels were to be towed and fastened under the bottoms of the enemy's gun-boats, by a small raft, rowed by one man, who being seated up to the chin in water, might possibly escape detection in a dark night. Fire ships of different construction were also to be employed in this projected attack. The most

\* For Commodore Dance's narrative of this transaction, vide "Appendix," p. 551, and for further particulars, "Chronicle," p. 409.



active and enterprising officers were distributed in the different explosion vessels, and the whole put under the orders and direction of admiral lord Keith, commanding in the Downs, who was to cover the smaller force with his powerful squadron. The appearance of 150 of the enemy's flotilla on the outside of the pier of Boulogne, determined the moment of attack, and an early day in October was fixed upon for this important operation. It is not easy to describe the mingled sensation of anxiety and confidence, which the length of time, and the extent of the preparation for this enterprise had created in the public mind. The latter, however, far predominated, and was confirmed by the rumours which were industriously spread that the first lord of the admiralty would himself superintend the execution of his plan, and that Mr. Pitt and other of the ministers were to be witnesses of its success from the elevation of Walmer castle. To such a pitch had this infatuation risen, that accounts in the public papers were published, on the first moment it was possible that the issue of the contest could be known in the metropolis, announcing, in the most enthusiastic, and exaggerated terms, its complete success in the utter destruction of 150 of the enemy's ships (the whole number on the outside of the pier) and congratulating the country on the acquisition of such a naval minister as lord Melville, for whom they claimed the whole merit of the plan, and no small share of that of its execution! The joy and exultation to which those fabrications, (which were, doubtless, written in

anticipation of the event) gave birth, were lowered gradually by the non-appearance of official statements; and when lord Keith's account appeared some few days afterwards, totally subsided, and gave way to sentiments of a very opposite nature.

On a comparison of the English and French accounts of this affair, it may, we think, be fairly stated as follows. On the 2d of October, admiral lord Keith, with his formidable fleet\*, anchored at about a league and half from the north to the west of the port of Boulogne. In the course of the day, a sufficient force was thence detached to take up an advanced and convenient anchorage for covering the retreat, and to give protection to wounded men, or to boats which might be crippled; or, should the wind freshen, and blow in shore, to tow off the boats in general. While these preparations were going forward, the enemy was not inattentive or negligent in preparing his defences: the batteries were prepared, and the army drawn up in readiness for what might happen. At a quarter past nine, under a heavy fire from the advanced force, and which was returned by a tremendous one from the shore, the first detachment of fire-ships was launched. As they approached the French line, the vessels of the flotilla opened to let them through, and so effectually were they avoided, that they passed to the rear of the line without falling on board of any one of them.

At half past ten the first explosion ship blew up; it produced an immense column of fire; its wreck

\* The French say 52 sail, of which 6 were of the line, 6 frigates, 16 corvettes 10 brigs, 12 cutters, and 2 luggers.



spread far and wide, but not the slightest mischief was done either to the ships or the batteries. A second, a third, and a fourth, succeeded no better: at length, after twelve had been exploded, the engagement ceased about four o'clock on the following morning; and the English smaller vessels withdrew in perfect order, and without the loss of a man. No mischief whatever was ascertained to be done to the flotilla, but, from the missing two brigs and some smaller vessels in their line, the next day, lord Keith thought it possible they might be destroyed. The French reports acknowledge the loss of twenty-five men in killed and wounded. Thus terminated, to the confusion of the projectors, and the bitter disappointment of the public, an enterprize, in the preparation of which much time, expence, and ingenuity were wasted, and which fully committed the reputation of the government of the country to derision and contempt, both at home and abroad\*.

The invention on which so much reliance had been placed, was not new: it had been experimented during the American war, by the rebel force against some English ships, in situations much more calculated to secure success to such a mode of attack, than those at Boulogne, and had completely failed. It evinced, therefore, a great absence of common knowledge, as well as of professional information in the admiralty, to countenance, for a moment, this base and contemptible species of warfare, which henceforward was, in derision, termed "The

CATAMARAN PROJECT," and which most deservedly fell into utter discredit after the first attempt had been made; nor were the public surprised or disappointed when a subsequent attack, by the same means, upon Fort Rouge, and the flotilla protected by it, in the harbour of Calais, was thoroughly unsuccessful†. The public were now divided in sentiment, whether "The Stone Expedition," of the last year, or "The Catamaran" of the present, had most imposed upon their credulity, or were most deserving of reprobation. But it was recollected, that the latter was planned under the auspices of a man utterly ignorant of nautical affairs, whilst the former had its origin under those, of one of the first naval characters of the age.

It is scarcely necessary to detail some further attempts which were made, late in the year, to prevent the junction of various portions of the enemy's flotilla at Boulogne, by the British cruizers, as they were not only ineffectual, but are given in their official form in another part of this work‡. In those efforts, the usual gallantry of the English character was uniformly, though unsuccessfully displayed, and many valuable lives were fruitlessly sacrificed.

The last transaction of the year which we have to notice, was the attack upon, and capture of the Spanish homeward-bound treasure ships, which was effected by capt. Moore of the *Indefatigable*, and three other frigates under his command, off Cadiz. On the 5th of

\* Vide Appendix for lord Keith's account, p. 553.

† Ibid. p. 554.

‡ Ibid. p. 557.



October, captain Moore, who had been detached from the channel fleet for the purpose, fell in with four large Spanish frigates, which, upon being hailed (to induce them to shorten sail) without effect, were fired upon by the English force. A parley then ensued, when captain Moore informed the Spanish rear-admiral, that he had orders to detain his squadron, and earnestly wished to execute them without blood-shed, but that his determination must be immediate. The officer dispatched on this message, returning with an unsatisfactory answer, an engagement immediately ensued, each of the English frigates taking an antagonist. In less than ten minutes, one of the enemy's frigates blew up with a tremendous explosion. In half an hour more, two more of the Spaniards surrendered, and the fourth, after an attempt to escape, was captured long before sun-set. The loss, on the part of the English squadron, was very trifling; that of the Spaniards was (independently of 240 lives lost by the explosion of the frigate) nearly 100 in killed and wounded. The ships thus captured, were conveyed to England in perfect safety, and their lading was found to be of immense value, in coined and uncoined gold and silver, and precious merchandize, the produce of Spanish America\*.

As no parliamentary enquiry took place into the causes of this infraction of the peace with Spain without any previous declaration of war, we are precluded in our present volume, from taking further notice of the transaction, reserving to the following year our discussion (upon a most important point to our national character) whether it were excusable, upon the spirit and principle of the public law of Europe, or whether that law was, in the present instance, grossly violated. In every event, as men, we must deeply regret, that such a force was not employed upon this occasion, as the Spanish admiral might have submitted to, without an imputed stain on his own honour, or that of his country.

We shall here terminate our domestic history for the year; in the transactions of which, with the solitary exception of the capture of Surinam, we have little cause to glory, and proceed (after bestowing a few pages on the affairs of Ireland) to consider those of France during the same period, in which the spirit of enterprise and vigorous councils of her ruler, formed a striking contrast to the apparent supineness and want of resource of the English government.

\* For captain Moore's dispatch, vide Appendix, page 557, and for a most affecting and melancholy incident, attendant on this calamitous event, vide Chronicle, p. 424.



## C H A P. X.

*State of Ireland.—Administration of Lord Hardwicke.—Discontents and Meetings of the Catholics.—Difficulties in the Currency.—The City of Dublin deprived of the Supply of fresh Water.—Great Popularity of the Lord Lieutenant.*

**I**N reviewing the state and circumstances of Ireland, we lament to have still before our eyes a disgusting picture of besotted bigotry and faction.

The history of the present year is the continued tale of these follies, which, exploded and expelled from every other quarter of the civilized world, seem to have found a sort of permanent asylum in that unfortunate island: its government, state of society, and condition, exhibit the foulest, perhaps the only reproach, which has ever stigmatised the name of Britain; for it were idle trifling to impute the distractions and general backwardness of that country, to any other cause, than the circumstances in which she has been placed; and the example or wish of those, to whose management she has been entrusted.

In our former volume, we had occasion to mention the wild scheme of the enthusiast Emmett; who, with an exchequer of not more than 3000*l.* and an undisciplined, perhaps reluctant band of about eighty adventurers, conceived himself equal to the enterprise of giving a new form and constitution to the Irish nation. The attempt was of course crushed by its own impotence; but it was

fertile in consequences, which it becomes our duty to record under the year which the present volume undertakes to lay before the public. In itself, the matter deserved no further notice, than almost any other trivial riot; but it became, in the event, a very serious disaster to the British empire, and an incident peculiarly fortunate to the enemy; it, in a moment, rendered ineffectual the prudent measures by which lord Hardwicke, the viceroy of Ireland, had advanced in the desirable work of conciliating and harmonising the people, and of directing a general effort of zeal to the service of the empire.

The union which took effect in 1801, tended essentially to impair the consequence, and manifestly exasperated the feelings of that description of the Irish, who cherished protestantism as a political designation, and a claim to pre-eminence; it considered itself to have been over-reached; or, in the eagerness of party spirit, to have been self-betrayed to its ruin. Many relinquished that principle altogether; and the fervour, with which it had been pursued, abated very considerably since lord Hardwicke assumed the reins of government. Without



offending the prejudice, or exciting the jealousy of the dominant party, his lordship, as far as the information, or vigilance of government, could extend, afforded indiscriminate and efficient protection to all the king's subjects. He repressed intemperate zeal, the excesses of authority, the arrogance of prosperous faction, the follies of the weak, and the vices of the wicked ; which, covering themselves for a few years back under the cloak of loyalty, seemed, in Ireland, to throw disrepute upon that elevated principle of action. The Catholics, for the most part a money-making and industrious people, with very little of political pretention, were well pleased at their condition under his auspices. The country began to feel the effects of this conduct, in the return and diffusion of harmony, and, what seldom has occurred, and, perhaps would not in the present instance, if the union had not left the viceroy at liberty to pursue the course suggested by his own policy and feelings, THE GOVERNMENT OF IRELAND WAS GREETED WITH THE BLESSINGS OF THE PEOPLE.

The faction to which we have alluded, and whose adherents, as well to distinguish themselves from the protestants of milder and more liberal views, as from an affected reverence for the memory of William the 3d, the modern conqueror of Ireland, were self-denominated, Orangemen, and strenuously maintained the policy of rendering the professors of their religion a garrison of superintendence over the far more numerous Roman catholic population. The component parts of this faction were, a few gentlemen of feeble minds, or narrow education ; some others who sought an occasion to

render their zeal conspicuous, in the hope of profiting by the fears, or from the reliance upon them, of the English government ; of malignant men fond of acting upon the weak or wicked propensities of their neighbours, and of the whole lower classes of protestants, with inconsiderable exception. If the Roman catholics are not to be reputed enemies, they are not to be guarded against or watched, and thus fall to the ground all the pretensions, by which so many active or interested individuals pursue the game of ambition or avarice, and thus the dream of personal importance terminates for all the adherents of this system.

The enterprize of Emmett, which the melancholy but unpremeditated murder of the chief justice had swelled into a sort of affair of state, occupying the thoughts, and reviving the apprehensions of the public, was by these persons seized on with avidity. Although the tumult was obviously local, alarm and mistrust were very generally extended. Notwithstanding it was concerted and conducted by protestants, the first fervor of jealousy was made to include the total of the catholic body ; and rebellion and popery again became a prevalent or fashionable combination of expression.

On the breaking out of the war with France, in 1803, so far as property extended, and as a deliberate and reflecting mind was to be presumed among the catholics, so far an ardent zeal in the cause of their country was conspicuous. When the peace of the metropolis was violated, and that the external enemy seemed to combine his exertions with those of partizans at home, a general and indiscriminate burst of indignation



indignation arose. All descriptions were eager to enrol themselves in the voluntary associations, which had been disused since the peace of Amiens: but the catholics were in many places openly and avowedly refused; in most they were coldly and hesitatingly accepted. These two circumstances, the sentiment of blame and jealousy on the occasion of Emmett's attempt, which seemed to prevail among the protestants, and the disinclination observable in the same quarter, to admit the catholics to the defence of the country, rankled in the minds of the latter with considerable asperity. Although the causes were laid in the preceding year, the effects became conspicuous in the present; we are, therefore, less out of order in re-tracing matters which may seem to have been disposed of under the head of a former volume.

Another incident of the year 1803, on which we expressed some sentiments, recurs also on this occasion. The letters addressed to earl Fingall, by the lord chancellor Redesdale, found their way, about January, 1804, into the public papers, and appeared to contain a wild, unqualified, and indiscriminate censure, upon all ranks and classes of that great body of the Irish, who continue in religious communion with the Latin Primate. This was, indeed, the first regular attack which had, since the revolution, been made upon the superior catholics; in fact, they had hitherto been treated, by every successive administration, with great external appearance of decorum. The sentiments contained in this correspondence, having been necessarily divulged, had already been the subject of indignant reprehension in private circles; but, the resentment nearly exceeded all bounds, when,

by a complete disclosure, it was found, that a minister of great trust and power, the second person in that part of the united kingdom, had adopted, as the result of his deliberate judgment, opinions thus obstinately and irreconcilably hostile to the great mass of the Irish public, and that he sanctioned accusations, which sate hitherto more lightly, because they were considered as the giddy and ludicrous effusions of a few hot-brained enthusiasts.

It was the more extraordinary that these charges should have been preferred at that particular moment, as the principal Roman catholics manifested an extreme anxiety not to distract the attention of government by their own immediate concerns. Such, indeed, was the forbearance of that party, and such the good temper diffused by Lord Hardwicke's popular administration, that this people were universally disposed to wave the consideration of its interests, and to submit to the privations which the law still imposed upon it, rather than perplex the public councils with what was known to be an intricate and embarrassing question. It was not above two months previous to the date of these invectives, and previous to the disgusting doubts of their fidelity, which we have noticed, that the catholics of different counties in Ireland, having been convened for the purpose of preferring applications, for thorough emancipation (as it was termed) to parliament, in every instance refused compliance with the requisition.

Like every strain of outrageous violence, the letters of Lord Redesdale, when they came before the public, produced the very temper of which they seemed to deprecate



the existence. The appearance of a champion in their cause, so eminent for his station, rallied all the bigotry to be found among the protestants, and recalled to this phalanx many who were well disposed, rather to seek the safety of their country in the harmony and good understanding of its inhabitants. The catholics of Ireland do not really feel very keenly the laws by which at present they are restricted; but, when they conceive themselves ill treated, and when they are out of temper, this grievance rises before their minds, with every possible aggravation. Complaints in Ireland against the laws which incapacitate Roman catholics, prove, not so much the severity of these laws, as the discontent of the country.

From an early period in 1804, the people began to murmur, and strenuously challenged the investigation of their condition; still the popular inclination was repressed by partiality to the viceroy. As the government was aware of insuperable obstacles, which must prevent it from gratifying the wishes of the great body of the people, it naturally was desirous that these wishes should be repressed, and should not arrive at that degree of eagerness, which might alienate the affections of the one party among its subjects, and prove offensive to the other. Matters fluctuated between these various inclinations; the more considerable catholics, willing to gratify the viceroy, the middle classes, anxious to vent their indignation against the chancellor. At length, about the month of September, some inhabitants of Dublin, eager to place themselves at the head of popular proceedings, published a requisition to the inhabitants of the Roman ca-

tholic communion, to assemble, for the purpose of considering the propriety of an application to parliament, to relieve them from the several incapacities by which they remained affected. Even here, contrary to what might be expected from assemblies, in their nature popular, and composed of men not a little uneasy and exasperated, the proceedings were calm and deliberate.

The earl of Fingall, at the head of the catholic nobility and gentry, joined the meeting of the citizens. It was probably owing to this circumstance, that so great a degree of order was preserved, and the general tendency of large and indiscriminate bodies to rash measures, completely counteracted. The conduct, indeed, of this noble person, during a period of some years, the most critical and agitated of any in modern times, is deserving of the highest panegyric. Representing one of the oldest peerages in the king's dominions, his rank gave him a most decisive influence with a people accustomed highly to reverence ancient honours. He employed this advantage to soothe and compose the angry passions of his countrymen, and to divert the resentments of the public from dwelling on privations, in which he was himself the most eminent sufferer, and some of which were, with respect to him, his close connections, or his family, almost personal injuries. He strongly recalls to our minds, in every step of his political life, those eminent personages who were worthy to be immortalized by the masterly pen of lord Clarendon; his conduct presents to us, particularly, that of a nobleman placed in circumstances of striking similarity, the great and good



good marquis of Clanricarde. During the troubles which preceded the usurpation, this latter noble person was the first, in point of dignity, among the catholics of Ireland: neither personal insults, nor public injuries, nor the threats or entreaties of those who sought to intimidate or soothe him to compliance with their views, could move him from the steady course of loyalty and of honour. He stood on high, a bright example to all, an incentive to the good, a reproach to the ill-intentioned. Such, but with a happier star, was the earl of Fingall, amid the discontents and disaffection which, from the year 1796, made but too extensive a progress in Ireland.

On the present occasion, his influence and popularity were exerted, and the result of his efforts, aided by the universal wish to concede to the measures of lord Hardwicke, was, that the meetings of the catholics, from which great mischief was foreboded, were conducted with composure, and without offensive ostentation; and were neither calculated to inflame the feelings of those who pressed, nor to exasperate the opposition of those who resisted the great measure, often, though inaccurately, denominated emancipation. Four or five meetings of this nature were held, for the purpose of deliberating as to the propriety of the mode and time of application. The final decision did not take place until the winter of 1805; the account of it, together with the proceedings in consequence, will therefore properly come under the arrangements of our subsequent volume.

Another circumstance of considerable importance agitated Ireland about the same period. When the issue of specie from the bank of England was stopped, the same precaution was of course extended to the bank of Ireland, and certainly with at least an equal necessity; the dread of impending commotions had spread in Ireland so widely, that the practice of concealing the precious metals was resorted to by people in general, and circulation was already drained to a considerable amount, for the purpose of privately hoarding. But in England, the direction of the bank was in the hands of men of the first intelligence and ability; in Ireland, the directors were respectable individuals, but plain and limited traders, by no means scientifically versed in that political œconomy, of which they had become (when their notes were rendered the currency of the country) very principal administrators. In England, also, parliament preserved a vigilant inspection over the issues of the bank, which measure was totally unheeded by the Irish legislation.\* The bank, thus left to itself, without control or superintendence, regulated the issue of notes by its own discretion, and extended its discounts to the widest range of private attachment or interest. The quantity of its notes supplying the circulating medium, shortly amounted so high, as nearly to quadruple the notes and specie employed in the currency of Ireland, anterior to the restriction. The private bankers, encouraged by the facility of making good their payments in Bank of Ireland paper, became liberal in a

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\* Mr. Forster, who has since stood forward as a grand accuser of the bank of Ireland, was, during the whole period of this reprehensible neglect, a principal adviser of the crown, and a leading member of the Irish house of commons.



proportionate degree ; and the trade of discounting appeared so lucrative, that the number of banking-houses in Ireland speedily augmented from, perhaps, twelve, to above seventy. All these establishments issued notes to a considerable extent, and, in the course of three or four years, instead of the amount of five millions in cash and paper, which, before the restriction in 1797, supplied the wants of barter in Ireland, the circulating currency in bank and private paper swelled to the enormous amount of twenty millions during the present year !

The silver coinage first fell before this inundation. For a great part of the present reign, a scarcity of silver had been felt in Ireland ; but at present, that coin totally disappeared. In fact, in a currency so abundant, and the matter of which was so easy to be procured, a nominal guinea was out of proportion below the value of twenty-one shillings of sterling silver. The private bankers stepped in, and in the country parts of Ireland, supplied the want of silver by notes of eighteen-pence, half-a-crown, seven shillings and sixpence, and nine shillings. In Dublin, the affair fell into the hands of professed coiners, who issued flat pieces of silver, from four-pence to eight-pence, in intrinsic value. Upon this depreciation of the currency, exchange rose between England and Ireland, as might be expected, to the disadvantage of the latter, fluctuating between fifteen and twenty pounds per centum. The members of parliament, who resorted to England, and the great Irish proprietors residing there, were the first to become sensible of this inconvenience, and to raise an outcry against it, al-

though probably their gain, in the advance of rent, was more than equivalent to the loss on remittances.— In Ireland there was little or no repining ; absentees were at all times unpopular in that country, and the exchangers and bankers had the address to inform the people, that the high premium on remittance operated as a tax solely upon those who drew their rents out of the country. But on the change of administration, in the present year, Mr. Pitt having committed the Irish exchequer to Mr. Forster, that gentleman understood too well the importance, in a political point of view, of the parties whom the high exchange affected. He directly applied himself to gratify them in this their favourite object.

It was, therefore, become necessary to create, in Ireland, dissatisfaction at the actual state of the currency. Without any previous notice, the shillings hitherto current were refused by the servants of the post-office. The alarm spread immediately ; an universal stagnation ensued, as to all inferior traffic. No state of things could be more alarming ; the labouring poor could not procure bread for the shillings (we will not call them silver) which, a few days back, they had received as current ; the petty traders in perishable commodities could neither venture to keep their articles, nor dispose of them. Military patrols were obliged to be called out, to prevent the tumults apprehended at the shops of bakers, and other small retailers of provision. For two or three Saturdays, successively, the appearance of things continued to create anxiety ; for, on these days, the working people were accustomed to lay in their weekly stock, and receive



receive their wages. At length employers resorted to the expedient of discharging small demands by orders on the baker, or provision shops; others provided quantities of halfpence, which passed current in rolls; some silversmiths issued silver tokens, with the connivance of government; a number of dollars were also, at a high price, brought into circulation, and the bank of Ireland opened an office, where the depreciated silver was received, at a fair value.

Apprehensions were likewise entertained that the city of Dublin would not patiently have submitted to another privation, inflicted upon it during the present season. A large tax is levied upon the city, for defraying the expence of supplying fresh water to the inhabitants; this fund is managed by the corporation, who contracted with another corporate body, the proprietors of the grand canal, to furnish water to the city. The period of the contract having expired, the parties could not agree on the terms of a renewal; and the inhabitants, whilst two jobbing corporations were contending for their

spoil, were left destitute of this most indispensable article. The interposition of government was at length provoked by the continuance of the strife, by the danger to which the town was exposed, exemplified in the instance of a small fire, which water could not be procured to extinguish, and by the dread that the city might be visited by distempers, if the people were suffered to continue under this pressing necessity. At the special instance of the lord lieutenant, whose popularity was unbounded, the supply was restored by the canal company. The patience manifested on these several occasions, goes, indeed, very far to prove, that the temper of the Irish is remote from that promptitude to violence, and that hostility to its government, which had been represented as pervading the dispositions of the people, and evinces the good effects which are to be expected from a popular and conciliating government. By arts like these, the earl of Hardwicke has safely conducted that country through a period, in which so many instances occurred of trying and exemplary difficulty.

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## C H A P. XI.

*Affairs of France.—Retrospect to 1803.—Probable Views of Bonaparte, in a Rupture with England.—Flattering Statements of Affairs, at the Commencement of the Year, by the Government.—Plot against the Government of Bonaparte detected—Generals Moreau, Lajollais, and other Conspirators, arrested and imprisoned—Report on this Transaction—Addresses to Bonaparte on his Escape from the menaced Danger—his Reply—General Pichegru arrested—Consideration of the Government towards Moreau—and why—found guilty—pardoned and transported.—Arrest of the Duke D'Enghien in the neutral Territory of Baden—his high Character and Reputation—conveyed to Paris—hurried before a Tribunal of Bonaparte's Creatures at Vincennes—Trial—Cruelties exercised towards him—Condemnation and Death!—Indignation excited in Europe by this Transaction—Conduct of Russia thereon—Resentment of Bonaparte—angry Correspondence between those Powers.—Fresh Conspiracy against France announced by her Government—England accused as fermenting it in foreign Courts.—Messrs. Drake and Smith obliged to quit Munich and Stutgard, at the Requisition of France.—Fresh Accusations against the English Government—Reply of Lord Hawkesbury, on its Part, addressed to the different Courts of Europe.—Death of General Pichegru in Prison, supposed to be by Assassination.—Execution of the other Conspirators.—Bonaparte's Views upon the Crown of France.—The Senate propose to elect him Emperor—his Answer—Addresses of different Bodies to the First Consul, on the same Subject—Proceedings in the Tribunate on this Point—Carnot opposes his Elevation to that Dignity—Replies to him—the Measure of electing him Emperor carried—Decree to that Effect—adopted by the Senate—"Senatus Consultum" thereon—Bonaparte Emperor—announces his Dignity to the Courts of Europe—Declaration of the Courts of Russia and Sweden upon this Occasion.—Fresh Violation of the Germanic Empire, by Bonaparte.—Seizure of the British Minister, at Hamburgh, by the French—and carried a Prisoner to Paris—confined in the Temple—released upon his Parole.—French Treaty with Genoa—highly advantageous to the former Power.—Bonaparte orders the Pope to attend his Coronation at Paris.—Allocution of that Potentate, addressed to his Prelates—arrives at Paris—and crowns Bonaparte—great Festivities at Paris upon that Occasion.—Annual Report of the State of the Nation on the last Day of the Year.—Conclusion.*

**N**OTWITHSTANDING the lofty tone of menace and insult directed by the French government, even before the renewal of hostilities, against this country, devoted, as it should appear from their language, to be blotted from the list of independent nations; and,



and, notwithstanding the most unremitting exertions on their part, wherein no means were spared either to be derived from their own resources, or from those of their neighbours, to accomplish our destruction; we have seen the preceding year brought to a close, without one of those mighty threats having been realized. On the contrary, we have had the satisfaction to witness every attempt levelled against the internal peace and prosperity of the British empire, completely baffled, by the unanimity, zeal, and energy of our countrymen; and the implacable hostility of the enemy accompanied with no greater triumph abroad, than the capture and detention of unarmed individuals, in violation of the rights of hospitality, together with the invasion and pillage of an electorate, which had alone to trust to its neutrality, as a member of the Germanic empire, for security against the power of a nation, which from her enormous extent and prodigious military establishments, had arrogated to herself the distinction of *The Great*: whilst we had to contemplate the success of the British arms, against the islands of St. Lucia and Tobago, and the Dutch settlements in America, added to the discomfiture of his immense armaments employed in the reduction of St. Domingo, and that important colony wrested, perhaps for ever, from the French dominion, by the joint exertions of half-disciplined negroes, and his Britannic majesty's naval force on that station.

Such appears to be the result of the hostile operations of the last year, between the two nations.

Those of the year which we have now to record are still more insig-

nificant on the side of the enemy; whilst the internal occurrences of France, and her transactions with other powers, are of a nature to excite considerable interest.

The great concessions subscribed to by the British cabinet, in concluding the treaty of Amiens, appear to have misled Bonaparte. The inference drawn by his overbearing mind, was, that the spirit of Great Britain was so far broken, as to suffer his arrogance and ambition to range uncontrolled; but, finding that this country was not so far reduced as implicitly to acquiesce in all his projects, or base enough to participate in them, as he has more than once ventured to suggest, he seems to have considered the existing peace with England as an obstacle to his further aggrandizement, and that a rupture, which he might ascribe to the bad faith and ill-will of this country towards France, would furnish him with a more specious pretext, and more ample means, to consummate his views.—By such an event, the French people would again be thrown into a state of uncertainty and dismay, which would the better enable him to increase his personal influence and authority, by the augmentation of his various establishments, civil and military; whilst all murmurs would be silenced by the dread of the revival of those sanguinary scenes which had occurred during the course of the revolution, and to which, it was very generally feared, the overthrow, or the weakening of the existing government, might lead.

These apprehensions were adroitly inculcated, and kept alive by his partisans, whilst the vigilance and indefatigable attention of the supreme head of the government were  
loudly



loudly proclaimed on all occasions. The minister of the interior concluded his speech to the legislative body, on the opening of their session of the present year, in the following terms:

“The French people, proud of  
“their government, confident in  
“their resources, and happy in  
“their institutions, express but one  
“sentiment—love for the august  
“head of the state—free from fear,  
“from agitation, from inquietude,  
“they repose in him the care of  
“their destinies.”

The flourishing state of France was portrayed in the most captivating colours in the official report laid before the legislative body\*.—It is there represented, that although the republic had been forced to change her attitude, her situation was in no respect deteriorated, and that the consciousness of her strength was a sure pledge of her prosperity—that the internal tranquillity of the country had not been disturbed since the torch of war had been re-kindled by a jealous enemy—that the public indignation against that enemy was as much increased as the devotion to the first consul—that all danger of internal divisions was at an end; in despite of every effort made by the English to promote them. In short, that the war had not even interrupted the plans formed for a time of peace, such as the construction of roads, canals, bridges, and harbours, and objects of a similar nature; and that the government had pursued, with constancy, every measure that tended to establish the constitution, in conformity to the genius and wishes of the citizens, so as to attach all inte-

rests and all hopes to its duration—that the finances were in a most thriving condition, and the revenues collected with the greatest facility—that public credit had maintained itself in the midst of shocks of war, and that the sinking fund fulfilled, with constancy and fidelity, its destination—that out of two hundred millions (of livres,) which might have been captured by the enemy, more than two-thirds had been saved—that the Hanoverian army, to the amount of twenty-five thousand men, had laid down their arms to them, and that their cavalry had been remounted at the expence of a possession dear to the king of England, and which will be a security in their hands of the justice which he will hereafter be obliged to render them—that France will never acknowledge less advantageous conditions than those of the treaty of Amiens—and, finally, that the most perfect harmony subsisted between France and the United States, Helvetia, Italy, the Ottoman Empire, and that the tranquillity given to the continent, by the treaty of Luneville, was secured by the last proceedings of the diet of Ratisbon.

Such is the substance of the report made by the government, and well calculated it was (allowing its truth to remain undisputed) to tranquillize the minds of the French people, and inspire them with a firm reliance on their ruler. But, admitting the general truth of this statement, and forgetting for a moment, that, in all similar publications, every unfavourable circumstance is suppressed, we may venture to presume, that the source of so much national prosperity, like the overflow of a

\* *Vide* “State Papers,” p. 608.



mountain torrent, may be but of short duration\*.

The public mind being thus prepared, by every artifice, to repose implicit faith in Bonaparte, a new event occurred, which materially contributed to accelerate the completion of his projects.

Early in the month of February, a plot was detected, the object of which seems to have been the overthrow of the government. The principal persons implicated in it, were general Pichegru, Georges Cadoudal, formerly a leader of the insurgents in Brittany, Lajollais, a confident of the former, and several other individuals attached to the latter. It likewise appears that general Moreau had, to a certain extent, entered into the views of Pichegru, and had had some secret interviews with him since his return to Paris. It was also positively asserted, that the conspirators had come to the resolution of making away, in the first instance, with Bonaparte.

The first intimation of this intrigue seems to have been given by a confidential agent of the parties, who had been arrested near Calais, on his return from England.

Lajollais, Moreau, and several others were, hereupon, arrested; but Pichegru and Georges, though

known to be at Paris, found means, for a short time, to screen themselves from the researches of the police.

On the 17th of February, a long and detailed report, relative to this conspiracy, was made to the government, by the grand judge, minister of justice.†

This paper having been read to the tribunate, the president, after making a few observations on the subject, concluded by declaring, in the name of the assembly, that they would be responsible for the life of Bonaparte, which secured to France her glory and her prosperity. He then proposed that the tribunate should, in a body, wait on the first consul, in order to express their detestation of the meditated attempt, and to congratulate him on his escape from the threatened danger.

Hereupon, the brother of general Moreau, who was a member of this body, testified his deep concern to find that endeavours had been made to traduce a man who had rendered such important services to the republic, and who was deprived of the liberty of exculpating himself. He made a solemn declaration of his brother's innocence, and demanded that he should be brought to trial before any ordinary tribunal, for he could easily make it appear,

\* The whole of this flattering representation being founded upon the supposition, that the pecuniary resources of France were adequate to the maintenance of the various establishments therein mentioned, without touching upon the additional expences occasioned by the war, it behoves us to observe, that extraordinary funds to the amount of 150 millions *tournois*, (about 6,250,000*l.* sterling) had been received, in the course of the preceding year, from contributions levied on the United States, Hanover, the Hanse Towns, Spain, and Portugal; independently of which aid, nearly a fourth part of the French army was maintained at the expence of Italy, Holland, and Hanover.

For the happiness of the world at large, it is devoutly to be hoped, that this will not be a permanent revenue!

† Vide State Papers, p. 615.



appear, that the accusation against him was an infamous calumny.

It was said, in reply, that the defence of general Moreau should have all the latitude, liberty, and publicity of which so important a cause was susceptible.

Deputations from the senate, the legislative body, and the tribunate waited accordingly on the first consul, and, in terms of strong indignation, deprecated the conspiracy which had been revealed: attributed it to the instigation of England, and exhorted him to pay greater attention than his natural courage prompted him to do, to his personal safety, which was so inseparably connected with that of the nation. The most memorable passage in those addresses is the following, used by Joubert, president of the tribunate.—

“ While we imagined, citizen first consul, that you had nothing to dread but the dangers of legitimate war, the perfidy of the English government surrounded you with new snares. Whata humiliating avowal of its inability to combat with open arms the repairing genius of France.”!!!

Bonaparte replied to these addresses, that, “ Since he had attained the chief magistracy, many plots had been formed against his life. Educated in camps, he never regarded, as important, dangers which caused in him no fear.— But he could not avoid experiencing a serious and painful feeling, when he reflected on the situation in which that great nation would have been involved, had this last conspiracy succeeded: for it was principally against the glory, the liberty, and the destiny of the French people that it was planned.

“ He had long since renounced the hope of enjoying the pleasures of private life. All his days were employed in fulfilling the duties which his fate and the will of the French people had imposed upon him. Heaven would watch over France, and defeat the strata-gems of the wicked. The citizens might be free from alarm—his life would continue as long as it should be of utility to the nation. But he wished the French people to understand, that without their confidence and affection, existence would be to him without consolation, and to them without an object.”

These measures were accompanied by communications to the same effect, issued in general orders to the French armies, and were followed, of course, by corresponding addresses.

That from the sailors, composing what was styled the right wing of the national flotilla, concluded thus:

“ Citizen first consul, we wait with impatience for the moment when you shall proclaim the hour of vengeance.”

These events, together with the extraordinary activity of the police, created the greatest agitation and alarm.

On the 28th of February, Pichegru was arrested in a private house at Paris, having been betrayed by a person with whom he had lodged: and on the 29th a law was proposed and passed, in the course of a single sitting, by which the punishment of death was denounced against all those who should conceal Georges, or any of his accomplices; and a deputation was charged to communicate this law to Bonaparte.

Duvidal, their organ, on the

occa-



occasion delivered the following speech.—

“ Citizen first consul, the tribunate and the legislative body have adopted measures to cut the last thread of the conspiracy.— These measures would be in vain, if they were not prompt. Love of the country dictated to the tribunate the wish it has expressed for their being put in immediate execution. Every thing is at stake when you are in danger. It is the repose, the glory, the existence of the republic which must be saved by the preservation of its chief from criminal attacks. The French people have intimated to us their destinies; you owe it to them, and we require of you to take all means for preserving him in whom centre their wishes, their affections, and their hopes.”

The first consul answered, that he would take the wish expressed by the tribunate into early and serious consideration.

At the same time a proclamation was issued from the police office, notifying the law which had just passed—informing the inhabitants, that Georges and his associates were still at Paris, from whence it was impossible for them to escape, the barriers and roads being guarded with the utmost vigilance; and summoning all those who had, or did conceal them, to profit of the period allowed by the law, for the purpose of averting its axe. Masters of furnished houses, were ordered to examine all individuals lodging with them. The drivers of hackney coaches were apprized, that such persons were in the habit of using their carriages, and a reward was promised to those who

would assist the police, in securing them. A report was likewise published, describing the persons, to the number of sixty, implicated in this affair.

Accordingly, on the 9th of March Georges, accompanied by a person of the name of Leridan, the younger, was arrested in a cabriolet, attempting, as it is supposed, to escape from Paris, in the dusk of the evening. He killed, with a pistol shot, the peace officer who stopped the horse, and wounded another, who endeavoured to seize him.

Several others were daily taken up. Madame Moreau, the wife of the general, was however suffered to remain at liberty; and indeed, during his confinement, she experienced, notwithstanding the jealousy of the government, open marks of attention and compassion, from the inhabitants of Paris. But this lenity towards Madame Moreau, so unusual on the part of the French government, was more a measure of policy, than of humanity. For the high military reputation of her husband, his probity, moderation, and disinterestedness, had rendered him the idol of a great proportion of the army, and had gained him the esteem of all well thinking persons in France. He was also considered as the natural rival of the first consul, and looked up to as the person most likely to deliver France from his tyranny. He had long excited the jealousy of Bonaparte, but prudence had checked the exercise of that passion by any act of violence. A pretext for his arrestation was consequently an object of the greatest magnitude to the first consul. However, it was still judged expedient to proceed against him with caution, lest any apparent harshness



harshness might cause a clamour, and perhaps stronger marks of dissatisfaction on the part of the troops; and although he was found guilty of the charges adduced against him, by the tribunal before which he was tried, his sentence was remitted [on his having written a disculpatory letter to Bonaparte] upon the condition that he should retire to the United States of America.

The conspiracy being thus defeated, and the principal persons concerned, in confinement, Bonaparte availed himself of an opportunity which then presented itself, to get rid of one of the princes of the house of Bourbon, from whom it is presumed he entertained considerable apprehensions. In this he was not actuated solely by the spirit of revenge, for he had been previously heard to say that the only individual of that unfortunate family who could be deemed dangerous to the existing French government, resided in an obscure manner in a small town in Germany. This could apply only to the duc d'Eng-hien, consequently it is probable that the seizure of that prince had long been in contemplation.

In fact, the duc d'Eng-hien had acquired the highest reputation. During the whole of the preceding war, he had served under his gallant grandfather the prince of Condé, and had so much distinguished himself by his skill and bravery as an officer, added to his unbounded generosity and humanity, as to be

adored by his followers, and admired by his enemies. Such conduct must have procured him numerous friends and partizans in France.

The violation of the territory of an independant but weak potentate, was no impediment, and but a trivial consideration in the eyes of Buonaparte, compared with the sacrifice of so illustrious and so valuable a victim.

“*Nam regibus boni quam mali  
“suspectiores sunt, semperque his  
“aliena virtus formidolosa est.*”

Shortly after the disbanding of the army of Condé, his highness fixed his residence at Ettenheim, in the electorate of Baden, where he passed his time in the society of a few select friends. His principal occupation was study, his recreations the culture of a small garden and hunting. Besides, it is probable, that the locality of his retreat furnished him with the opportunities of receiving earlier intelligence of what was passing in France, than if he had been further removed from the frontiers.

Thus situated, and little expecting any attempt upon his person, he was seized, together with several other individuals, on the 15th of March, by a body of French cavalry, who had passed the Rhine on the preceding night, under the command of general Caulincourt, aid-de-camp to Bonaparte, and instantly conveyed to the citadel of Strasburgh.\*

On the 17th he was sent forward  
to

\* The first intimation which the elector of Baden had of this design, was the following letter, dated the 10th March, from Talleyrand, French minister for foreign affairs, to baron Edelsheim, the elector's prime minister, Caulincourt was the bearer.

“Sir,

“I had formerly sent you a note, the purport of which was to request the arrest  
of



to Paris, in consequence of orders received by the telegraph, and was obliged to continue the journey, a distance of about 400 miles, without the smallest intermission, escorted by relays of *gens d'armes*. At six o'clock in the morning of the 20th, he arrived at Paris, and was conducted, in the first instance, to the Temple, as it were to wound his feelings by the sight of a prison, where so many of the royal family had suffered such atrocious cruelties; even there he was not permitted to repose, but was hurried away to the castle of Vincennes, where a tribunal, under the appellation of a special military commission, composed of persons devoted to Bonaparte, selected by his brother-in-law, general Murat, governor of Paris, had been convened. At 9 o'clock in the evening of the same day, almost exhausted from want of rest and nourishment, he was forced to appear before his judges, who, in the course of two hours, passed upon him the sentence of death.

He was accused, 1st, of having borne arms against the French republic. 2ndly, of having offered his

services to the English government, the enemy of the French people.— 3rdly, of having received and accredited agents of the said government; of having procured for them the means of maintaining an understanding in France, and having conspired, with them, against the internal and external safety of the state. 4thly, of having placed himself at the head of an assemblage of French emigrants, and others in the pay of England, formed in the countries of Fribourg and Baden. 5thly, of having maintained a correspondence in the town of Strasburgh, tending to stir up the neighbouring departments, for the purpose of effecting there a diversion in favour of England. 6thly, of being one of the favourers and accomplices of the conspiracy planned by the English against the life of the first consul, and intending, in case of the success of this conspiracy, to enter France hostilely.

Upon each of these charges the court found the prisoner guilty, and judgment was pronounced in the following words.

“ The special military commission

of the French emigrants who were assembled at Offenbourg, as the first Consul, from successive arrests of the banditti which the English government has sent to France, and from the result of the trials which have been instituted, has obtained a complete knowledge of the extensive part which the English agents at Offenbourg have had in those horrible plots which have been devised against his own person, and against the safety of France. He was, at the same time, warned that the duc D'Enghien, and general Dumourier, were at Ettenheim. As it is impossible that they should be in that city without the permission of his electoral highness, the first consul, therefore, could not see, without the deepest concern, that a prince, whom he had distinguished by every mark of friendship, should give an asylum to the most determined enemies of France, and permit them, so tranquilly, to project such unprecedented conspiracies. From these extraordinary occurrences, the first consul has found it necessary to order two small detachments of troops to repair to Offenbourg and Ettenheim, to seize the authors of a crime, the nature of which is such as to place those, who are proved to have had a share in it, out of the protection of the law of nations. It is general Caulincourt who is charged with the execution of these orders of the first consul, and who, there is no doubt, will employ every care and attention in fulfilling the same, which his electoral highness can wish. He will have the honour to deliver the letter which I have been directed to write.”



“ sion unanimously condemns to  
 “ the pain of death Louis Antoine  
 “ Henri de Bourbon, duc d’Eng-  
 “ hien, in atonement for the crimes  
 “ of being a spy, of carrying on a  
 “ correspondence with the enemies  
 “ of the republic, and of an attempt  
 “ against the internal and external  
 “ safety of the state.”

No evidence whatever was produced upon the trial, which was a mere formality, preparatory to the execution of a sentence virtually pronounced by the order for the prince’s arrestation.

During the whole of this distressing scene, the duc d’Enghien manifested the greatest calmness and fortitude, a circumstance the more surprising, when we consider how much cause he had to be irritated by the treatment he had experienced, and to be enervated by the fatigue, and want of proper nourishment, which he had endured for the last six days. Even the interval between his condemnation and execution was not undisturbed. Four *gens d’armes* were posted in the dungeon where he was confined; and it is said that he was not permitted to communicate with the clergyman who attended him on the occasion, otherwise than in a tone of voice loud enough to be overheard by his guards.

In the course of the night, general Murat arrived at Vincennes, under an escort of mamelukes, accompanied by four aids-de-camp, together with generals E. Mortier, Duroc, Hulin, and Louis Bonaparte.

The castle was surrounded, and the avenues to that part of the wood of Vincennes appointed for the execution, guarded by Italian troops of *gens d’armes*, while each mame-

luke was provided with a torch for the occasion.

The duke, on being informed of his sentence, tranquilly replied, “ I am ready and resigned.” It is moreover asserted that, upon hearing that the grenadiers commanded to shoot him were Italians, of Bonaparte’s guard, he said, “ Thank God they are not Frenchmen! “ I am condemned by a foreigner, “ and God be praised that my executioners are also such. It will “ be a stain the less upon my countrymen;” and that, at the place of execution he lifted up his hands to heaven, exclaiming, “ May God “ preserve my king, and deliver “ my country from the yoke of a “ foreigner.”

It was proposed to bind a handkerchief over his eyes, but he prevented it, saying, “ That a loyal “ soldier, who has often been exposed to fire and sword, can face “ death with open eyes, and without fear.”

He then looked at the soldiers, who had levelled their pieces, saying, “ Grenadiers, lower your arms, “ otherwise you will miss or only “ wound me.” Of the nine who fired, seven hit him: two bullets pierced his head, and five his body. A coffin, partly filled with lime, was ready to receive his corpse, and a grave had been dug in the garden of the castle, where he was interred.

Thus perished in the prime of life the only son of the duc de Bourbon, a prince who inherited all the virtues of the illustrious house of Condé!!!

By this foul deed Bonaparte manifested his determination (if it admitted of any question before) to perpetuate, at all hazards, his dominion



minion. He has certainly got rid of one formidable opponent, but he has created many others, who only wait for a favourable opportunity to declare themselves. Unfortunately for mankind, he has such numerous accomplices in guilt, whose fortunes, and perhaps existence, depend upon the upholding his authority, and who are perfectly in possession of the means of governing that ignorant and abject people, namely, by severity and corruption, and having those means completely in their hands, that it will require more than an ordinary course of events, and a prodigious reverse of fortune, to shake his power.

This unjustifiable proceeding excited a general, but, in many cases, a smothered indignation. Russia, however, came forward with that openness and intrepidity which so well became her. His imperial majesty, conformably to that magnanimity which has long characterized the court of St. Petersburg, took the earliest opportunity of testifying the lively interest which he took in the fate of this unfortunate prince: and a spirited remonstrance upon this inhuman transaction, was addressed to the French minister for foreign affairs, through M. Oubril, his imperial majesty's *chargé d'affaires* at Paris.\* A note was likewise presented on the 6th of May, at the diet of Ratisbon, by the Russian minister resident there; wherein the princes of the empire are called upon to demand satisfaction for this unparalleled violation of the neutrality of Germany.†

But it did not seem expedient to most of the powers to whom this

exhortation was addressed, to take up the subject with that earnestness which their dignity and independence seemed to demand. So that a step undertaken by Russia, from such just and noble motives, terminated in a feeble and fruitless correspondence. It had, however, the effect of producing a note from the French government, composed with so little management as to aggravate, instead of palliating the offence complained of. And, as it gave rise to a most animated and able discussion on the part of Russia, we think it necessary to cite the most striking passages.

This note observes that the influence of the enemies of France has prevailed in the cabinet of St. Petersburg, and that the good understanding between the two countries is thus endangered. That the emperor of Germany and the king of Prussia, most concerned in the fate of Germany, had understood that the French government were authorised in arresting, at two leagues from the frontier, French rebels, who, from their conduct, had placed themselves out of the protection of the law of nations. That the first consul had no account to render to the emperor of Russia, on a point which in no wise concerned his interests, but if the intention of his imperial majesty were to form a new coalition, what need was there for empty pretences? why not act openly? That the first consul knows no man who could intimidate France,—no man whom he would permit to interfere in the internal concerns of the country. It is required that France should employ the most efficacious means

\* Vide State Papers, p. 642.

† Vide State Papers, p. 654.



to tranquillize the different governments of Europe, and to put an end to an order of things too alarming for their independence and security. This very independence of the states of Europe is attacked by the protection afforded by Russia, at Dresden and at Rome, to the authors of plots; by the Russian ministers at most of the courts, pretending to place under the safeguard of the law of nations, natives of the very country where those ministers reside, as Mr. Marcoff attempted to do in the instance of a Genevese, and by not removing from their situations French emigrants in the employment of Russia. (Laying aside all decency, the question is then asked :) If, when England planned the murder of Paul the first, (supposing intelligence to have been received that the authors of the plot were at a league's distance from the frontiers,) would not pains have been taken to arrest them?—That the object of such persons was to rekindle the flames of war, which could only be advantageous to England. The first consul then declares his repugnancy to a war with Russia, but that he should prefer it to a state of things, which did not place France on an equality with other great powers.\*

The tragical scene to which we have just adverted had scarcely closed, when another intrigue was denounced by the grand judge. In his report, which was accompanied by a variety of documents and intercepted letters, it is stated that the British minister, resident at the court of Munich, was engaged in a clandestine correspondence with certain individuals in the heart of France;

with a view to overturn the government. That these agents had been supplied with large sums of money, which were to be employed in obtaining information of the measures in contemplation, by establishing an intelligence in the different public offices;—in gaining over those employed in the powder-mills;—in having at their disposal a number of printers and engravers;—in procuring a correct knowledge of the different parties in France;—and in taking every means to disorganize the armies.

Such is the substance of the instructions cited by the grand judge, as given by Mr. Drake to his principal correspondent, Mehée de La-touche, who was supposed to be at the head of a committee of malcontents assembled at Paris.†

This M. Mehée was a man of notoriously infamous character, but who, it appears, had had sufficient hypocrisy and address to obtain a degree of confidence from some members of the British government, and, through their introduction, to have gained access to Mr. Drake, to whom he made a tender of his services.

No British subject, who had the interests of his country at heart, but particularly a British minister, could well refuse, under similar circumstances, to receive any useful intelligence which might be imparted to him. But this proposal from Mehée, was merely a snare, in order to discover the views and the private means of procuring information, adopted by the English cabinet, for he appears to have been, from the beginning, in the confidence of the French government.

\* Vide State Papers, p. 642.

† Vide State Papers, p. 619.



The main drift of this publication was to implicate Mr. Drake in a participation in the plans of Georges and his adherents, and that was attempted to be proved by a distortion of Mr. Drake's correspondence. Not a syllable, however, appears in any of the letters ascribed to him, to justify such a construction.

Copies of these papers were addressed to the several ministers from foreign courts, residing at Paris, with a circular note from M. Talleyrand annexed. The answers to which are conceived in general terms of compliment to the first consul, with the exception of a few, of which the writers, solely upon the faith of the communication thus made to them, ventured to reprobate, in the harshest terms, the conduct of Mr. Drake. Amongst the latter the Danish minister, Mr. Dreyer, and the American minister, Mr. Livingston, were the most conspicuous\*.

The originals were forwarded to Munich, and on the 31st of March, a note was addressed to Mr. Drake, by baron de Montgelas, the elector's prime minister, wherein he expresses the regret of his serene highness, that his capital should have been the central point of a correspondence, so inconsistent with the mission with which Mr. Drake was invested at his court; and that he owes it to the dignity and welfare of his subjects to declare, that from that moment it became impossible for him to have any communication with Mr. Drake, or to receive him at his court.

After the delivery of this note, it

was impossible for Mr. Drake to delay much longer his residence in the Bavarian territories; and Mr. Spencer Smith †, British envoy to the elector of Wurtemberg, who was stated to have been concerned in these transactions, was also under the necessity of quitting Stutgard.

The papers published with respect to the above transaction, had been so widely distributed, and been so generally read, throughout Europe, that it became necessary that some notice should be taken of them by the British government. Accordingly, a circular letter on this subject was addressed to each of the foreign ministers, resident at the court of London, by lord Hawkesbury, his majesty's principal secretary of state for foreign affairs.

In this letter lord Hawkesbury repels the charge of the king's government being parties to any project of assassination, whilst he maintains the right of all belligerent powers, to avail themselves of any discontents existing in the countries with which they may be at war. And that this principle was to be acted upon with peculiar propriety, at a time when all Europe felt an anxious desire to see re-established in France an order of things more consistent with its own happiness, and with the security of surrounding nations. That this principle, were it under any circumstances doubtful, was, in the present case, most fully sanctioned, not only by the actual state of the French nation, but by the conduct of the government of that country, which, ever since the commencement of the present war, had maintained a

\* Vide the whole of these answers, and M. Talleyrand's note. State Papers, p. 630.

† Vide the 2d report of the grand judge, dated the 11th April; containing the sanction of citizen Rosey's mission to Mr. Drake and Mr. Smith. State Papers, p. 622.



communication with the disaffected in his majesty's dominions, and had actually assembled on the coast of France, a body of Irish rebels, for the purpose of aiding their designs. And that if any minister, accredited to a foreign court, had held correspondence with persons in France, with a view of obtaining information of the projects of the French government, or for any other legitimate purpose, he had done no more than ministers, under similar circumstances, had been uniformly considered as having a right to do, with respect to the countries with which their sovereign was at war\*.

These positions of lord Hawkesbury were commented upon, some time after, in a circular note from M. Talleyrand, addressed to the several French diplomatic agents†.

He observes, that the project conceived by the British government, for the last half century, gradually to abolish the tutelary system of public law, which unites all civilized nations, developed itself with a frightful progression. The British government is arraigned of audacity in sporting with the faith of oaths, and the most solemn treaties—that maritime nations daily experienced its tyranny—No longer did there exist a theoretical system of navigation—No convention which had not been scandalously violated, on every shore and on every sea; that neutral states, in exercising their rights with the most timid circumspection, were exposed to insult, pillage, and extermination; that now it attacks rights collectively, and directs a blow against morality itself, against the religion of public law.—Diplomatic agents had at all times been

considered as ministers of peace—organs of conciliation—but the British government wished them to be the instigators of plots, the agents of troubles, the directors of machinations, vile spies, cowardly seducers. They are ordered to foment seditions, to provoke and to pay for assassinations; and, it is attempted to invest that infamous ministry with the inviolability which, belongs to the mediators of kings, and the pacificators of nations.—That it was time to put an end to the disastrous career of principles, subversive of all society.

The persons to whom these notes were directed, were ordered to declare to the governments where they resided, that Bonaparte would not recognize the English diplomatic body in Europe, so long as the British government did not abstain from charging its ministers with any warlike agency, and did not restrain them within the limits of their functions.

On the 8th of April an article appeared in the French official journal, purporting to be the result of the depositions of six surgeons, appointed to inspect the body of general Pichegru, who had been found strangled two days before, in the place of his confinement; a laboured attempt was there made to prove that he had committed suicide: but, even from the circumstances related in that report, it seems almost impossible that he could himself have been the cause of his death, in the manner described; and, indeed, the general belief is, that Bonaparte, apprehensive of the sensation that might be occasioned by his trial or public execution, had

\* Vide State Papers, p. 600.

† Vide State Papers, p. 657.



caused him to be secretly dispatched by a party of mamelukes\*.

It is, moreover, confidently pretended, that he had previously been put to the torture, in hopes of extorting from him the crimination of general Moreau.

Georges, and several of his adherents, were publicly executed in the Place de Greve. In their last moments, as well as at their trials, they conducted themselves with the most heroic fortitude, and exemplary resignation, such as could only be inspired by a conscientious devotion to the principles which they had espoused.

In order, as it were, to make a deeper impression, and inflame the public mind against England, and consequently to weaken the indignation excited by the deaths of the duc d'Enghien, and of general Pichegru, together with the arrestation of general Moreau, a second report was published, on the 11th of April, by the grand judge, "respecting the plots of the person named Drake, minister of England at Munich, and of the person named Spencer Smith, minister from England at Stutgard, against France, and the person of the first consul," founded principally on the relation made by a person of the name of Rosey, who represents himself to have obtained an interview with those gentlemen, under the mask of being an agent of the persons in correspondence with Mr. Drake from France†.

This measure was not, however, sufficient to satisfy the inhabitants of Paris; for, on the 14th of April, general Murat, the commandant, deemed it necessary to recommend,

in general orders to the aides de camp, officers, and non-commissioned officers of the garrison and national guard, to enlighten the citizens, on the false rumours propagated by the disaffected—namely—that the death of Pichegru was not the effect of suicide; and that numbers of prisoners were shot every night; and to acquaint them, that military, as well as civil, justice was in no case exercised without public forms; and that not a single individual had been condemned, by the military tribunals, without his sentence having been printed, and posted up immediately; that whatever had been reported, relative to the facts of which the prisoners were accused, must be considered as false, and that the subsequent arrests had substantiated the guilt of general Moreau, and that undeniable proofs existed of every circumstance advanced by the grand judge.

Nothing could be more auspicious for Bonaparte's personal ambition than the present state of things. All ranks of Frenchmen were more than ever prostrate before him, and ready to anticipate his wishes by the most abject submission. Had his vanity and presumption prompted him, in imitation of some of the heroes of antiquity, to claim to be recognised of divine origin, he would probably have experienced no resistance on the part of the nation. But the crown of France was the object to which he had long aspired. The regrets of the people, for their ancient monarchy, rendered, indeed, any system of government approaching to it, even in the person of Bonaparte, to a certain degree palatable: and we find this prevailing sen-

\* Vide State Papers, p. 638.

† Vide State Papers, p. 622.



timent used as a principal argument to advance his pretensions.

The first decided step towards the accomplishment of this long-meditated measure, was an address to the first consul, on the part of the senate, dated the 27th March, proposing to constitute him hereditary emperor of France.

His answer was dated the 25th April, from St. Cloud, and was communicated, by a message, in the following terms:

“ Senators, your address of the  
“ 6th of last Germinal has never  
“ ceased to be present to my  
“ thoughts; it has been the object  
“ of my most constant meditation.  
“ You have judged the hereditary  
“ power of the supreme magistracy  
“ necessary, in order to shelter the  
“ French nation completely from  
“ the plots of our enemies, and from  
“ the agitations arising from rival  
“ ambition. It likewise appears  
“ to you, that many of our institu-  
“ tions require improvement, in or-  
“ der permanently to secure the  
“ triumph of equality and public li-  
“ berty, and present to the people,  
“ and to the government, the dou-  
“ ble guarantee of which they stood  
“ in need. We have been con-  
“ stantly guided by this grand truth,  
“ that the sovereignty resides in the  
“ French people, in the sense, that  
“ every thing, without exception,  
“ ought to be done for their inte-  
“ rest, their happiness, and their  
“ glory. It is in order to attain  
“ this end, that the supreme magis-  
“ tracy, the senate, the council of  
“ state, the legislative body, the  
“ electoral body, the electoral col-  
“ leges, and the different branches  
“ of the administration, are, and  
“ ought to be, instituted. In pro-  
“ portion as I fix my attention on

“ these great objects, I am the more  
“ convinced of the truth of those  
“ sentiments which I have express-  
“ ed to you, and I feel more and  
“ more, that, in a circumstance as  
“ new as it is important, the coun-  
“ sels of your wisdom and experi-  
“ ence were necessary to enable me  
“ to fix my ideas. I request you,  
“ therefore, to make known to me  
“ the whole of your thoughts. The  
“ French people can add nothing to  
“ the honour and glory with which  
“ they have surrounded me: but  
“ my most sacred duty, and that  
“ dearest to my heart, is to secure,  
“ to their latest posterity, those ad-  
“ vantages which they have acquired  
“ by a revolution that has cost them  
“ so much, particularly by the sa-  
“ crifice of those millions of brave  
“ citizens who have died in defence  
“ of their rights. Fifteen years  
“ have elapsed since, by a sponta-  
“ neous movement, you ran to arms;  
“ you acquired liberty, equality,  
“ and glory. These first blessings  
“ of nations are now secured to you  
“ for ever, are sheltered from every  
“ storm, they are preserved to you,  
“ and to your children. Institu-  
“ tions, conceived and commenced  
“ in the midst of the hurricanes of  
“ internal and external wars, deve-  
“ loped with constancy, are just  
“ terminated in the attempts and  
“ plots of our most mortal enemies,  
“ by the adoption of such measures  
“ as the experience of centuries and  
“ of nations has demonstrated, as  
“ proper to guarantee the rights  
“ which the nation had judged ne-  
“ cessary for its dignity, its liberty  
“ and its happiness.”

This was echoed by the most ful-  
some addresses from the armies, the  
departments, and principal cities;  
two of which we shall here tran-  
scribe,



scribe, as specimens of those compositions. The first was the address of the camp near Ostend, dated the 29th April, 1804.

“ General First Consul, a cry  
 “ has been heard in the armies—  
 “ that cry is re-echoed in every  
 “ heart. The soldiers of the first  
 “ division of the camp at Bruges,  
 “ sensible of the dangers which you  
 “ have encountered alone in the  
 “ common cause, more sensible still  
 “ of the benefits which they have  
 “ derived from you, are eager to  
 “ decree to you a title august and  
 “ worthy of you: You are already  
 “ their chief, and their father; but  
 “ these titles are not sufficient to  
 “ express either their enthusiasm  
 “ or their love. Let, then, that of  
 “ emperor teach the world, that  
 “ France has known how to ex-  
 “ press her gratitude for all that  
 “ you have done for her! Yet a  
 “ painful recollection mingles itself  
 “ with our hopes—already have the  
 “ poignards of your enemies more  
 “ than once threatened your des-  
 “ tiny, to which that of so many  
 “ others is attached. France was  
 “ on the point of being annihilated  
 “ in your person! let her survive in  
 “ your illustrious family! and let  
 “ posterity know what your great  
 “ actions have been, and what has  
 “ been our gratitude. As the organ  
 “ of part of your troops, I am hap-  
 “ py in having it in my power to  
 “ express to you their sentiments.—  
 “ Deign to accept, general first  
 “ consul, the testimonies of love  
 “ and respect of the first division,  
 “ and of mine.”

(Signed) The General of Division,  
 Oudinot,

Followed by several other signa-  
 tures.

The next was that of the munici-  
 pal body of Paris, dated 30th April,  
 1804.

“ To-day, citizen first consul, all  
 “ France expresses the same wishes  
 “ we expressed two years ago. To-  
 “ day, all France, happy under  
 “ your government, conjures you  
 “ to eternize the benefits of it. Let  
 “ not this escape your memory,  
 “ citizen first consul. In 1789,  
 “ France, without doubt, demand-  
 “ ed a revolution—but she demand-  
 “ ed it agreeably to the maxims of  
 “ her government, and not in the  
 “ unity which constituted her es-  
 “ sence.

“ The French, then free in the  
 “ choice of their deputies to the  
 “ states general, free in the delivery  
 “ of their sentiments and wishes,  
 “ expressly demanded that all the  
 “ citizens, equal in rights, should  
 “ be admissible, without distinction  
 “ of rank or birth, to all the public  
 “ functions. They demanded, that  
 “ the power of exercising arbitrary  
 “ acts should no longer reside any  
 “ where, and that no citizen should  
 “ be condemned without trial.—  
 “ They demanded liberty of consci-  
 “ ence, or, rather, the free exercise  
 “ of all forms of divine worship.—  
 “ They demanded that the repre-  
 “ sentatives of the nation should be  
 “ called to deliberate upon the pub-  
 “ lic burdens. They, in fine, de-  
 “ manded, as a guarantee of all the  
 “ rights of which they invoked the  
 “ restitution, that the executive  
 “ power should be confided to the  
 “ hands of a single person, and that  
 “ this power should be hereditary.  
 “ What the French demanded in  
 “ 1789, they again demand to-day.  
 “ They earnestly demand it. A  
 “ long experience has too fully  
 “ convinced them, that whatsoever  
 “ has



“ has been done or attempted be-  
 “ yond their first wishes, command-  
 “ ed, perhaps, by circumstances  
 “ stronger than men, cannot con-  
 “ stitute either the duration, the  
 “ force, or the happiness of a great  
 “ empire. We shall not, citizen  
 “ first consul, point out the mode  
 “ most suitable to be adopted for  
 “ the accomplishment of our wish.  
 “ We trust, in this respect, to the  
 “ wisdom of the first authority of  
 “ the state, and to your wisdom.  
 “ But let us be fearful of dissem-  
 “ bling the truth from ourselves.—  
 “ The moments are pressing. Our  
 “ implacable enemies are observing  
 “ us. We know what frightful  
 “ projects they have shewn them-  
 “ selves capable of. They will ne-  
 “ ver cease meditating our ruin,  
 “ before strong, generous, and last-  
 “ ing institutions have convinced  
 “ them that our ruin is impossible.”

(Signed) The twelve mayors,  
 the twenty-four as-  
 sistant mayors, the  
 five members of the  
 council of prefec-  
 ture, the prefect,  
 and the secretary  
 general.

Matters being so far prepared, a  
 proposition was submitted to the  
 tribunate, on the 1st May, by one  
 of Bonaparte's creatures, named  
 Curée, for conferring on Napoleon  
 Bonaparte the rank and title of  
 emperor of the French, and of  
 making the said rank and title here-  
 ditary in his family, according to  
 the laws of primogeniture.

Carnot was the only member of  
 that body who ventured to oppose  
 the proposition.

He began, by declaring that he  
 should preserve the same modera-  
 tion, in delivering his opinion,

which had been exhibited by the  
 tribunes, who had spoken in favour  
 of the motion. He referred those  
 who might be inclined to put a bad  
 construction on his motives, to a  
 rigid examination of his conduct,  
 since the commencement of the re-  
 volution. He asked if it were to  
 grant the first consul a reward for  
 his services, to offer him the sacrifice  
 of liberty. If it were not to de-  
 stroy Bonaparte's own work, to  
 make France his private patrimony.  
 “ I voted,” continued the orator,  
 “ against the consulate for life, and  
 “ I will not this day pursue a dif-  
 “ ferent course. I will be consis-  
 “ tent with myself. But the mo-  
 “ ment that the proposed order of  
 “ things is established, I will be the  
 “ first to conform to it, and yield  
 “ to the new authority proofs of  
 “ my deference. May all the mem-  
 “ bers of the community follow my  
 “ example.” He cited a number of  
 passages from the Roman history,  
 to shew that a government placed in  
 the hands of an individual was no  
 pledge of its stability or tranquil-  
 lity. He drew the same inference  
 from the History of France, where  
 intestine commotions and civil dis-  
 cords existed under the government  
 of princes. After the peace of  
 Amiens, Bonaparte had the choice  
 of a republic or a monarchy—but  
 he swore to defend the former, and  
 to respect the wishes of France, who  
 had made him her guardian. Now  
 it is proposed to render that power  
 a property, of which, at present,  
 only the administration is possessed.  
 The Romans were most jealous of  
 their liberty, and Camillus, Fabius,  
 and Cincinnatus only saved the  
 country by relinquishing the power  
 which had been confided to them.  
 The liberty of Rome perished as  
 soon



soon as Cæsar had usurped absolute power. It was reserved for the new world to teach the old the practicability of a nation's enjoying liberty with the rising prosperity of the people. Will the opinion of the public functionaries be the free wish of the whole nation? Will there not be inconveniencies attending the avowal of opposite sentiments? Is the press so far restrained and degraded, that it will be impossible to make, in the public prints, respectful remonstrances against the proposed arrangement? Does the expulsion of the Bourbons involve the necessity of a new dynasty? May not the establishment of that dynasty place obstacles in the way of a general peace? Will it be recognized by foreign powers? In case of refusal to recognize it, must arms necessarily be resorted to? In that case, the security of the French nation would be, perhaps, endangered for an empty title. The means of consolidation consist in adherence to justice. Far be it from him to make any particular application, or to cast any blame, on the operations of government. Is liberty, then, disclosed to man, only that it may never be enjoyed? He could not, however, consent to regard it as a mere chimera; and his heart told him, that its government is easy. He concluded, by declaring his readiness to sacrifice his personal opinion to the interests of his country. His respect for the law would remain unalterable—his desire was to see every sentiment united against their eternal, their implacable enemy; that enemy who is now meditating universal oppression.

The speech of Carnot, temperate as it was, and apparently delivered in a tone of constraint, did not fail

to excite several vehement replies and animadversions on his conduct. He was asked, if he adopted the proper means of manifesting his respect for the laws, in reminding them, that he had, on a former occasion, voted against the consulate for life, sanctioned by the suffrages of more than a million of Frenchmen? If he had forgotten the regimen of 1793, and that horrible decemviral committee, which, in cold blood, signed arrests for death and proscriptions? It was astonishing, to hear of opposition to a measure, which alone could prevent the return of similar miseries. The question was not concerning the interests of individuals, but the interests of the nation at large; a measure which would realize the plan of government, formed by the constituent assembly in 1789.

The discussion was resumed on the ensuing day, and the proposition was principally supported by a member, named Bayard, who, after expatiating on the transcendent merits and services of Bonaparte, and, by laying down the principle that nations have the right to enjoy that form of government, for which they are by nature best adapted, he proceeded, by observing, that in vain political maladies affect and suspend those principles for a moment—the crisis ceases, and nature resumes her rights. It is in the nature of things, that a country of vast extent, whose security is not guaranteed by its physical position, and whose relations with its neighbours incessantly menace its tranquillity, ought to be governed by one head. Rome, at her birth, had kings, because the surrounding nations were ruled by kings. Rome, after conquering her neighbours, expelled the kings, and created



created consuls. When her power had gone beyond the limits of her territories, when she had to combat nations far removed from the centre of her dominions, even the excessive love of freedom could not prevent the ruin of the republic, and emperors were elevated to the throne. Fortunate would it have been for that great nation, if the first of their emperors had, as he had it in his power, made the government hereditary in his family. The scenes which covered the throne with blood; the civil wars which dissolved that vast empire, and precipitated its downfall, would not have sullied the page of the history of those masters of the world. On the ruins of a monarchy destroyed, an attempt was made to substitute a monarchical government. France must have been destroyed, if the genius of Bonaparte had not erected the consulate to precede, for a few years, the creation of the imperial dignity. He is called to this elevated station by the unanimous wish. He had, as first consul, the power of performing vast services, and you have seen all his measures attended with a success unexampled in the page of the history of the world. This was sufficient for his own glory, but not enough for the happiness of France. If empires prosper under a great man, the moment which deprives them of their services, menaces them with some dreadful explosion, if the same monarch does not substitute in his place, him who is to be his successor. It is then that ambition becomes inflamed, and long before ambition prepares in secret the means of supplanting rivals. Long dissensions, succeeded by civil wars, agitate the minds of men, disturb, for ages, the union of the citizens;

and the people are often so unfortunate as not to discern, amongst the rival candidates, the one most worthy to receive the sceptre, of which death has bereaved the object of their regret. What can prevent these disasters? A constitutional law, which gives the line of succession, and which gives to the family of the chief the new dynasty. This was the object of the nation; and if the throne were to be the reward of the virtues of the great man called to the imperial dignity, the succession to it by his family, would guarantee to France ages of glory and repose.

It was observed, by another member, that absolute monarchy was the most degrading of systems, but that monarchy, connected with the representative system, conciliated political and civil liberty; and that was the system which Napoleon was about to establish.

The sitting concluded with the motion declaring the discussion to be closed, and that a report should be made on the next day on the original proposition.

Accordingly, on the 3d of May, the tribunate having heard the report of the special commission appointed to consider the proposition made by citizen Curée, resolved, 1st, “That Napoleon Bonaparte should be proclaimed emperor of the French, and, in that quality, be charged with the government of France. 2d. That the title of emperor, together with the imperial prerogatives, should be hereditary in his family, in the male line, and in the order of primogeniture. 3d. That the constituted authorities, in forming the necessary regulations for the establishment of the hereditary power, should make all due provisions for pre-serving



“serving equality, liberty, and the  
 “rights of the people. 4th. That  
 “the present vote should be carried  
 “to the senate by a deputation of  
 “six members, who were to explain  
 “the motives which had induced  
 “the tribunate to adopt this resolu-  
 “tion.”

Upon the above vote, the follow-  
 ing decree was passed:—

“The tribunate considering that,  
 “at the breaking out of the revo-  
 “lution, when the national will had  
 “an opportunity of manifesting it-  
 “self with the greatest freedom, the  
 “general wish was declared for the  
 “individual unity of the supreme  
 “power, and for the hereditary  
 “succession of that power; that  
 “the family of the Bourbons, hav-  
 “ing, by their conduct, rendered  
 “the hereditary government odious  
 “to the people, forced them to lose  
 “sight of its advantages, and drove  
 “the nation to seek for a happier  
 “destiny in a democratical form of  
 “government; that France hav-  
 “ing made a trial of different forms  
 “of government, experienced from  
 “them only the miseries of anar-  
 “chy; that the state was in the  
 “present peril when Bonaparte,  
 “brought back by Providence, sud-  
 “denly appeared for its salvation;  
 “that under the government of a  
 “single individual, France reco-  
 “vered tranquillity at home, and  
 “acquired abroad the highest con-  
 “sideration and glory; that the  
 “plots formed by the house of  
 “Bourbon, in concert with a mi-  
 “nistry, the implacable enemy of  
 “France, warned France of the  
 “danger which threatens her, if  
 “losing Buonaparte, she continued  
 “exposed to the agitation insepa-  
 “rable from an election; that the  
 “consulate for life, and the power

“granted to the first consul, of  
 “appointing his successor, are not  
 “adequate to the preventing in-  
 “trigues at home or abroad, which  
 “could not fail to be formed during  
 “the vacancy of the supreme power;  
 “that, in declaring that magistracy  
 “hereditary, a conformity is at once  
 “observed to the example of all  
 “great states, ancient or modern,  
 “and to the first wish of the na-  
 “tion, expressed in 1789; that,  
 “enlightened and supported by this  
 “experience, the nation now re-  
 “turns to this wish more strongly  
 “than ever, and expresses it on  
 “all sides; that, in all political  
 “charges, it has been usual for na-  
 “tions to confer the supreme power  
 “on those to whom they owe their  
 “safety; that, when France de-  
 “mands for her security, an here-  
 “ditary chief, her gratitude and  
 “affection call on Bonaparte;  
 “that France will preserve all the  
 “advantages of a revolution, by  
 “the choice of a new dynasty, as  
 “much interested for her benefit, as  
 “the old one would be for her de-  
 “struction; that France may ex-  
 “pect from the family of Bona-  
 “parte, more than from any other,  
 “the maintenance of the rights and  
 “liberties of the people who chose  
 “them, and all those institutions  
 “best calculated to support them.  
 “But there is no title more suited  
 “to the dignity of the supreme  
 “chief of the French nation than  
 “the title of emperor.”

The tribunate, exercising the  
 right given them, by the 29th arti-  
 cle of the constitution, have come  
 to the following vote, [reciting the  
 above mentioned vote].

The foregoing decree having  
 been put to the vote by the pre-  
 sident of the tribunate, it was  
 carried



carried by acclamation, with the single exception of the only member who delivered his sentiments against it.

Citizen Jard Pauvilliers was named head of the deputation, for presenting it to the conservative senate. The other five members were chosen by lot.

This decree was accordingly presented to the senate on the 4th of May, and the following speech was delivered by the vice president on the occasion.

“Citizens Tribunes, this day  
“will form a memorable æra. It is  
“the day, on which, for the first  
“time, you are called upon, to  
“exercise, with the conservative se-  
“nate, the republican and popular  
“privilege, which the fundamental  
“laws of the constitution have de-  
“legated to you. You could not  
“exercise this prerogative, at a  
“more favourable moment, or ap-  
“ply it to an object of more im-  
“portance than the present. Citi-  
“zen tribunes, you express to the  
“trustees of the national rights, a  
“wish truly national. I can not  
“remove the veil which conceals  
“for a time, the labours of the se-  
“nate on this important subject.  
“I must inform you, however, in  
“the mean time, that since the 6th  
“of Germinal, (March 27) the senate  
“has directed the attention of the  
“first magistrate to the same sub-  
“ject. The senate has previously  
“sounded the public opinion, and  
“has announced it to the govern-  
“ment. But, you will find your  
“advantages and privileges, when  
“you observe, that what we have  
“been thinking of in silence for  
“two months, the peculiar nature  
“of our institution, and the place  
“you hold in the constitution, has

“enabled you at once to submit it  
“to discussion in the presence of  
“the people. You have served at  
“once the people and the govern-  
“ment by disclosing and enforcing  
“this opinion, pregnant with so  
“many advantages, and it was first  
“secretly cherished in the bosom  
“of this assembly, where you have  
“now so gloriously reported it.  
“The happy developement which  
“you have given to this grand idea,  
“procures to the senate which  
“opened the tribune to you, the  
“satisfaction of being able to con-  
“gratulate themselves on their  
“choice, and to approve what they  
“have done. In your public  
“speeches we have found the basis  
“of our opinions. Like you, ci-  
“tizens tribunes, we do not wish to  
“return to the Bourbons, because  
“we do not wish a counter-revolu-  
“tion, which is the only benefit we  
“could derive from those unfortu-  
“nate exiles, who carried with  
“them despotism, nobility, feudal  
“tyranny, slavery, and ignorance;  
“and who, still to augment their  
“crimes, have encouraged the hope  
“that their return to France might  
“be effected by the way of Eng-  
“land. Like you, citizens tri-  
“bunes, we wish to raise a new dy-  
“nasty, because we wish to secure  
“to the French people, all their  
“rights which they have re-con-  
“quered, and which the folly of  
“their enemies would take from  
“them. Like you, citizens, tri-  
“bunes, we wish that liberty, equa-  
“lity, and knowledge, may no  
“more have a retrograde motion.  
“I do not speak of the great man,  
“called upon by his glory, to give  
“his name to the age in which he  
“lives; and who ought to be called  
“upon by our wishes to consecrate

“to



“to us his family and existence.  
 “It is not to himself, it is to us,  
 “that he ought to devote himself.  
 “What you propose in the ardour  
 “of enthusiasm, the senate will  
 “consider with cool deliberation.  
 “Citizens tribunes, we are the  
 “corner stone of the social edifice,  
 “but it is the government of an he-  
 “reditary chief that must constitute  
 “the key-stone of the arch. You  
 “repose in your bosom the wish  
 “that this arch may be at last con-  
 “solidated. In receiving this wish,  
 “the senate does not forget that  
 “what you solicit is not so much a  
 “change of the state of the repub-  
 “lic, as the means of perfecting  
 “and establishing it, and this cer-  
 “tainly is what we are most inte-  
 “rested in. In this national temple  
 “the constitution ought to repose,  
 “in some measure, on the god  
 “*Terminus*. If we are induced to  
 “interfere in any respect with this  
 “sacred compact, the guardianship  
 “of which is intrusted to us, it is  
 “only to add to its strength, and  
 “to extend its duration.”

The senate then replied to Bona-  
 parte's speech of the 25th April,  
 in an address signed by the vice-pre-  
 sident Francois de Neufchateau,  
 Moreau de Galles, and Joseph  
 Cornudet, secretaries, and the chan-  
 cellor of the senate, Laplace. But  
 as it is of great length, and contains  
 no new matter, we forbear its inser-  
 tion.

This measure was finally adopted  
 by the senate of the 18th May, on  
 which day a decree, denominated an  
 “Organic *Senatus Consultum*” was  
 passed, conferring the title of em-  
 peror on the first consul, and esta-  
 blishing that dignity hereditary in  
 his family. It was likewise decreed,  
 that the members should immediate-

ly repair to St. Cloud, to commu-  
 nicate this decision to Bonaparte.  
 They accordingly set out at the  
 close of the sitting, escorted by a  
 body of troops.

The senate were admitted to an  
 audience on their arrival, and their  
 president, consul Cambaceres, pre-  
 sented the “*Senatus Consultum*” to  
 Bonaparte, accompanying it with  
 an oration.

“Sire, the decree which the se-  
 “nate has passed, and which it  
 “takes the earliest opportunity of  
 “presenting to your imperial ma-  
 “jesty, is only the authentic ex-  
 “pression of a will already mani-  
 “fested by the nation. This de-  
 “cree, which confers on you a new  
 “title, and which, after you, se-  
 “cures the dignity hereditary in  
 “your race, adds nothing to your  
 “dignity or your rights. The love  
 “and gratitude of the French peo-  
 “ple have, for some years, entrust-  
 “ed to your majesty the reins of  
 “government, and the constitu-  
 “tions of the state reposed in you  
 “the choice of a successor. The  
 “most august denomination, de-  
 “creed to you, is then only a tri-  
 “bute which the nation pays to its  
 “own dignity, and to the necessity  
 “it experiences of giving to you  
 “daily testimonies of respect and  
 “of attachment, which every day  
 “increase. How could the French  
 “people find bounds to their grati-  
 “tude, when you place none to  
 “your care and solicitude for them?  
 “Preserving the remembrance of  
 “the evils which they suffered when  
 “abandoned to themselves, how  
 “could they reflect, without enthu-  
 “siasm, on the happiness they have  
 “felt since Providence inspired  
 “them with the idea of throwing  
 “themselves into your arms? Their  
 “armies



“ armies were defeated ; the fi-  
 “ nances were in disorder ; public  
 “ credit was annihilated ; factions  
 “ were disputing for the remains of  
 “ our ancient splendour ; every  
 “ idea of morality, or even of reli-  
 “ gion, was obscured ; the habit  
 “ of giving and resuming power,  
 “ left the magistrates without con-  
 “ sideration, and even rendered  
 “ odious every kind of authority.  
 “ Your majesty appeared ; you re-  
 “ called victory to our standards ;  
 “ you established order and economy  
 “ in the public expences ; the na-  
 “ tion, encouraged by the use you  
 “ made of your authority, resumed  
 “ confidence in its own resources ;  
 “ your wisdom allayed the rage of  
 “ party ; religion saw her altars  
 “ raised up ; ideas of justice and  
 “ injustice were awakened in the  
 “ minds of the citizens, when they  
 “ saw crimes followed by punish-  
 “ ment, and virtue signalized and  
 “ rewarded with honourable dis-  
 “ tinctions. In the last place, and  
 “ it is, no doubt, the greatest of  
 “ the miracles operated by your  
 “ genius, that people, whose civil  
 “ effervescence had rendered them  
 “ impatient of every restraint, and  
 “ hostile to every authority, were,  
 “ by your means, made to cherish  
 “ and respect a power which was  
 “ exercised only for their glory and  
 “ repose. The French people do  
 “ not pretend to establish them-  
 “ selves judges of the constitutions  
 “ of other states ; they have no  
 “ critical remarks to make ; no ex-  
 “ amples to follow ; experience, in  
 “ future, will become their guide.  
 “ They have tasted, for ages, the  
 “ advantages attached to hereditary  
 “ power ; they have made a short,  
 “ but painful, trial of the contrary  
 “ system ; they return, by the effect

“ of free and mature deliberation,  
 “ to a path suited to their genius.  
 “ They make a free use of their  
 “ rights, to delegate to your impe-  
 “ rial majesty a power which your  
 “ interests forbids you to exercise  
 “ by yourself. They stipulate for  
 “ future generations ; and, by a so-  
 “ lemn compact, entrust to the off-  
 “ spring of your race, the happiness  
 “ of their posterity. The latter  
 “ will imitate your virtues, the for-  
 “ mer will inherit our love and our  
 “ fidelity. Happy the nation  
 “ which, after so much trouble and  
 “ uncertainty, finds in its bosom a  
 “ man worthy of appeasing the  
 “ tempest of the passions, of con-  
 “ ciliating all interests, and uniting  
 “ all voices ! Happy the prince who  
 “ holds his power by the will, the  
 “ confidence, and the affections of  
 “ the citizens ! If it be in the prin-  
 “ ciples of our constitution, and al-  
 “ ready several examples of this  
 “ kind have been given, to submit  
 “ to the sanction of the people that  
 “ part of the decree which concerns  
 “ the establishment of an hereditary  
 “ government, the senate have  
 “ thought that it ought to entreat  
 “ your imperial majesty to consent  
 “ that the organic dispositions  
 “ should be immediately carried  
 “ into execution ; and that, for the  
 “ glory as well as for the happiness  
 “ of the republic, Napoleon may be  
 “ immediately proclaimed emperor  
 “ of the French.”

The emperor replied in the fol-  
lowing terms :

“ Every thing that can contribute  
 “ to the good of the country is  
 “ essentially connected with my  
 “ happiness. I accept the title  
 “ which you think necessary to the  
 “ glory of the nation. I submit to  
 “ the sanction of the people the

“ law



“law of hereditary suecession. I  
 “hope France will never repent of  
 “having surrounded with ho-  
 “nours my family. In all cases  
 “my spirit will cease to be present  
 “with my posterity, the day on  
 “which they shall cease to deserve  
 “the love and confidence of the  
 “Great Nation.”

But as the measure of adulation was not yet quite filled, the senate requested an audience of her majesty the empress, and, on being admitted, the president addressed her as follows :

“Madam, we have just presented  
 “to your august spouse the decree  
 “which confers on him the title of  
 “emperor, which establishes the  
 “government hereditary in his fa-  
 “mily, and associates future gene-  
 “rations in the happiness of the  
 “present race. A very agreeable  
 “duty remains to be performed by  
 “the senate—that of offering to  
 “your imperial majesty the homage  
 “of its respect, and an expression  
 “of the gratitude of the French.  
 “Yes, madam, fame proclaims the  
 “good which you are constantly  
 “doing ; it says, that being always  
 “accessible to the unfortunate,  
 “you employ your influence with  
 “the chief of the state only to re-  
 “lieve distress, and that to the  
 “pleasure of obliging, your ma-  
 “jesty adds that amiable delicacy  
 “which renders gratitude sweeter,  
 “and the kindness more valuable.  
 “This disposition presages, that  
 “the name of the empress Jose-  
 “phine, will be the signal of con-  
 “solation and hope, and as the  
 “virtues of Napoleon will always  
 “serve as an example to his suc-  
 “cessors, to teach them the art of

“governing nations ; the living re-  
 “membrance of your goodness,  
 “will teach their august consorts,  
 “that the care of drying up tears,  
 “is the most effectual means of pre-  
 “serving an empire over all hearts.  
 “The senate thinks itself happy in  
 “the opportunity of being the first  
 “to salute you empress, and he  
 “who has the honour of being its  
 “organ, takes the liberty to hope,  
 “that you will deign to reckon  
 “him among the number of your  
 “most faithful servants.”

The “organic senatus consultum” was then proclaimed by the emperor. It consisted of 151 articles, forming a totally new constitution:

As the insertion of the whole of this curious performance would cause too great an interruption in the thread of our narrative, we shall, in this place, limit ourselves to the substance of the principal points relating to the emperor and his family, and refer our readers, who may be desirous of further information on that head, to another part of this work\*.

The government of the republic shall be confided to Napoleon Bonaparte under the title of emperor, and justice shall be administered in his name by officers appointed by him.

The imperial dignity shall be hereditary in the family of Bonaparte, in the direct line of descent by order of primogeniture to the exclusion of females.

The power is given to Bonaparte, provided he have no male issue, to adopt an heir from amongst the children and grand children of his brothers, provided they have attained the age of eighteen years. On the

\* Vide “State Papers,” p. 664.



failure of this limitation, the imperial dignity is to devolve first to Joseph Bonaparte and his male issue ; and, on failure of those, to Louis Bonaparte and his male issue ; and finally, on failure of those branches, an emperor is to be nominated by the senate. The members of the imperial family, in the order of inheritance, shall bear the title of prince, and the eldest son of the emperor that of imperial prince.

The education of those princes is to be under the direction of the senate. They are prohibited from marrying without the consent of the emperor. Any marriage so contracted incurs the privation of the right of inheritance, both of the individuals and their descendants.

The minority of the emperor ceases at the age of eighteen. Until he arrives at that age, his functions shall be administered by a regent, the rules for whose appointment are prescribed, and his powers limited, from which office females are excluded.

The first exercise of the imperial authority was the nomination of his imperial highness prince Joseph Bonaparte to the dignity of *grand elector* : his imperial highness prince Louis Bonaparte to that of *constable of France* : consul Cambaceres to be *arch-chancellor of the empire* : consul Lebrun to be *arch-treasurer*. These persons then took the prescribed oaths, in presence of the emperor.

The arch-chancellor then presented the ministers and the secretary of state, who likewise took the oaths.

The constable presented generals d'Avoust and Bessieres. General Murat, governor of Paris, was also presented ; and general Duroc, who

took the oaths, as governor of the imperial palace.

On the same day a letter had been addressed to each of the consuls, Cambaceres and Lebrun, notifying to them the change in their titles.

It was likewise ordered that the French princes and princesses should be addressed by the title of their *imperial highnesses*, and the sisters of the emperor are of that number. The great officers of the empire are to receive the title of their serene highnesses ; and they, as well as the princes, are to be addressed *monseigneur*. The secretary of state and the ministers shall have the titles of their excellencies. The functionaries of the departments, and those who present petitions, are to address them by the title of *monseigneur*. The president of the senate shall have the title of *excellency*. And the marshals of the empire, when addressed in writing, are to have the title of *monseigneur*.

On the 20th May, the generals Berthier, Murat, Moncey, Jourdan, Massena, Augereau, Bernadotte, Soult, Brune, Lasnes, Mortier, Ney, d'Avoust, Bessieres, Kellerman, Lefevre, Perignon, and Serurier, were promoted to the rank of marshals of the empire.

Bonaparte then notified his elevation to the bishops of France, by letters of a similar tenor to the following, addressed to the arch-bishop of Paris.

“ Cousin, the happiness of the  
 “ French has always been the dearest  
 “ object of my thoughts, and  
 “ their glory that of all my labours.  
 “ Called by Divine Providence, and  
 “ the constitution of the republic;  
 “ to the imperial power, I see, in  
 “ this new order of things, only  
 “ greater means of assuring, both  
 “ at



“ at home and abroad, the prosperity and dignity of the country. I repose with confidence in the powerful succour of the Most High. He will inspire his ministers with the desire of seconding me by all the means in their power. They will enlighten the people by instruction, in preaching to them the love of their duties, obedience to the laws, and the practice of all the christian and civil virtues. They will call down the benedictions of Heaven, upon the nation, and upon the supreme chief of the state. I write you this letter, that, as soon as you have received it, you will cause *Veni Creator* and *Te Deum* to be sung in all the churches of your diocese, and that you may invite to the prayers at your church, those authorities that have been in the habit of assisting at ceremonies of this kind; and that you may order a sermon to be preached in all the churches of your diocese, on the subject of the organic senatus consultum of the 28th Floreal last: and assuring myself that you will, by your own example, excite the zeal and piety of all the faithful in your diocese, I pray God to have you, my cousin, in his holy and worthy keeping.”

And a circular letter was addressed to them, on the same occasion, by cardinal Caprara, legate a latere, resident in France, which was thus:—

“ My lord, Napoleon Bonaparte having been appointed emperor of the French, you are to make use of the following prayer.

“ ‘ O Lord preserve our emperor  
“ ‘ Napoleon,’ instead of that which  
“ was ordained by the concordat  
“ passed between the holy apostolic  
“ chair and the government of  
“ France. After this the following  
“ prayer may be recited, as it  
“ has already been used in the imperial  
“ chapel: ‘ O God, the protector  
“ ‘ of all kingdoms, and especially  
“ ‘ of the French empire, grant unto  
“ ‘ thy servant Napoleon, our emperor,  
“ ‘ that he may know and further the  
“ ‘ wonders of thy power, to the end  
“ ‘ that he whom thou hast appointed  
“ ‘ our sovereign, may be always  
“ ‘ powerful through thy grace;’ which  
“ I accordingly notify to your  
“ greatness, declaring myself, at the  
“ same time, your greatness’s true  
“ servant.”

On the 28th May, this event was officially announced by the French chargé d’affaires to the diet at Ratisbon, and a similar notification was made to the several foreign courts.

Regulations for the coronation were laid down by an imperial decree, dated from the palace of St. Cloud, July 9th.

This ceremony was then appointed to take place in the month of November following (the 18th Brumaire), and certain of the public functionaries from the several departments, together with detachments from the different military corps (all which are particularly specified), were summoned to attend at Paris on the occasion.”\*

Whilst the French government was thus seriously engaged in making arrangements for placing the crown

\* The novelty and extraordinary nature of the above transaction, has induced us to be more particular in our relation of it, than the subject, perhaps, merits, or



crown of France on the head of Bonaparte, the general conduct of that power was looked upon with a jealous eye by many of the cabinets of Europe. Those most exposed to the effects of the violence of the new emperor, contemplated his encroachments and their own debasement in silence; but Russia and Sweden openly avowed their sentiments.

On the 21st of July a very dignified and circumstantial note, characteristic of the honourable and disinterested sentiments which have long distinguished the councils of the court of St. Petersburg, was presented, in reply to the evasive and insulting note from Mr. Talleyrand, of the 26th of May, (already mentioned,) by M. Oubril, the Russian chargé d'affaires at Paris.

It was there stated, that his court had justly disapproved his having received a paper which did not convey an answer to his preceding official communications, and was by no means fit to be laid before his august sovereign. That its contents consisted of assertions not only unfounded, but wholly unconnected with the note of the 22nd April.—That the emperor, already moved by the calamities by which a great portion of Europe was oppressed, and by the dangers which threatened the German empire, whose interests Russia was particularly bound to support, in conformity to her obligations, received intelligence of another violation of the law of na-

tions, which was perpetrated at Ettenheim. He, therefore, conceived himself bound to incite the assembled states of the German empire to concur with him, in protesting against the conduct of the French government, to whom his majesty communicated the same sentiments, in hopes that reparation would be offered to the German league, and the fears entertained by Europe, of a repetition of similar outrages, allayed. The evasive reply which was made to so plain a declaration, was offensive to Russia, to the German empire, and to France herself.—“We live no longer in those barbarous times, (recites the note,) when every country regards only her immediate advantages; modern polity has introduced certain principles respecting the interest of the whole community of states.” No state could view with indifference the event already mentioned, which gave such a dreadful blow to the independence and security of nations. By the peace of Teschen, Russia undertook to guarantee and mediate for the German empire; in this quality, his imperial majesty was not merely justified in raising his voice on this occasion, but was absolutely bound to do so. The French government, being in a similar quality, assumes the liberty of violating the neutrality of Germany, and to act arbitrarily on that territory. It is difficult to imagine how his imperial majesty should be incompetent to assert the rights

than our readers will approve. We have, besides, conceived it not amiss to insert, at full length, several of the official publications which appeared upon the occasion, the better to convey an idea of the language of the time, and the degree of servility to which the French nation has been reduced in the course of a few years, from the most outrageous democracy. We have, however, rejected whatever we judged might be dispensed with according to this view of the subject.



rights of the German empire, the security and independence of which he has guaranteed. It would be in vain to attempt to explain otherwise the conduct of Russia, whose motives are so evident, or to discover therein the influence of the enemies of France: her sole motive is the wretched condition to which the French government has reduced Europe. Should Russia propose to establish a coalition, for the purpose of renewing the war upon the continent, it would not be necessary to seek an unfounded cause for it. The French government has long given too much and too just cause for breaking the bonds of harmony, which the emperor has preserved merely from his moderation, and which he desired to preserve for ever. No person, and the French government least of all, can mistake the views of the cabinet of St. Petersburg, since his imperial majesty so explicitly declared, even before the present war, how necessary it was to labour for the consolidation of peace; to prevent new revolutions in Europe, to avoid every cause of mistrust, and to suffer every state to enjoy its independence. At the same time Russia expressed her earnest desire that the French cabinet would, by moderation and disinterestedness, give a hope to the other states of Europe, that every government might, at length, (after an unhappy war, which cost so much blood,) devote itself, in security, to the happiness of the people entrusted to it. Far from desiring to rekindle the flames of war on the continent, his Russian majesty most ardently wished to stifle those flames every where; but his majesty more particularly entertains the wish that the French

government would leave those nations to themselves, who desire nothing more fervently than to avoid taking a part in the present troubles. Russia never deviated from those principles; all her transactions with the French government had no other object. Upon the same ground she proposed to act as mediator between France and England, but her offer was not accepted. Since the renewal of the war, the French government has thought itself authorised to occupy countries, and deprive them of their commerce, who in vain appealed to their neutrality. His imperial majesty was thereby alarmed, not indeed on his own account, since, from the actual situation and power of his empire, his majesty might remain a quiet spectator of those distressing scenes, but he was alarmed for the security of the other states of Europe. His imperial majesty repeatedly urged, but always ineffectually, that those countries, at least, should be permitted to remain neutral, whose neutrality France and Russia had guaranteed by mutual treaties. His majesty also repeatedly disclosed his sentiments, with respect to those states that are already in danger of sharing the fate of Italy, of a part of Germany, and of the other countries which France has already in her possession. In spite of all his remonstrances and exertions, the emperor beheld the danger increasing daily. French troops on one side occupying the coast of the Adriatic, on the other levying contributions on the Hans Towns, and menacing Denmark; consequently, his imperial majesty has resolved, as the theatre of war approaches his frontiers, to establish a military force which shall be



adequate to check further encroachments. Never did a government act more candidly, or more uprightly. If such conduct be considered as hostile to France, or as an attack upon the welfare and tranquillity of the German empire, there no longer any difference exists between manifest encroachments on the one part, and that just indignation which the other must feel; between attack and defence; between the oppression and the protection of the weak. The undersigned does not, in this place, examine, by the law of nations, the question whether the French government be justified in persecuting, in every country, those persons whom it has exiled from their own, and in prescribing to foreign powers the manner in which they shall be permitted to treat, or to employ, the late emigrants, whom they may have adopted as their subjects, or employed in their service. Such a tenet is at variance with every principle of justice, nay, with those principles which the French nation has solemnly proclaimed. To suppose that Russia attacks the independence of the states of Europe, because she will not permit a person, in her employment abroad, to be appointed somewhere else, at the will of the French government, were to confound all ideas and words; or because she claims another person, who is a naturalized Russian, and who has just now been delivered up by another state, without any previous trial, and contrary to every appearance of justice.— Never did the emperor protect conspirators; his noble and upright character is too well known to all Europe, to require an elaborate

contradiction of that assertion, as false as it is indecent. The French government itself is convinced of the contrary; it need only remember that the emperor has frequently declared, that, if such an accusation were proved against any Russian in his employment, he would hasten to punish him most severely, for a crime which he considers of a most heinous nature. But the cabinet of St. Cloud returned no answer to this candid communication, nor did it furnish any proof to support its pretensions; it has then no right to complain of its unsupported demands not being complied with. But, at the present moment, when Portugal was obliged to purchase her neutrality; when Naples, to save her's, was compelled to contribute, at an enormous expense, to the maintenance of French troops on her own territory; when all Italy, especially those republics that had been promised independence and happiness; when Switzerland and Holland were considered merely as French provinces; when one part of the German empire is occupied, while in another part French detachments execute arrests, in contempt of the sacred law of nations; at such a moment, the emperor will leave to all the states mentioned, nay, to the impartial opinion of the cabinet of St. Cloud itself, the decision of the question, which of the two, Russia or France, menaces the security of Europe. Which of them acts on principles most favourable to the independence of other states. Which interferes most in the government and internal police of other countries, and practices the most arbitrary acts against them.\* Russia entertains not the least

\* Vide "State Papers," page 647.



least inclination for war, nor can she be benefited by it; her conduct will alone be influenced by the pressure of circumstances. It is the emperor's desire to preserve his former relations with France, but upon no other ground than that of perfect equality. The first condition is, that the terms mutually agreed upon shall be sacredly fulfilled, and on this condition only can the two states, after what has happened, enjoy their former relations of good will and amity.

“The undersigned has been ordered to declare, that he cannot prolong his stay at Paris, unless the following demands be previously complied with.—First, That, conformably to the 4th and 5th articles of the secret convention of the 11th of October, 1801, the French government shall cause its troops to evacuate the kingdom of Naples; and, when that is done, that it shall engage to respect the neutrality of that kingdom, during the present and any future war. Secondly, That, in conformity to the second article of the said convention, the French government shall promise to establish immediately some principle of concert with his Imperial Majesty, for regulating the basis upon which the affairs of Italy shall be finally adjusted.—Thirdly, That it shall engage, in conformity to the sixth article of the convention aforesaid, and the

“promises so repeatedly given to Russia, to indemnify, without delay, the king of Sardinia, for the losses he has sustained. Fourthly, and lastly, That, in virtue of the obligations of mutual guarantee and mediation, the French government shall promise immediately to evacuate, and withdraw its troops from the north of Germany, and enter into an engagement to respect, in the strictest manner, the neutrality of the Germanic body. The undersigned has to add, that he has received orders from his government to demand a categorical answer to these four points\*.”

This note produced a reply, dated the 29th of July, abounding in invective, and full as unsatisfactory as the former one from the French government †.

It is there repeated that France is justified in reproaching Russia with having neglected to perform her engagements, contracted by the secret convention of the 11th Vendemaire, year 10, with having changed the government of the Seven Islands, without any concert or communication with France, and of having assembled large bodies of troops at Corfu; with having patronized the emigrants, and their projects against France—with having even placed herself in a posture of direct defiance to France, by ordering a court mourning, as a mark of respect to the memory of an agent, in the pay

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of

\* Our readers will find, in the above-cited state paper, a most correct and temperate exposure, of the dispositions manifested by the French government, and the system of aggression uniformly pursued by that power. And as no language which we could have used, would have depicted the conduct of France towards other nations more faithfully, we have thought proper, contrary to our usual practice, to insert the greater part of that able production in the body of our narrative.

† Vide State Papers, p. 649.



of England, engaged in a criminal design against France, after this traitor had been condemned by the just decision of a tribunal of the French government, and had been executed in pursuance of his sentence. The glaring partiality manifested by Russia towards England, and the perfidious conduct of count Marcaff, who had increased the differences between the two governments, and had engaged in all the wicked designs of the emigrants and disaffected persons in France. That these were the real causes of the disposition lately evinced by Russia towards France. That Russia must fulfil the stipulations by which both powers were mutually bound, before she could expect France to comply with them. That the conduct of Russia was that of a conqueror to the vanquished. It were to suppose that France could be intimidated by menaces. The history of the war which preceded the peace with Russia, proves that that power had no more right than any other, to assume a haughty tone towards France. But if, notwithstanding all the solicitude of the emperor of the French, to maintain the relations of peace and amity between the two countries, the emperor of Russia should join his armies to those of England, the emperor of the French, with the assistance of God and his arms, was not in a situation to fear any man.

This correspondence was terminated by a note, dated the 28th of August, presented to the French minister for foreign affairs, by M. Oubril. The allegations contained in the former Russian notes, are forcibly recapitulated, whilst the recriminations made by the French government, are triumphantly re-

pelled. It is stated that the total inattention of the French government to the just claims and remonstrances of Russia, was evidence of the little value attached by the French government to its relations with her, and of its invariable determination to adopt for its conduct a line, absolutely contrary to the principles of justice, and the laws of nations, which could by no means harmonize with the sentiments and principles professed by his Russian majesty. In short, nothing further remained for the undersigned than to declare, that all correspondence between the two powers having, by these means, become perfectly useless, must cease, and that his majesty the emperor only waited for intelligence of the departure of his chargé d'affaires from Paris, to signify to the French mission to quit his capital. As the present state of affairs has arisen solely from the conduct of the French government, upon it would depend the decision of the question, whether or not war was to be the consequence. In case it should compel Russia, either by fresh injuries or by provocations, aimed against her or against her allies, or by still threatening more seriously the security and independence of Europe, his majesty would then manifest as much energy in the employment of those extreme means, which a just defence requires, as he has given proofs of patience, in resorting to the use of all the means of moderation, consistent with the maintenance of the honour and dignity of his crown. This important paper concludes, by M. Oubril demanding the necessary passports for his departure from France.

In the mean time a vigorous protest, dated 27th July, was made



on the part of the king of Sweden against the conduct of France, in violating the neutrality of the German empire, in the instance of the duc d'Enghien.

The part which Sweden had taken in these transactions, was reflected upon in language the most offensive and personal to his Swedish majesty, in a paper which appeared in the French official journal, the *Moniteur*, of the 14th August. He is there accused of inconsistency and folly; of intermeddling in a thankless office, when he could do neither good nor harm; of insulting his father-in-law in his capital of Carlsruhe, and of acting in a manner highly prejudicial to the interests of his brother-in-law the elector of Bavaria, during his residence at Munich; and of having abandoned his allies, the Danes, to their fate, before the bombardment of Copenhagen. That France was perfectly indifferent to all his steps; but that she knew how to discriminate between a loyal and brave people, justly called the French of the North, and a young man, led astray by false notions, and unenlightened by reflection\*.

The effect of this indecent attack was an immediate notification to M. Caillard, French chargé d'affaires at Stockholm, that his Swedish majesty could not, consistently with his own dignity, and the honour of his crown, after such an insult had been offered to him, wherein a line of separation was perfidiously attempted to be drawn between his majesty and his subjects, permit any further diplomatic intercourse, either public or private, to subsist between the French legation

at Stockholm, and his majesty's government.

An order was likewise forthwith issued, whereby all French journals, of every description, and all future French publications, were strictly prohibited from being imported into Sweden.

It might well be observed that "the French government had taken the determination invariably to adopt for its conduct, a line absolutely contrary to the principles of justice, and the law of nations:" for, every remonstrance addressed to that upstart cabinet, really seemed an additional motive for trampling upon all established principles of right. An adherence to the rules of justice and decorum was considered beneath the attention of that domineering power; as the attribute of weakness and pusillanimity; and unbecoming the energy and greatness of the *regenerated* nation. No opportunity was neglected where they could be set at defiance.

The recent expostulations, far from producing any change in their offensive system, served only to provoke further enormities. They had scarcely been expressed, when the neutrality of another independent member of the Germanic body was infringed, in the person of an accredited minister.

On the night of the 25th of October, a party of French troops passed the Elbe, (in consequence, as it was insultingly explained, of orders given by the minister of police at Paris) and seized sir George Rumbold, the British chargé d'affaires to the Circle of Lower Saxony, at his country house in the vicinity of Hamburgh,

\* This latter observation was evidently intended to disseminate that discord, which has so frequently subsisted between the crown of Sweden and the people.



under the pretext that he was concerned in plans, similar to those attributed to Mr. Drake, and Mr. S. Smith.

This gentleman, together with the papers found in his possession, was forwarded, without delay, to Paris. On his arrival there he was confined in the Temple, and detained two days and as many nights. At length, on his being induced to sign a parole, not to return to Hamburgh, nor to within a certain distance of the French territories, and having in vain demanded the restitution of his papers, he was conveyed to the coast, and embarked at Cherbourg, in a vessel carrying a flag of truce, which put him on board of his majesty's frigate *Niobe*, whence he was landed at Portsmouth.

This act of violence was the subject of an official note from lord Hawkesbury to the cabinet of Berlin. But it appears, that that court had previously made a remonstrance on the subject to the French government, to which the release of sir George Rumbold is chiefly to be attributed.

While the French government was thus invading the liberties of the Northern States, it was not unmindful of its schemes of encroachment in the south of Europe. On the 20th of October, a convention was concluded with Genoa, by which France engages to procure a peace for the Ligurian Republic, with the Barbary States. Should her endeavours in that respect fail, she promises to allow the vessels of the republic to carry French colours for their protection, and to permit the importation of Ligurian commodities, subject to certain duties, into Piedmont, Parma, and Placenza; and, in return for these equivocal advantages, the Ligurian republic

engages to furnish six thousand seamen to France, during the present war: she likewise cedes the harbours, dock-yards, arsenals, &c. and places them at the disposal of the French government. And, as it is intended to construct, in the said dock-yards, ten ships of the line for France, the Ligurian republic engages to enlarge, at her own expence, the bason, sufficiently to receive those vessels. A new ship of the line, a frigate, and two corvettes, all complete, are, at the same time, placed at the disposal of France.

The period appointed for the coronation now approached. The preparations for that ceremony were framed upon an immense scale.—France was to be dazzled by its splendour and magnificence: the accomplishment of the measure itself was to establish the belief, throughout the world, in the solidity and permanence of Bonaparte's dominion. The arrogance of his conduct whilst this affair was pending, his defiance and contempt of other powers, might flatter Frenchmen with the idea of their importance under his government; and, at the same time, convey a more general impression of his conscious security: and, the better to impose upon the ignorant and credulous, the pope was summoned to Paris, to place the imperial crown upon his head.

This humiliated potentate, on the 29th October, previously to his departure from Rome, addressed an allocution to a consistory, wherein he extols the merits of Bonaparte, for having by the "Concordat" restored the catholic religion over his vast and populous territory. "The same  
" most powerful prince (continues  
" his holiness) our dearest son in  
" Christ, Napoleon, emperor of the  
French,



“ French, who has so well deserved  
 “ of the catholic religion for what he  
 “ has done, has signified to us his  
 “ strong desire to be anointed with  
 “ the holy unction, and to receive  
 “ the imperial crown from us, to the  
 “ end that the solemn rights which  
 “ are to place him in the highest  
 “ rank, shall be strongly impressed  
 “ with the character of religion,  
 “ and call down more effectually  
 “ the benediction of heaven \*.”

The necessary limits of this work, even if the subject merited a minute description, prohibit us from entering into a detail of the long ceremony of the coronation. Suffice it to say, that, on the 19th November, Bonaparte, attended by a numerous military escort, and followed by an immense train of equipages, as brilliant as could be procured, filled with persons of the highest rank in the government, accompanied by the pope, proceeded through streets strewed with sand, and lined by a prodigious concourse of curious spectators, to the cathedral church of “ Notre Dame,” which edifice was decorated, for the occasion, both within and without, with all the sumptuousness which French ingenuity could devise. There his holiness performed a solemn service, anointed the emperor with the sacred unction, and placed the crown upon his majesty’s head. To this ceremony, in the evening, succeeded plays, pantomimes, singing, music, dancing, fire-works, illuminations, fountains flowing with wine; in short, every thing that could amuse and divert a giddy, inconsiderate populace. Impartial persons, however, who were eye-witnesses of this exhibition, pretend that it was far

from exciting that degree of enthusiasm which so shining and costly a spectacle might be expected to produce on a people who, more than any other, delight in public shows: that none seemed to take a sincere interest in it, but those in power, or who were immediately benefited by the existing order of things; and that the lowest classes made merry, and danced, apparently from no other motive, than because they found themselves supplied, free of expence, with the means of indulging in their favourite recreations.

To put the seal to this transaction, and to stamp it with still greater weight, the conservative senate, in pursuance of a former resolution, presented themselves in a body, on the 1st December, at the palace of the Thuilleries, and their president, François de Neufchateau, addressed the emperor in a prolix and turgid complimentary oration, in point of style and matter much resembling those pieces which we have already thought proper to cite, by way of specimen. To which his imperial majesty replied:

“ I ascend the throne, to which  
 “ the unanimous wishes of the se-  
 “ nate, the people, and the army,  
 “ have called me, with a heart pe-  
 “ netrated with the great destinies  
 “ of that people, whom, from the  
 “ midst of camps, I first saluted by  
 “ the name of Great. From my  
 “ youth, my thoughts have been  
 “ solely fixed upon them, and I  
 “ must add, here, that my pleasures  
 “ and my pains are derived entirely  
 “ from the happiness or misery of  
 “ the people. My descendants shall  
 “ long preserve this throne. In the  
 “ camps they will be the first sol-

\* Vide State Papers, p. 686.



“ diers of the army, sacrificing their  
 “ lives for the defence of their coun-  
 “ try—as magistrates, they will ne-  
 “ ver forget, that contempt of the  
 “ laws, and the confusion of social  
 “ order, are only the result of the  
 “ imbecility and uncertainty of  
 “ princes. You, senators, whose  
 “ counsels and support have ne-  
 “ ver failed me in the most diffi-  
 “ cult circumstances, your spirit  
 “ will be handed down to your suc-  
 “ cessors; be ever the props and  
 “ first counsellors of that throne so  
 “ necessary to the welfare of this  
 “ vast empire.”

The tribunate having assisted at a similar solemnity, thus concluded this memorable event.

The session of the legislative body  
 opened on the 26th December. On  
 that occasion, the members were as-  
 sembled in extraordinary state, to  
 receive the emperor, who was seated  
 on a throne erected for the purpose;  
 and, in his presence, an oath, in the  
 following terms, was administered  
 to each of the legislators, separately:  
 “ *I swear obedience to the constitu-*  
 “ *tions of the empire, and fidelity to*  
 “ *the emperor.*”

The emperor then rose, the legis-  
lators uncovered themselves, and  
his majesty addressed them as fol-  
lows:

“ Deputies from the departments  
 “ to the legislative body, and mem-  
 “ bers of my council of state.—I  
 “ am come, gentlemen, to preside  
 “ at the opening of your session.  
 “ My anxious desire is to impress a  
 “ more imposing and august charac-  
 “ ter on your proceedings. Yes,  
 “ princes, magistrates, soldiers, citi-  
 “ zens, we have all of us, in the  
 “ course we have to run, but one  
 “ object—the interest of the coun-  
 “ try. If this throne, to which

“ providence and the will of the na-  
 “ tion have raised me, be dear in  
 “ my eyes, it is because that throne  
 “ can only defend and maintain the  
 “ most sacred interests of the French  
 “ people. Unsupported by a vi-  
 “ gorous and paternal government,  
 “ France would have still to fear  
 “ those calamities by which she has  
 “ been afflicted. The weakness of  
 “ the supreme power is the deepest  
 “ misfortune of nations. As a sol-  
 “ dier, or first consul, I entertained  
 “ but one thought—as emperor, I  
 “ am influenced by no other—and  
 “ that is, every thing which contri-  
 “ butes to the prosperity of France.  
 “ I have had the good fortune to  
 “ illustrate France with victories,  
 “ to consolidate her by treaties, to  
 “ rescue her from civil broils, and  
 “ to revive among her inhabitants  
 “ the influence of morals, of social  
 “ order, and of religion. Should  
 “ death not surprise me in the  
 “ midst of my labours, I fondly  
 “ hope I may transmit to posterity  
 “ a durable impression, that must  
 “ serve as an example or reproach  
 “ to my successors. The minister  
 “ of the interior will submit to you  
 “ a statement of the situation of the  
 “ empire. The deputation from my  
 “ council of state will present to  
 “ you different objects that are to  
 “ occupy the legislature. I have  
 “ given instructions that there be  
 “ laid before you the accounts  
 “ which my ministers have given me  
 “ of their respective departments;  
 “ I am fully satisfied with the pros-  
 “ perous state of our finances;  
 “ whatever may be the expenditure,  
 “ it is covered by the revenue.—  
 “ How extensive soever have been  
 “ the preparations imposed upon  
 “ us, by the exigencies of the war  
 “ in which we are engaged, I call  
 upon



upon my people for no new sacrifice. It would have been highly gratifying to me, on so solemn an occasion, to see the blessings of peace diffused over the world; but the political principles of our enemies, their recent conduct towards Spain, but too strongly speak the difficulties that oppose it. I am not anxious to enlarge the territory of France, but to assert its integrity. I feel no ambition to exert a wider stretch of influence in Europe, but not to descend from that which I have acquired. *No state shall be incorporated with the empire*: but I shall not sacrifice my rights, or the ties which bind me to the states that I have created. In bestowing the crown upon me, the people entered into an engagement to exert every effort which circumstances may require, in order to preserve, unsullied, that splendour which is necessary for their prosperity, and indispensable for their glory, as well as for mine. I am full of confidence in the energy of the nation, and in the sentiments it entertains for me; its dearest interests are the constant object of my solicitude.

Deputies from the departments to the legislative body, tribunes, and members of my council of state. Your conduct, gentlemen, during the preceding session, the zeal with which you glow for your country, your attachment to my person, I hold as pledges of the assistance for which I call upon you, and which, I trust, I shall receive from you during the course of the present session."

On the 31st, the annual report, on the state of the nation, was made to the legislative body.

This paper states that the internal situation of France is what it was in the calmest times—everywhere the improvements of public and private property attested the progress of confidence and security—that all classes of the community, both military and civil, had testified their love of order, even during the absence of their immediate chiefs, (adverting to their attendance at the coronation)—that the sovereign pontiff had, from the banks of the Po, to those of the Seine, experienced a religious homage, the effect of attachment to the ancient doctrines, on the part of a people revering a sovereign raised to the throne by his *piety and virtues*—that the discovery of a plot, laid by an implacable enemy, had awakened the nation to her true interests, and taught her the value of hereditary power. After expatiating on the flourishing state of the empire, both at home and abroad, and construing, agreeably to their wishes, the dispositions of various other powers, this representation concludes, with observing, that, "whatever may be the movements of England, the destinies of France are fixed: strong in her union, strong in her riches, and in the courage of her defenders, she will faithfully cultivate the alliance of her friends, and will not act so as either to deserve enemies, or to fear them. When England shall be convinced of the impotence of her efforts to agitate the continent—when she shall know that she has only to lose by a war without end or motives—when she finds that France will never accept any other conditions than those of the treaty of Amiens, and will never consent to leave to

her



“ her the right of breaking treaties  
“ at pleasure, by appropriating  
“ Malta, England will then have  
“ arrived at pacific sentiments.—  
“ Envy and hatred have but their  
“ day.”

Here closes our account of the  
affairs of France, during 1804. To  
avoid repetition, we have abstained

from interrupting the thread of this  
portion of our narrative, by notic-  
ing the few unimportant military  
events of the year. Those opera-  
tions, having been exclusively di-  
rected against the British posses-  
sions, have already found their place  
in the preceding chapters.



## C H A P. XII.

*Situation of the greater Part of Europe at the Opening of the Year.—Great Power of France.—Magnanimity of Russia.—Disputes in the Empire of Germany on the Subject of the Equestrian Order.—Bavaria and Austria—terminated.—Effects produced by the Murder of the Duke D'Enghien on the Powers of Europe—on Russia.—Character of the Emperor Alexander—remonstrates against the Conduct of France, at the Diet—ill seconded, and why—Votes of Hanover and Pomerania—Baden and Brandenburg.—Great Opposition of Character between the Emperor Alexander and Bonaparte—ill Understanding between them.—State of the great Powers of Europe at the Close of the Year.—Conduct of Sweden.—Austria assumes the hereditary Dignity of Emperor—Effects thereof.—Disputes between America and Spain, on the Subject of Louisiana—terminated.—Affairs of St. Domingo—Murder of the remaining white Inhabitants—Dessalines, a Negro, chosen Emperor—his Conduct—marches against St. Jago—Jamaica.*

THE course of the present year is so barren in events of any importance, save those in which England and France were immediately or indirectly concerned, that having, in the preceding chapters, bestowed much attention on the affairs of those countries, (under the head of the latter, those of Sweden and Russia are necessarily included) little remains to be narrated with respect to the remaining powers of Europe. Indeed the politics of the continent seem to have undergone a complete alteration since the revolutionary war, which has given so great a preponderance to France, that the only doubt is, how much or how little moderation she might think proper to use in the farther extension of her already enormous dominions. By the treaties of Lune-

ville and Amiens, Switzerland, Lombardy, Holland, and Tuscany, were left in that state of dependent alliance with the French nation, that scarcely the appearance of right remained to Austria or Russia to question his conduct, should Bonaparte choose to annex them to his empire, separately, or altogether. With respect to Spain, and even Portugal, his power over those unfortunate countries seemed every day to be more confirmed and absolute. These states appeared to have been abandoned to his discretion by the treaty of Amiens; and if he did not take immediate possession of them, it was because he knew, that he could at any time effect this object, and that it would create less alarm, among the other powers of Europe, to subjugate them gradually, by the various



ous acts of intrigue and interference, to which their weak governments but too much exposed them.

We have seen, however\*, that, unawed by such immensity of power, the magnanimity of Russia did not slumber. In pressing for the execution of a treaty, which had for its objects the guarantee of the independence of Naples, and that of procuring an indemnity to the king of Sardinia for the loss of his dominions, he had at once increased the bitter enmity of the French ruler, and acquired the confidence and admiration of whatever yet remained independent in Europe, who saw, in this generous and noble conduct, a principle of action, which might, at a future moment, check the strides towards universal monarchy of the restless Corsican. The fruits of the line of conduct which the emperor Alexander had thus chosen, were perceptible in some uneasy movements on the part of France, and were not unuseful to the cause of England, as it occasioned the removal to Italy of many of those battalions, which stationed at Boulogne, were to form a part of the invading army destined to conquer Great-Britain.

At the commencement of the present year, Austria appeared actively employed in repairing the losses which her armies had sustained in the late war, and in placing her military establishments on the best possible footing. The Germanic empire had, at this period, been for some time agitated in consequence of some very arbitrary measures resorted to by the elector of Bavaria, to oppress the equestrian order in his territories in Franconia, acquir-

ed by the indemnities. That body, considering itself under the immediate protection of the head of the Empire, appealed to the emperor of Germany, who immediately interfered, and sent a most dignified and energetic remonstrance, in the capacity of its supreme chief, to the court of Munich; and also, at the same time, assured the equestrian order of his support, by ulterior means, against the elector. There could be little doubt but that, in this proceeding, the elector had either been secretly stimulated by France, or else had relied, with confidence, on the support of that power in any aggressive project he might form, which should tend to the diminution of the influence of Austria; but, to his utter disappointment and mortification, a short period had only elapsed, after the delivery of the imperial declaration in favour of the order, when the French ambassador to the Bavarian government expressed the displeasure of the first consul, at the conduct of the elector towards the head of the German empire; which, of course, terminated the affair. In the whole of this transaction, as well as upon the seizure of *Oberhaus*, by the Bavarian troops, which occurred the year before, Austria evinced a sufficient share of energy and decision, to convince France, that her spirit was not so broken, nor her consequence at so low an ebb, as to allow herself to be insulted with impunity. Bonaparte had, in these instances, certainly endeavoured to ascertain how far that power would bear the attempt to diminish her weight and consequence in the Germanic body, without hav-



ing recourse to the chances of war in their vindication. The result of the experiment served to convince him, that there was a line of aggression which he must not pass, so long as he should think it prudent to continue at peace with Austria.

The perpetration of the murder of the duke D'Enghien;—the tragical and much-lamented fate of that unfortunate prince;—the cold-blooded malice of the monster by whose command it was executed;—and the shameful violation of the law of nations, and of the rights of the German empire, by which it was attended;—made the deepest impression on every sovereign, and on every feeling mind, in Europe; but on none more than that of Alexander, the youthful and amiable sovereign of Russia. From the moment of the emperor's accession to his vast dominions, his whole soul had been devoted to the happiness of his own subjects, and to the guarding the peace and tranquillity of the other nations of the world. The object of all his public acts, appears to have been the healing up those wounds which Europe had received in the long war by which she had been desolated, and to secure the independence of such of her states as had survived that terrible contest. It is true, that, on the question of the German indemnities, he had co-operated with France, but as it should seem his motives were merely to bring that complicated question to a speedy decision, that the harmony of the empire might be restored, and that no pretence should remain for disturbing its tranquillity in future. The violation of the German territory, therefore, necessarily gave him much pain on every account,

both as he was its solemn guarantee, and as being an attack upon a country, which, so long as it could protect its own independence, must form the most powerful bulwark to Russia, against the immeasurable ambition, and revolutionary projects of France.

But, however deeply Alexander must have felt, as a sovereign, at this outrage, perhaps even the consequences to which it manifestly led, did not weigh more upon his mind, than the moral turpitude of the crime by which it was produced. Not contented, therefore, with causing his ambassador at Paris to remonstrate in the strongest manner upon the subject (the consequences of which we have already stated in our review of French affairs) he presented, by his minister at Ratisbon, a formal note to the diet of the empire there assembled, inviting the states to unite their endeavours with his, to take such steps and measures as their insulted country and dignity required at their hands; and called upon them, in the first instance, to join with him in requiring ample satisfaction from the French government for what had passed, and the assurances of that power, that no such insult should again be offered to the Germanic body. Great additional solemnity was given to the representations and remonstrances of the court of Russia upon this occasion, by its not only having put itself into deep mourning, but by ordering all its ministers, at foreign courts, to do the same, in memory of the tragical fate of the duke D'Enghien; a step which the French government affected to consider a direct insult, inasmuch as it silently, but forcibly, expressed the respect and attachment



attachment of the Russian emperor for the blood royal of France, and that he considered the execution which had taken place, as a barbarous, unqualified murder!

It was evident, from the line which the emperor of Russia had taken, that he wished to commit the German powers into such expressions of resentment against France for her late conduct, as might lead eventually to a renewal of hostilities, or, at least, if she submitted to the propositions that were made, that her weight in Europe might be lessened by this timely check to her insolence and tyranny. But, in these views, he was ill seconded by the greater of these states: and the lesser were inadequate to any measures of such weight and consequence. The king of Prussia, whose influence in the north of Germany was decisive, had evidently attached himself so closely to the views and politics of Bonaparte, that little hope remained of his being induced, upon any principle of general polity, to give up the narrow selfish system he had adopted, or act with spirit for the general weal of Europe. The same principle of action applied, in a greater or less degree, to those states who were immediately attached to him. In answer, therefore, to the Russian note presented to the diet, the representatives of Brandenburg, and of Baden, expressed their hope, "that the first consul would, of himself, be inclined to give such a full and satisfactory explanation on the subject as might entirely correspond to the expectation of his majesty the emperor of Russia." The great majority of the other states of the German empire, conscious of the insult offer-

ed and injury sustained, yet, fearful of the renewal of hostilities, in which they must risk much, and from which they could not hope to derive any advantage (the seat of war too, probably, in their own territories) preserved an inflexible silence. Under these circumstances, it is not surprising, that the votes of Hanover and Pomerania should alone coincide with the sentiments of the imperial note. That of the former state, at the same time, reminded the diet, that a still greater violation of the treaty of Luneville, and the independence of the empire, had been committed by the unjustifiable seizure and continued occupation of the dominions of the king of Great-Britain in Germany. That of his Swedish majesty, as duke of Pomerania, was still stronger, in expressing his abhorrence of the conduct of France, which he considered as doubly injurious to himself, both as being an estate of the German empire, and in his sovereign capacity a guarantee of the treaty of Westphalia. There was little chance of these sentiments having any effect upon the determination of their co-estates; and, indeed, they were delivered under circumstances widely different from those under which the majority of the latter were situated. The elector of Hanover, whose dominions were already over-run by, and in possession of, the French, ran no risk in dictating such an instrument in London, and causing his minister to deliver it at Ratisbon; while the king of Sweden, whose territories, save a narrow slip in Germany, were separated from France by the Baltic, had little to fear from her resentment, were he to express his sense of her conduct,



in the most warm and pointed language. The few remaining princes of Germany, who took any part in this transaction, adopted, with little variation, the sentiments of Baden and of Brandenburg.

We have already, in the preceding chapter, detailed at considerable length the consequences of the conduct of Russia and Sweden upon this memorable occasion, so far as they relate to France. It may, however, here be mentioned, that, on the return of count Marcaff, the Russian ambassador, (with whom Bonaparte took occasion personally to quarrel, at this period,) he was received with the most flattering and distinguished honours at the court of St. Petersburg; the emperor's thanks, returned to him in the most solemn manner, were read in the directing senate, and a pension of 12,000 rubles, annually, was settled upon him: undoubtedly these rewards were meant, if not so designated, for the services which he had rendered his master at Paris, in repelling those insults which were offered to him in the person of his ambassador, with sufficient dignity and firmness.—From this moment no apparent good understanding subsisted between France, on the one hand, and Russia and Sweden on the other.

To the correspondence which ensued between the governments of Russia and France, the greatest interest will necessarily attach\*. The state papers thence originating are not only of the utmost importance in themselves, but exhibit the most marked and striking contrast between the personal character of these “great ones of the earth.” In the expressions of the one, we

trace the God-like benevolence of a Titus, or a Marcus Aurelius, the friends and benefactors of the human race;—in those of the other, the furious ebullition of a Zingis, or a Tamerlane, the persecutors and enslavers of mankind. The one appears mild, just, and dignified, exerting his vast means in the defence of the oppressed nations of the earth;—his upstart rival, on the contrary, ferocious, inequitable, and impatient of control, hardly conceals his aspiring to the domination of the world. While it should seem, that “to lose a day,” (not spent in acts of beneficence to his fellow-men,) would afford inexpressible pain to the benevolent spirit of Alexander;—the universal suffrage would affix the tyrant's maxim of “*oderint dum metuunt*,” as the most appropriate motto, on the blood-stained scutcheon of Bonaparte. The effect upon the great powers of Europe, produced by the hostile opposition of two such personages as we have attempted to delineate, would naturally be, that while Russia might fairly claim and rely upon their co-operation, France could expect no friendship or assistance, save from those who were already in a state of trembling dependence on her mandates.

But, at the period at which these events took place, the contest, to which we advert, bore no appearance of being speedily commenced. Whatever animosity and ill understanding there might exist between the courts of St. Petersburg and Versailles, Russia and France were too remote from each other, to commence effectual hostilities.—While the latter power was engaged

\* Given at length in Chapter XI.



in war with England, it was impossible that her navy could act against that of the emperor; nor had Russia, unallied with some intermediate power, the means of conveying troops sufficient, to make any impression on the compact mass of the French territory. The year, therefore, was passed by both powers, in making warlike preparations, and in the increase of their military establishments. Prussia still seemed warm in the interest of France, and Austria maintained a strict and guarded neutrality.

The assumption of the imperial dignity, by Bonaparte, gave a new interest to the political concerns of Europe. As soon as that event was notified to the court of Vienna, the emperor of Germany resolved immediately upon conferring the hereditary dignity of emperor upon the house of Austria. The patent for the purpose, stated the object of this measure to be, “the preservation of that degree of equality which should subsist between the great powers, and the just rank of the house and state of Austria, among the nations of Europe.”\* As the emperor and the Germanic body had acquiesced, with scarcely an exception, in the increase of title in the French ruler; so, on the other hand, did the self-appointed emperor of France offer no opposition to the head of the Austrian house assuming the same hereditary dignity. The measure, in itself, indeed, appeared indifferent in the eyes of all the sovereigns of Europe, except the king of Sweden, who presented a note thereon, at Ratisbon, declaring, “that he considered it as a matter that ought to be seriously weighed and discussed at the diet there sitting, and not as the subject

of a verbal communication by the Austrian minister.”† But this step, however, excited some uneasiness in the political circles of almost every country in Europe, as it appeared to be an act undertaken in concert with France: that this mutual assumption of title was the fruit of a perfectly good understanding between these powers, and many feared that there was still a farther connexion between them; a conjecture not disproved by any event which took place within this year. The French journals even insinuated that Austria was extremely jealous of the preponderant influence Russia had gained over the councils of the Porte, and of her approach to Dalmatia, by the occupation of Corfu.

But the power, in Europe, which was most undisguisedly hostile to the French government, was the king of Sweden. All his notes on the subject of the German empire, of what nature soever, teemed with expressions of the utmost severity against France and her upstart emperor. In the spirit of retaliation, Bonaparte thought proper to have inserted, in his official public paper, “the *Moniteur*,” an article of the most offensive and galling nature to the feelings of that monarch. It treated with the utmost contempt those notes which the king of Sweden wrote, with so much precipitation, “as he travelled post through the different states of Germany;” it ridiculed his travels, and affected to consider his Swedish majesty as a very weak young man, deficient both in understanding and experience; it upbraided him with shamefully deserting the German empire, of which he now boasted he was the guarantee, and with the making a separate peace

\* State Papers, p. 695.

† State Papers, p. 697.



peace for himself; it concluded, by declaring, that France considered both him and all his movements as unworthy of her attention. A personal attack of this nature, inserted in a journal of authority, could not fail of irritating the Swedish monarch to the greatest degree: he immediately ordered a note to be presented to the French *chargé d'affaires*, at Stockholm, announcing, that, after an insult of that nature, all intercourse must cease between the French legation and the Swedish government; and declaring the offensive expressions in "the *Moniteur*" to be "the improper, insolent, and ridiculous observations which *Monsieur* Napoleon Bonaparte allowed to be inserted in his journal." After a transaction of such a nature, it was evident that Sweden, as well as Russia, was prepared, the first opportunity which presented any prospect of success, to commence hostilities with Bonaparte.

We have already, in our account of the progress of the war, during the present year, detailed the melancholy affair with which hostile measures commenced between Great Britain and Spain; nor does the latter country, nor any of the remaining powers of Europe, (save those whom we have particularly noticed in the preceding pages) present a single other event worth recording in the same period. In the western hemisphere, history has almost as little on which to dwell. Some uneasiness appeared between the United States and the Spanish government, upon the subject of Louisiana, which, at one moment, threatened disagreeable consequences. This extensive tract of country was, as our readers have seen in our last volume,

sold by France to the American union. The Spanish minister, however, in the name of his court, protested against this transfer, on the ground that France had not yet fulfilled those articles of the private treaty, in consequence of which Spain had consented to cede Louisiana to that power. Nor did the Spanish government confine itself merely to remonstrances, but prepared to resist, by force of arms, the occupation of that country, by the United States. Spain, however, in the course of the year, reluctantly acceded to an arrangement agreed upon by France and America, and to which, dictated by such a combination, she could not refuse her acquiescence.

In the once flourishing and happy island of Hispaniola, the French settlement of St. Domingo was entirely in the power of the black inhabitants, who consummated the victory they had gained over the colonists, by the slaughter of every white person in that part of the island, almost immediately after the English squadron had carried off the French government, and such of the inhabitants as could and would withdraw from that dreadful scene. Too many, however, remained (consisting of those who, either from a wish to protect the wreck of their property, or those who could not be accommodated in the debarkation) to glut the revengeful spirit of their unmerciful conquerors. They were all butchered, with circumstances of unheard-of cruelty. The negro, Dessalines, who had succeeded Toussaint L'Ouverture in the supreme command of the black population, on the first interval of leisure, had himself elected and proclaimed emperor of "Hayti," (that



being the Indian name of the island) and in imitation of his prototype in Europe, created his great officers of state, established a necessary etiquette, and conducted himself with the most unbounded and unrestrained despotism. Some of the authentic acts of this sable potentate will be found in another part of the present volume\*. The city of St. Jago, in the Spanish part of Hispaniola, still remained unconquer-

ed; and, at the close of the year, was yet in the possession of the ancient inhabitants, though hourly menaced by an attack from Dessalines, in person, and a most formidable black army.

In Jamaica, the disputes between the governor and the house of assembly still continued, but afford too little of an interesting or decisive nature to lay before our readers.†

\* Vide "State Papers," page 716.

† Ibid. p. 604.



## C H A P. XIII.

*Affairs of India.—Retrospect.—Some Account of the Mahratta States—Form of Government—Extent of their Empire—and Strength—Ambition and Intrigues of its several Rulers.—Policy of the British Government in negotiating with them.—Treaty of Poonah.—Ambition of Scindiah—his Hostility to the English—various Instances of—Marquis Wellesley's Projects to counteract it.—Treaty with the Guckwar—proposed Treaty with the Peishwa—Obstacles to it—probable Views of France.—Statement of the Force under M. Perron.—War subsisting in the Mahratta Empire between Scindiah and Holkar—Causes thereof—March of Holkar to Poonah—opposed by the united Troops of Scindiah and the Peishwa—the latter utterly defeated—Flight of the Peishwa—Claims the Protection of the Bombay Government.—Treaty of Bassein.—Assumption of the Peishwa's Government by Holkar—new Peishwa set up by him.—British Army of Observation assembled on the Mahratta Frontier.—Detachment destined for the Restoration of the Peishwa put under the Command of General Wellesley—the March of the latter—enters the Mahratta Territories—Retreat of Holkar—saves Poonah from being burnt and plundered by his activity.—Restoration of the Peishwa.—Proceedings of Colonel Collins at Scindiah's Camp—great Insincerity of the latter.—Junction between Scindiah and Bhoonsla—they negotiate with Holkar—hostile Conduct—Powers given to General Wellesley—fruitless Negotiation between him and the confederated Chiefs—real Views of the Confederates penetrated by Gen. Wellesley.—Negociations broke off.—The Preparations for War commenced by the British Government.*

**T**HE impossibility of obtaining the requisite documents, from possessions so remote as those which constitute the British empire in India, within the year, necessarily oblige us, to defer our account of the transactions which take place in that country, until such sources of information can be resorted to, as present themselves at a subsequent period. We are now, therefore, to call the attention of our readers, to the events, which took place in the year 1803, and for some short

time preceding, in Hindostan;—events which equal, in point of interest, any, that in the course of our long service to the public, we have had occasion to detail.

At the period when the great and comprehensive plans of the marquis Wellesley, governor general in British India, had levelled the throne of the Mysorean usurper with the dust, and rescued the Nizam from the dangerous and rapid increase of the French interests in the Deccan, (by compelling 14,000



well-disciplined troops, officered by Europeans, to surrender without resistance to a British force,) a considerable degree of internal commotion prevailed in the vast empire of the Mahratta states.

This people, originally uniting, as do the Tartar hordes, the pastoral occupation with a warlike and predatory spirit, had raised itself, in the course of one hundred and sixty years, to the first rank among the nations of Asia. Happily for the independence of the other powers of India, its vast strength and resources, both civil and military, are scarcely ever directed by a common principle of action, which is indeed at once forbidden by the nature of its government, and the individual and often opposite interests of its rulers.

From a simple monarchy, founded by the extraordinary abilities of an adventurer, in the short period of five and twenty years, from the weakness of two succeeding princes, it became a federative body of independent chieftains, who yet, however, both as a common point of union, and from that unalterable principle in the east of veneration for the original strain of the royal blood, acknowledged an honorary fealty to the descendants of their first sovereign, the rajah of Sattarah. This revolution left the hereditary monarch nothing but the name. His prime minister, (which office became also hereditary,) under the designation of the peishwa, was universally allowed, by the whole Mahratta confederacy, as his representative and their supreme head: he established his court at Poonah, in the centre of a valuable territory, in part wrested from the imbecility of the rajah, and part the spoils of the neighbouring princes, whose

dominions fell successively into the hands of their more warlike neighbours. Stimulated by the example of the peishwa, the bukshi, or commander in chief of the forces to the rajah, made himself independent in Berar. His family name was Bhoonsla. Mular Rao Holkar, (a military chieftain of note, among the Mahrattas,) founded a dominion upon the same principles, in part of the fertile province of Malwa; while the remainder of that territory, and the whole of Candeish, became subject to Ranojee Scindiah, the most distinguished warrior of his age and country: a similar usurpation in the flourishing country of the Guzerat, established that province in the family of Guickwar. Thus, among five chiefs, (whose representatives, at the present day, enjoy these territories as their birth-right) namely, the Peishwa, Bhoonsla, Holkar, Scindia, and Guickwar, was the then Mahratta dominion divided, the rajah of Sattarah being confined within the walls of his capital, where his situation was that of actual imprisonment and subjection to the court of Poonah.

At the commencement of the present century, however, a succession of able and warlike chieftains in the great Mahratta families, and the feebleness of the Mogul emperors, had extended their possessions to a vast extent. Their empire now comprehended all those western provinces of the Deccan, which lie between the rivers Nerbudda and Krisna; the province of Berar, in the interior; that of Cuttack, on the eastern shores of the peninsula, and the whole of western Hindostan, except the country of Moultan, the Punjaub, and Sirhind. This extensive dominion was, in length, from  
Delhi



Delhi in the northern, to the river Tumbudra, their southern boundary, 970 British miles; and its extreme breadth, from east to west, across the peninsula, from the bay of Bengal to the gulph of Cambay, about 900 miles. It was bounded on the north, by the mountains of Scwalie, which separated it from Sirinigar and Cāshmere; on the north-east, by Rohilcund and Oude; on the east, by the British provinces of Benares, Bahar, Bengal, part of Orissa, the bay of Bengal, and the northern Circars; on the south, by the dominions of the nizam in the Deccan, the rivers Krisna and the Tumbudra; on the west, by the Indian Ocean; and on the north-west, by the deserts of Moultan, the river Sursotee, and the province of Sirhind: the whole containing a population of nearly 40 millions, and enabling the different chiefs to keep on foot a military establishment, of about 210,000 infantry, and 100,000 cavalry\*.

It may easily be supposed, that various attempts have been made, by some or other of the sovereign chieftans, to gain the supreme direction of such an accumulation of strength and resource, as this great empire, collectively considered, presented to the individual ambition of each:—accordingly, we find, that the comparatively short period of Mahratta history is, in a great measure, made up of their dissensions and intrigues of their princes to acquire absolute do-

minion over the whole. The most obvious mode to obtain this object, and the most agreeable to the constitution of the country, was by controlling the councils of the peishwa, and thus obtaining the sanction of his name and office for the meditated usurpation. The weakness of the government of Poonah, during the administration of several successive peishwas, gave ample scope to the execution of such a design; and the natural timidity, and weakness of mind of the present sovereign, left him and his authority at the mercy of the most enterprising or most powerful of the Mahratta chieftains.

As it was the obvious interest of the British government in India to prevent such an accumulation of power, as an union of the different states of the Mahratta empire would throw into the hands of an individual, and which might eventually be fatal to the existence of the English name in Hindostan; so it was the policy of the different governors general to contract such alliances with the pieshwa, as might preserve him independent, and thus effectually counteract the projects of the more ambitious chieftains. It was, therefore, on this principle, that the marquis Cornwallis concluded the treaty of Poonah with that prince, as the acknowledged representative of the rajah of Sattarah, and supreme head of the Mahratta confederacy, without reference to any of the subordinate chiefs, at the commencement of the war with

Tippo

\* This immense tract of country comprehends the provinces of Delhi, Agra, Ajimere, Malwa, Guzerat, Candeish, Baglana, Visiapour, the Koukan, Berar, Cuttack, and part of Doulatabad, of which a great proportion are highly fertile and populous, rich in grain, and abounding in villages and towns, which carry on a considerable internal commerce: of the inhabitants, nine tenths are Hindoos, the remainder Mahometans.



Tippo Sultaun, in the year 1789.—Neither Scindia, nor Bloonsla, (the rajah of Berar,) were parties to this alliance, which was, indeed, in opposition to their separate designs. The former, hardly then concealing his intentions of rendering the office of the peishwa subservient to his views upon the supreme authority, and the latter claiming that great office for himself, in right of his descent from the family of Sevagee, the ancestor of the rajah of Sattarah, and founder of the Mahratta power.

On the division, therefore, of Tippo Sultaun's dominions and treasure, which took effect after the treaty of Seringapatam, in 1797, the peishwa obtained a considerable accession of territory, and a large sum of money, without the consent or participation of any of the other chiefs of the Mahratta body; nor when, in the course of the following year, the marquis Cornwallis proposed a general alliance to the Mahratta power, did he make any proposition to the several chiefs, but addressed himself solely to the constitutional representative of the sovereign executive authority of the Mahratta empire.

In the interval of time, between the peace of Seringapatam and the commencement of the marquis Wellesley's administration in India, the ambition and rapacity of Dowlut Rao Scindiah, (who had succeeded Madhagee Scindiah, in 1794,) had impaired the authority of the peishwa, to such a degree as to frustrate every benefit, which the treaty of Poonah was calculated to secure to the British interests:—At the latter period, he was not only in possession of the person, and possessed the nominal authority of the

unfortunate Shah Aulum, the deposed Mogul emperor, but had for six years kept Bajee Rao, the reigning peishwa, in a state of the utmost degradation, and governed the councils of the court of Poonah, near which he had established himself with a powerful army, with almost absolute authority. By the perverse and overbearing influence of that chieftain, notwithstanding the apparent concurrence of the peishwa in the necessity and justice of the Mysorean war, in 1798, the Mahratta states not only afforded no assistance to the British government, in its prosecution, but actually maintained a secret and treacherous correspondence with Tippo Sultaun, until the fall of Seringapatam. And, even after that memorable event, the emissaries of their government, entirely subjected to the dominion of Scindia, attempted to excite the family and remaining officers of the deceased sultaun to resist the settlement of Mysore.

Again, when, on the division of Tippo Sultaun's dominions, a considerable territory was offered to the peishwa, notwithstanding the total failure of the latter, in discharging those obligations, imposed by the terms of the alliance concluded between the marquis Cornwallis and the Mahratta power, he was induced to decline the proffered grant; as did Scindiah himself propositions of the most amicable nature, from the same quarter, and at the same period.

In order to avert, as much as possible, the consequences of such an hostile spirit as was thus manifested, and to effect such an arrangement as should preclude the possibility of any union of the Mahratta states,



states, under circumstances which might menace interruption to the tranquillity of the British possessions, and to which the great and increasing power of Scindiah manifestly led, the governor general concluded a subsidiary treaty with the Guickwar, in 1802, the operation of which firmly attached that chief to the interests of the company, and secured to it a valuable and important territorial establishment in the maritime province of Guzerat. But the great object of marquis Wellesley's endeavours was, to establish between the peishwa and the British government such a connection as might secure the stability and efficiency of his authority, under the protection of the British power, without injury to the rights of the feudatory chieftains of the Mahratta empire. An arrangement which, if carried into effect, would be the best security for preserving a due balance between the several states constituting the confederacy of the Mahrattas, as well as for preventing any dangerous union or diversion of the vast resources of that empire.

To these wise and masterly measures, the comprehensive mind of the marquis Wellesley was stimulated by another powerful motive. It had ever been a principle of the British government to prevent the sovereign power of the Mahratta state, or any great branch of its empire, from passing into the hands of France. Such an event was not only possible, but even much to be dreaded, from the situation in which the dissensions of the different Mahratta chieftains had placed their country, at the commencement of the year 1802, and which afforded but too favourable an opportunity

to the government of France to establish a dominion within the peninsula, by the introduction of a military force, for the purpose of aiding one of the contending parties. In this object, the views of France would have been materially favoured by the strength and efficiency of the force under M. Perron, a Frenchman in the service and pay of Scindia, in whose confidence he possessed the first place, and over whose councils he possessed unlimited influence.—This formidable military establishment; consisted of 38,000 regular infantry, 8000 cavalry, and about 300 Europeans, (of whom not more than 30 were British subjects,) furnished with a train of 120 pieces of iron, and upwards of 150 pieces of brass ordnance. This force was formed into brigades, officered by European adventurers, chiefly Frenchmen, and disciplined on the European system. It was farther established with a great territorial dominion, extending towards the left bank of the Indus through the Punjaub, and comprehending Agra, Delhi, and a large portion of the Douab of the Ganges, on the most vulnerable part of the British north western frontier in Hindostan; and to which also was committed the custody of the deposed Mogul emperor, Shah Aulum.

Under these circumstances it was, that the governor general determined to renew his negotiations, in the month of June 1802, for the conclusion of an improved system of alliance with the court of Poonah. The increased distractions of the Mahratta state, and the successes of Jeswunt Rao Holkar against the forces of Scindiah, appeared to constitute a crisis favourable to the establishment of the British power



in the Mahratta empire, without the hazard of involving it in any contest whatever.

The war which had for a considerable period desolated the Mahratta states, originated in the rapacity and thirst of acquisition in Scindiah. On the death of Tuckogee Holkar, in 1797, a dispute arose between his sons, with respect to the succession, in which Scindiah interfered, and actually, in a sudden and unexpected attack on the younger, Mulhar Rao, slew him and many of his adherents. But the present chieftain Jeswunt Rao Holkar, an illegitimate son of Tuckogee, having escaped, and being possessed of considerable abilities and resource, levied forces in the name and behalf of the infant son of Mulhar Rao, (then in the custody of Scindiah,) and carried on, with various success, a severe contest with Scindiah until the middle of the year 1802, when he suddenly determined upon the measure of marching to Poonah. The weakness of the peishwa's government, and the entire annihilation of his authority by Scindiah, had left the former no means of opposing Holkar; and that chief naturally and wisely concluded that the most severe blow he could strike against the power of his antagonist, was to destroy his ascendancy at the court of Poonah, and to convert the authority of the peishwa's name to his own projects of aggrandizement. With these views, he proceeded with a large force to that city, whence Scindiah had been compelled to depart, nearly a year and a half before, to defend his dominions in Malwa; and who was at Ougein, when Holkar commenced

his march towards the metropolis of the peishwa.

During this period, the discussions between the British government and that of the peishwa went on but slowly. Although Scindiah was absent in northern Hindostan, his opinions and views still continued to govern at Poonah, and the peishwa declined the proffered protection and alliance of the company until Holkar actually reached the vicinity of the capital.

Scindiah in the mean time detached a force, under the command of one of his generals, named Suddashee Bhow, which effected a junction with the army of the peishwa, and both united, gave battle on the 25th day of October, 1804, to the force of Holkar, which terminated in the total defeat of the former, with considerable loss. After the action the peishwa retired with a small body of cavalry, to a fortress in the vicinity of Poonah, whence he prosecuted his farther retreat to Mhar, a fort in the province of Koukan. On the day on which the action took place, the peishwa sent his minister to the British resident at his court, with a written instrument, containing the terms of a subsidiary treaty, which he earnestly requested might be immediately executed, and the minister at the same time assured the resident, that a general defensive alliance should be concluded, at the first practicable moment, between his highness and the company, on the principle of that existing with the nizam. The terms of that now demanded, were the establishment of a force of six battalions of sepoys, for the service of the peishwa, with the usual complement of artillery, and conveying



a grant of territory to the annual amount of 25 lacks of rupees, in perpetuity to the honourable company, for the payment of that force.— This proposition was acceded to by the resident, and a draught thereof was immediately forwarded to Calcutta, and was ratified by the governor general on the same day it was received: and judging this a favourable opportunity to extend this alliance to all the members of the Mahratta empire, colonel Collins was dispatched to Scindia, as ambassador plenipotentiary, in order to propose to him the terms on which he might be included in the engagement just contracted with the peishwa.

In the mean time, the views of Holkar became more clearly developed. Finding that the peishwa had effected his escape, he detached a force to Jeguary, a fort about 30 miles to the southward of Poonah, to seize on the person of Amrut Rao, (the adopted son of the late Ragobah) with the design of placing his infant son on the musnud, at the same time declaring Amrut Rao prime-minister, and assuming to himself the general command of the troops of the state. In this project he was successful, and although Amrut Rao seems to have been averse from the arrangement, the affairs of government were thenceforward carried on under the authority and name of the latter.

During these transactions, the

peishwa requested the protection of the government of Bombay, and was in the mean while conveyed, in a British vessel, to Savendroog, a place of considerable strength, also in the Koukan, where his person was likely to be secure from the attempts of the usurpers.

In this state of the Mahratta empire, it became indispensibly necessary, as well for the protection of the British possessions, as those of the nizam, and rajah of Mysore, its allies; and for the repelling any predatory incursion (which might, in the course of the contest, be made by any vagrant freebooter belonging to either of the contending chieftains,) to assemble a considerable army of observation on the Mahratta frontier. Accordingly lord Clive, the governor of fort St. George, without waiting the arrival of direct instructions from the governor-general, got together a considerable force at Hurryhur, on the north-western frontier of Mysore,\* and governor Duncan, of the Bombay presidency, adopted the same wise and salutary measures of vigilance and precaution, by preparing for immediate service the disposeable strength of that government. While a considerable detachment of the subsidiary troops in the pay of the nizam, was also ordered to hold itself in readiness to take the field, in conformity to a requisition to that effect from the resident at Poonah.

At this period, both Holkar and Scindia

* Cavalry.....	3,581
Artillery.....	390
European Infantry	2,845
Native ditto.....	12,182

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18,998

With 800 pioneers, and 568 gun lascars, 4 iron twelve, and 4 iron eighteen pounders, 4 brass twelve-pounders, 40 field pieces, 12 long galloper guns, and four howitzers.



Scindia earnestly courted the friendship and good offices of the British government; and the peishwa had actually repaired to the island of Bassein, in the company's dominions, where the treaty of that name between his highness and the British government was executed on the last day of the year 1802, and on the eighteenth of the March following, its counterpart was delivered to the peishwa, ratified by the governor-general in council, and received by the former with demonstrations of the highest satisfaction.

Agreeably to the stipulation of the treaty of Bassein, the main principle of which was, that of perpetual alliance both defensive and offensive, a plan for the restoration of the peishwa was adopted, and immediately carried into effect. Orders were dispatched to general Stuart, commanding at Hurryhur, directing him to detach from the main body a considerable force, for the purpose of advancing into the Mahratta dominions. The command of this detachment was confided by lord Clive, to major-general Wellesley, whose extensive local knowledge and personal influence among the Mahratta chieftains, (acquired by his command in the Mysore, and victories over Doondiah,) were peculiarly calculated to ensure success to the intended operations. In conformity to these instructions, a force, amounting, in the whole, to 9,707 cavalry and infantry, with a due proportion of artillery (and to which was added 2,500 of the rajah of Mysore's horse), marched from Hurryhur on the 9th of March, 1803, crossed the Tumbudra river on the 12th, and thus entered the Mahratta territories: at the same time, the whole of the British subsidiary force

at Hydrabad, amounting to about 8,300 men, was ordered to advance to Poraindah, a station on the western frontier of the nizam's dominions, 116 miles distant from Poonah. This force was strengthened by 6,000 of the nizam's disciplined infantry, and about 9,000 of his cavalry, the whole commanded by lieutenant-colonel Stevenson, an officer of the greatest reputation for talent, intrepidity, and spirit.

Scarcely had general Wellesley's detachment entered the Mahratta states, before the propriety of the choice made, in selecting him for this peculiar service, became apparent. In his difficult campaigns against Doondiah, he made the high character of the British nation, and his own, familiar to the petty chieftains and inhabitants of the districts he had passed through, and, in consequence, was received by them with the most evident marks of confidence and respect. Many of the former accompanied him to Poonah; while the admirable temper, and conciliating manners, which he evinced in gaining the good will of the peasantry on his route, and the skilful arrangements made by him for the supply and movement of the troops, as well as for the prevention of plunder and excess, enabled the British army to perform a most tedious and difficult march, at an inauspicious season of the year, with comparative ease and celerity.

On the 15th of April, the force under colonel Stevenson having approached to within a short distance of general Wellesley, at a position within eight miles of the Neera river, the latter detached the Scotch brigade to join the subsidiary force; and as it was now known that Holkar had left Poonah, and that he

retreated



retreated with precipitation before the advancing British force, general Wellesley ordered colonel Stevenson to proceed to Gardoon, there to station the whole of the nizâm's troops, within his highness's territories, and to occupy with the British subsidiary force, a position on the Beemah river, towards Poonah, and near its confluence with the Mota Mola; the object of which movement was, at once to secure future co-operation, and a constant supply of provisions.

Having concluded this arrangement, general Wellesley proceeded more rapidly for Poonah, and when at the distance of about 60 miles from that capital, received information that Amrut Rao designed to plunder and destroy the city, on the approach of the British troops; and having also received an earnest request from the peishwa to detach some troops to Poonah for the protection of his family remaining there, the general at once resolved on a forced march, at once to secure the capital from devastation, and the family of his highness from insult or danger. In consequence of this resolution, on the night of the 19th of April, he advanced, at the head of the cavalry, over a rugged, and, in some places, an almost impassable road, with incredible swiftness, and performed this ever-memorable march in thirty-two hours! The rapidity of this movement caused Amrut Rao to abandon Poonah with precipitation, without effecting his design, if, indeed, he had it in contemplation, and general Wellesley, was welcomed by the few inhabitants, who remained in the city, as their deliverer. Those, who had fled to the mountains, during the usurpation of Holkar, soon returned, upon this

reverse of fortune, and joined in the general joy, not only for the restoration of their rightful sovereign, but for the prospect, which the alliance with the British government presented, of future peace and tranquillity. Preparations were soon made, for the return of the peishwa, who entered his capital, on the 13th of May, amid the acclamations of his subjects.

During these transactions at Poonah, col. Collins arrived at the camp of Scindiah, at Boorhanpoor, where that chieftain had arrived, with a considerable force, for the ostensible purpose, of opposing the usurpation of Holkar. The difficulties which this minister found, in forwarding the propositions of the governor general, convinced him, of the truth and certainty of the information, he about this time received, of Scindia's secret intentions to unite with Holkar and the rajah of Berar, for the purpose of subverting the treaty of Bassein, just concluded upon between the British government and the peishwa. Colonel Collins, therefore, required an immediate audience of Scindiah, and demanded of him an explicit declaration of his intentions, to which that chief did not hesitate to reply, that it was very remote from his wishes or intentions, to impede the operations of the treaty between the peishwa and the company, and that it was his ardent hope, that he might be admitted to its benefits. So much, however, was this declaration at variance with actual appearances, that the resident found it necessary to require, as a positive pledge of the sincerity of Scindia, that he would, immediately, countermarch the army he had moved upon Poonah, because the appearance of a force there, could



could only tend to the purpose of impeding the operation of the treaty of Bassein;—and would evince the desire of Scindia, to regain by force his ascendancy in the councils of Poonah, and consequently to force the peishwa to a violation of his engagements with the British government.—At the same time, colonel Collins required Scindia to state the nature and objects of his preceding negotiations with Holkar and the rajah of Berar; and apprized him, that if he refused these requisitions, (which the critical situation of public affairs, no less than his own policy in persevering in his warlike preparations, rendered it at once so reasonable, as well as expedient to make) the government he represented would be compelled in its own defence, to adopt measures of precaution on every boundary of Scindia's dominions. It must also here be added, that colonel Close presented Scindia, at this interview, with a copy of the treaty of Bassein, for his perusal, which, when the latter had attentively read, he explicitly declared, “that it contained no stipulations injurious to his interest.” To these firm, but temperate, demands, in a full court, and in the midst of his courtiers and ministers, Scindia thought proper to reply, “that he could not afford the satisfaction demanded, until a meeting should have taken place between him and the rajah of Berar, when he (the ambassador) should be informed, WHETHER IT WERE PEACE OR WAR.

This menace, certainly unprovoked, and not at all justified by any part of the conduct of the British government, necessarily induced the governor-general, without the

slightest delay, to take effectual measures to vindicate the dignity of his government, and for the protecting the dominions of its allies. Accordingly, private instructions were sent to general Lake, the commander in chief, at Cawnpore, to assemble an army on the north-west frontier of the province of Oude, in order to check or counteract the obvious designs of the Berar rajah, and of Scindia. The former chieftain had actually arrived within one day's march of Scindia's camp, at Checkly, on the frontier of the territory of the nizam, where, on the following morning, these chiefs had an interview; after which, their conduct bore a decidedly hostile appearance, and their constant evasion of the just demands of the British government, too strongly evinced their determination to resist them.

The Berar rajah and Scindia now briskly negotiated with Holkar, using every argument that bore upon his interests, or could work upon his passions, to induce him to join the confederacy they wished to form against the company and its allies, and, at the same time, used every effort in their power to detach the peishwa and the nizam from their alliance with the English. Nor did their hostile spirit less appear in the orders which general Perron received at this period, directing him to take such measures with his army, as to enable it to take the field at the shortest notice, with a view to an eventual rupture with the British government.

Every hour brought fresh proofs of the inimical disposition of the confederated chieftains. On the 17th of June, the governor-general received positive information, that Scindia had addressed letters to the



two officers exercising the chief authority on the part of the peishwa, in Bundelcund, requiring them, as a matter of duty, to be prepared for a co-operation with the armies of the Mahratta empire, in hostile measures against the company's possessions; and that Dhurum Rao, an officer commanding a considerable body of horse, and stationed on the right bank of the Jumna, near the British frontiers, had received orders of a similar tendency, from the same quarter. The positive disavowal of these proceedings, by Scindiah, afforded only another proof of the insincerity of that chief, as they were authenticated, by subsequent events, beyond the possibility of a doubt: it was also ascertained, through a variety of channels, that Scindiah had endeavoured to excite the Robilla chieftain, Gholaum Khan, to disturb the tranquillity of the British possessions, by raising commotions in the jaghire of Rampore, and earnestly inviting him to proceed, with his followers, to general Perron's army, and assuring him of the most ample support, both from that force and his own power. To this effect the Robilla was also pressed, with solicitude, by general Perron. Letters of the same tenor were also addressed to Bnmboo Khan, who occupied a territory near Saharumpore, instigating that chieftain also to co-operate with the forces of general Perron, against the company. Indeed, the complete state of preparation, in which that portion of Scindiah's army was actually placed, is the strongest corroboration of the orders received by general Perron, from Scindiah, and of the determination of the latter to employ every means of

aggression within his power against the British government.

These various facts, reciprocally confirming every point of the adduced evidence of Scindiah's hostile designs, and the intelligence daily received, of the actual formation of a confederacy between that chieftain, the Bhoonsla, and Holkar, the object of which was the subversion of the treaty of Bassien, presented a crisis which determined the governor-general to unite the control of all political affairs in the Deccan, connected with the negotiations then depending with the confederated chieftains, and the movement of the army, under a distinct local authority, subject, however, to the governor-general in council; but, possessing full powers, to conclude upon the spot, whatever arrangements might become necessary, under the final settlement of peace, or the active prosecution of the war. This great trust was reposed in major-general Wellesley, on the 26th of June, 1803. Nor could a better choice have been made. His established influence with the Mahratta chiefs; his intimate knowledge of the British interests in that empire, and the military talents which he was known to possess, and of which he had given splendid and repeated proofs, all justified the confidence which was placed in him; and subsequent events have proved, that, in the performance of these important duties, while he raised the character of the British name, and established his own reputation, he evinced the profound sagacity of the statesman, and the personal gallantry of the hero.

On the 18th of July, general Wellesley, acting under his newly received



ceived powers, immediately directed the British resident with Scindiah, to state to that chief, and to the rajah of Berar, the anxiety with which the British government desired the preservation of the relations of peace and amity with those powers; and demanding, as the only pledge it would accept of equally amicable dispositions on their part, the immediate separation and return of their armies, from the nizam's frontier to their respective capitals; in which case, general Wellesley would also withdraw his forces to their usual stations: should this proposition, however, be refused, that then the resident should quit the camp of Scindiah without delay.

After much evasion, on the 31st of July, the united chieftains proposed to retire from the position which they occupied, at the same time that general Wellesley should commence his march to the usual stations of the British army; to this proposition, however, they added the condition, that on the same day on which general Wellesley's troops should arrive at Bombay, Madras, and Seringapatam, the united armies of Scindia and Bhoonsla would encamp at Boorhanpoor, a city in the territory of the former! To expose the absurdity and inadmissibility of this condition, (which, at least, affords no bad specimen of the subtilty and wiles which belong to Indian negociation,) it will only be necessary to state, that while Boorhanpoor is but fifty miles from the frontier of the nizam, Bombay is situated 321, Seringapatam 541, and Madras 1049 miles from Ahmednuggur, nearly the position of general Wellesley's army on the above date.

This unreasonable proposition

being decidedly and instantly rejected by the resident, a second was then made, namely, "that the day should be appointed for the march of the respective armies of the confederated chieftains from their encampment to their usual stations, and that the resident should pledge the faith of the British government for the retreat of general Wellesley's troops on the same day." As this proposition was, obviously, inconsistent with the instructions received from general Wellesley, colonel Collins, (the resident) was also compelled to reject it; and it was again modified into a third, which agreed, that "those chieftains would separate their armies, and commence their returns to their respective territories in Berar and Hindostan, on the same day that the British force was withdrawn from the station it then occupied." As the rajah of Berar and Scindia both declared, that unless general Wellesley acceded to this last proposition, they could not retire, consistently with a due regard to the honour of their respective governments, colonel Collins consented to refer it to general Wellesley, provided letters to that effect were transmitted to the resident, to be forwarded to the commander in chief before the noon of the next day. It seemed, however, to be very remote from the intentions of the confederates to execute any such agreement, for, on the 1st day of August, they transmitted letters to the resident, addressed to general Wellesley, proposing, not to separate their armies, and to commence their return to Berar and Hindostan on the day on which the British force should be withdrawn; but, "to continue the union of their  
armies,



armies, and to limit their retreat to the neighbouring station of Boorhampore." Thus capriciously and insultingly reverting to the terms of the first proposition, which had been positively rejected by col. Collins. Upon this unprincipled and unqualified conduct of the confederate chieftains, the resident made immediate arrangements for quitting the camp of Scindiah, and commenced his march towards Aurungabad, on the second day following:

From the whole scope and tenor of this negociation, it was manifest that the object of the chieftains was to endeavour to form such a pacific arrangement with general Wellesley, as should induce him to withdraw his army to its remote stations, in which case, the periodical rains would prevent its assembling at the advantageous position it then occupied for a considerable period; whilst they could, from the proximity of the post to which they agreed to retire, have struck, at the most opportune period to them, a severe blow against the peishwa and the nizam, and thus have subverted the British interests in the Deccan.—Such being the views of the rajah of Berar and of Scindiah, and with the positive evidence that every hour produced of their determined hostility, it was impossible for the

British government, if at all alive to its interests in India, or if aware of the absolute necessity there exists of preserving, undiminished and without a flaw, the lustre of its glory in that part of the globe, and its decided superiority over the native powers of India, to avoid the calamity of war.

At this most critical and important conjuncture, there existed circumstances, independently of those we have detailed, which if not of themselves forming a sufficient ground for commencing hostilities, at least greatly contributed to establish the necessity of the measure.

We have already had occasion repeatedly to advert to the force in the pay of Scindiah, and commanded by M. Perron. This force, at the present moment, was augmented to 48,000 efficient men, with a train of 464 pieces of ordnance ready to take the field, and stationed in a commanding situation near Coel, on the most vulnerable point of the British frontier. This army it had been for some time the practice of general Perron, gradually and nearly totally to officer with French subjects, to the exclusion of British adventurers, and even removed many of the latter description who had held situations in it since its first formation.\* But formidable as the  
con-

\* The regular corps in Scindiah's service were first formed by Monsieur de Boigne, a native of Savoy. In his early life, he had served as a subaltern officer in the service of Russia. We find him, in 1783, an officer in the body guard of lord Macartney, at Madras. Apprehensive that his being a foreigner would impede his promotion, he relinquished his situation in the company's troops; and, having procured letters to Scindiah (the father of the present chief of that name) he procured an appointment in his army. In process of time, M. de Boigne gained the most unbounded influence over his master, who bestowed upon him, for his services, an extensive and valuable *jaghire* in the Douab, one of the provinces he had subdued, principally by the aid of de Boigne's brigade. From the death of Madhoojee, and the accession of Doulut Rao Scindia, M. de Boigne principally resided upon his own *jaghire* until 1798, when he returned to Europe with a princely fortune.



connexion between a powerful native state, and an army such as we have described, totally under French government and influence, must always have proved to the British interests, a danger far more urgent arose out of this powerful military establishment, from its reduction of Scindiah's local authority in Hindostan. A considerable portion of territory belonging to that chieftain, situated between the Jumna, Ganges, and the mountains of Cumaon, had been assigned by him to general Perron, who had formed it into an independent state, of which his regular infantry might be considered the national army. The natives considered M. Perron as their immediate sovereign, while the troops considered him the direct executive authority from whom they were to receive orders, subsistence, and pay. Possessed of such means, it is not to be wondered at, that he dictated as a sovereign to the lesser princes on the right bank of the Jumna, held in abject submission the Rajahpoot states of Jeynagur and Judpore, together with the Jauts and the Gohud, and extended his influence even to Bundelcund, and the country of the Seiks.

Here then was a French state actually formed, and, which, it must be recollected, held possession of the person and the nominal authority of the mogul, maintained the most efficient army existing in India, with the exception of the English troops, and exercised considerable influence from the Indus to the confluence of the Jumna and the Ganges. In every point of view, there-

fore, in which this establishment could be considered, either as the instrument to Scindiah, in his hostile designs on the British power, or as the means by which the vindictive ruler of the French nation might hereafter inflict the most deadly wound on the British empire in Asia, it imperiously called for reduction or total suppression.

That M. Perron's views and practice were connected with, and regulated by those of his native government, there can be no doubt. Well aware of the great superiority of the British power, he knew that it was alone by such an establishment as he had formed, that France could ever regain her footing in the east. To mature and perfect his projects, it was most necessary to him to strengthen and complete his army, by the annual supply of French subaltern officers and artillerymen. The settlement of Pondicherry was of the greatest consequence to this object. During the prevalence of the south-western monsoons, the common coasting-vessels of the country could thence convey recruits to the coast of Cuttack, in four days, without exciting the suspicion of the British cruizers. From Cuttack, belonging to Bhoonsla, the ally of Scindiah, the transit was safe and secret to M. Perron's head-quarters in the Douab. These views and circumstances were communicated by that officer to the first consul, about the period of the ratification of the treaty of Amiens.

Among the many extraordinary and novel features which that unfortunate

He was succeeded in his command by M. Perron, a Frenchman, who had come out to India a midshipman in M. de Suffrein's fleet, and who commanded one of the battalions under de Boigne for many years. The latter now resides in Paris.



fortunate measure presented, was that of its totally rejecting the mention or recognition of any existing treaties between Great Britain and the other contracting parties. The fatal consequences of such a renunciation, we at the time adverted to and predicted. Under the provisions of a treaty so constituted, not only Pondicherry but every settlement belonging to France and Holland, on the continent of India, were unconditionally restored, without the slightest reference to the former treaties between France and England, which strictly confined the troops to be sent by the former power to her Indian possessions, to a limited number. All preceding compacts were now, however, done away, and Bonaparte was too quick-sighted not to take immediate advantage of the greatest error exhibited in the whole diplomatic history of the world, from the earliest periods. An armament was therefore fitted out, consisting of six ships of war, and 1400 of the best troops of France, destined to Pondicherry, for the ostensible purpose of garrisoning that fortress. But, in addition to this force, there was likewise embarked two hundred young gentlemen, regularly formed upon the principles of military science, and a numerous staff establishment. This latter body were destined to join M. Perron's army, in the manner we have already described. This armament, under the command of admiral Linois, arrived at Pondicherry during the critical period of

the negotiations between the confederate Mahratta chieftains and the British government.

It was at this period, also, that M. Perron had actually determined on obtaining an assignment to France of the districts within the boundaries of his command, from Scindiah, but confirmed and ratified by the Mogul emperor, then a prisoner, and held in the most abject state of degradation by that officer\*.

But of these combined projects, the profound sagacity of the governor-general had taught him to be aware, and his unwearied vigilance had satisfied him of the existence. On admiral Linois arriving, therefore, before Pondicherry, he found that place so well watched both by sea and land, that he found it impracticable to forward the recruits he had carried out to general Perron; and, before any effectual step could be taken to effect this purpose, intelligence arrived of the renewal of the war between France and England, and the whole of the troops landed by him, were consequently made prisoners of war. How the French admiral and his squadron escaped, and the mischiefs which they effected to the British commerce and settlements, we have adverted to and detailed elsewhere.

Thoroughly acquainted with the facts here stated, which left no doubt as to the views of France; and combining these views with the state of Perron's army; with the warlike confederacy between Scindiah and the rajah of Berar; with

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\* On the conquest of Delhi, Scindiah, the father, compelled the unfortunate Shah Aulum to constitute the peishwa his *vaquel ul mutuluk*, or regent, in the empire of Hindostan; and his influence at the court of Poonah procured him the office of deputy to the peishwa in that high office. In this he was succeeded by the present Scindiah, who, in that capacity, administered the whole affairs of the Mogul empire.



the equivocation and duplicity of these chieftains in their negotiations with the British resident;—and with the critical state of health of his highness the nizam, on whose succession as sovereign of the Deccan, it was well known these chieftains had the most serious designs; the marquis Wellesley found himself obliged, upon every principle of policy and justice, to demand the separation of the armies of the confederates, and their retreat from the frontiers of the British allies; or, should this temperate and moderate requisition be refused, then to consider them as unprovoked and dangerous enemies to the general tranquillity of India, as well as to the British government in particular, and consequently to employ every means within his power for their chastisement and humiliation.

No sooner, therefore, had the departure of colonel Collins from the camp of Scindiah, ascertained the termination of the negotiation, than the various measures arranged and combined by the governor-general, (in contemplation of such an event,) throughout the several parts of the empire, and in profound secrecy for the last four months, burst forth in one general blaze, to the dismay and confusion of the enemies of the British name, and cheering and animating its subjects and allies to the contest.

The vast plan of operations, to which the several armies of the Bengal, Madras, and Bombay Establishments were to be applied; was to commence by a general and combined attack, as nearly as possible at the same time, and before the periodical return of the rains, on the united army of the confederates in the Deccan; on Perron's establish-

ment in the Douab; and on every assailable point of the vast territories of Scindia and the Berar rajah in Hindostan;—on the plains of Delhi; amidst the mountains of the Deccan, on the shores of Cuttack, and in the fertile province of the Guzzerat, were the banners of England at once to be displayed. To these great and various objects, therefore, four armies were held in readiness to march.

The force under the command of major-general Wellesley, which had occupied during the negotiation with the confederated chieftains, an advanced position in the Deccan, consisted of 16,823 men, and was destined to oppose the combined army under the command of Scindiah, posted at Julgong, near the foot of the Adjuntee Pass. This army was supported by a force at Moodgul, a town about 14 marches from Hyderabad, situated between the rivers Krisna and Tumbudra, under the command of major-general Campbell, which consisted of 4,277 cavalry, 820 European, and 1,935 native infantry, with its proportion of ordnance; it protected, effectually, the dominions of the nizam, as well as the possessions of the English within the Peninsula, from the insult or spoliation of the southern Mahratta feudatories.

Colonel Murray, of the 84th regiment, was placed in the command of the force in the Guzerat, amounting in the whole to 7,352 men: part of which was disposed in garrisoning Surat, Brodera, Cambay, Kouah, Songhur, Purneerah, and (eventually) Baroach; one portion of the remainder was stationed in front of the Guickwar's capital, in order to protect his dominion; and the other, of 2,094 men, took a strong



strong position south of the river Taptee, between Songhur and Surat, with the design, as opportunity should occur, of annoying the enemy in that quarter.

On the eastern side of Hindostan, lieutenant colonel Campbell, of the 74th regiment, was entrusted with the command of a selection of veteran troops from the armies of Bengal and Madras, consisting of 5216 men, which was destined for the conquest of the province of Cuttack, part of the territories of the rajah of Berar; and, for that purpose, was assembled at Ganjam, in the northern circars. If this acquisition were made, the only maritime territory of the Mahratta states on that side of the peninsula, would be secured from all intercourse with the French; a strong barrier added to the Bengal frontier; and the intercourse of that government and Madras secured from interruption.

The main body of the Bengal army was assembled under the commander in chief of the British forces in India (general Lake) at Cawnpore, in the north-western frontier of the province of Oude, amounting, in its various details, to 10,500 men. In support of this force, 3,500 troops were assembled at Allahabad, and for the purpose of invading the district of Bundelcund; about 2,000 men were also collected at Mirzapore, to cover the city of Benares, and to guard the passes in that quarter; and various measures of defence, which our limits will not allow us to particularise, were adopted to protect the whole frontier of the British dominions in Bengal and Bahar, from Mirzapore to Midnapore.

The operations of general Lake embraced a most important branch of the war; namely, first, the destruction of the power of general Perren, established on the banks of the Jumna; secondly, the extension of the British frontier to that river, with the possession of Agra, Delhi, and a sufficient chain of ports upon the right bank of the Jumna, for the security of its navigation; thirdly, the protection of the person of the emperor Shah Aulum; fourthly, the establishment of an alliance with the petty princes, beyond the right bank of the Jumna, from Jeynagur to Bundilcund; and, lastly, the annexion of that province to the dominions of the company, in order the more effectually to cover the rich city and province of Benares from the power of the Berar rajah, and the other Mahratta chiefs in that quarter.

In the mean while, the government of Bombay were ordered to seize on those ports in the Guzerat, which belonged to Scindiah, the operation of which would exclude the confederated chieftains from the whole coast of the western side of the peninsula.

Such was the masterly disposition of the British strength in its eastern empire, and such the comprehensive system of hostilities by which the marquis Wellesley prepared to support the just rights of his country, and finally establish its permanent power and influence in India\*.

It may here also be proper to mention, that on the 6th of August, the very day on which general Wellesley was apprised of colonel Collins having left the camp of Scindiah, the nizam breathed his last, and was

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peaceably

\* In summing up the different details we have given, it will be found, that the whole force employed against Scindiah, and the rajah of Berar, in the beginning of August,



peaceably succeeded by his eldest son, Mirza Secunder Jahjah, as soubahdar of the Deccan, who ascended the musnud on the following day. The preservation of tranquillity at Hydrabad, at this important crisis, must be ascribed, principally, to the position of the armies of general Wellesley, and colonel Stevenson, and of the force under general Campbell, at Moodgul.

Having thus laid before our readers the disposition of the several armies, the plan of the campaign, and its ultimate objects, we shall, in the following chapter, detail the more active operations of the field, and carry them along with us through a brilliant series of events, finally crowned with victory and triumph.

CHAP.

August, 1803, amounted to 54,918 men! Such armies set in motion nearly in the same time, from so many distant parts, embracing so wide a field of operations, belonging to the same power, and directed against the same enemy, were never before seen in Hindostan, fully equipped for the field in the short space of four months.



## C H A P. XIV.

*Transactions in India.—March of General Wellesley to Ahmednugur—Capture of that City and Fort.—Operations of Colonel Stevenson.—Confederate Army concentrated—and beaten at the Battle of Assye—brilliant Victory—Colonel Stevenson pursues the Enemy—Scindiah makes Overtures of Peace.—Success of the British Arms in the Guzerat—Storming of Baroach.—Province of Cuttack surrenders to Colonel Harcourt.—Operations of the main Army under General Lake—M. Perron retreats before him precipitately—desperate Storm of Ally Ghur—and Capture—Consequences thereof.—M. Perron resigns his Command in Scindiah's Army—Reasons thereof.—Disaster to Colonel Cunningham's Detachment.—Battle of Delhi gained by General Lake—splendid Effects therefrom.—Release of the Mogul Emperor, who puts himself under the Protection of the British Force.—Proceedings in Bundelcund, under Colonel Powel—who defeats the Enemy—the whole Province submits to the British Arms.—Capture of the City of Agra by the main Army—and Fort.—Battle of Laswaree—great Loss of the Enemy—and complete Destruction of the French Force in Hindostan—enumeration of Operations in that Quarter—General Wellesley's continued Successes—Colonel Stevenson storms Asseer Ghur—General Wellesley pursues and harasses Bhoonsla.—Scindiah again offers to treat—Truce concluded with that Chieftain.—Retreat of the Berar Rajah to his own Territories.—General Wellesley gains the Battle of Argaum.—Description of the Fortress of Gawrlghur—Siege thereof—brilliant Enterprize of the British Force in storming it—taken—Rajah of Berar's consternation—negociates and concludes a Treaty of Peace with the British Government—Conditions—as does Scindia—Conditions.—Glorious Termination of the War, and happy Consequences thereof—Proceedings at Calcutta—Honours conferred on Generals Lake and Wellesley.—Conclusion.*

ON information being conveyed to major-general Wellesley, then stationed with his force at Walkee, within a short distance of Ahmednugur (a strong fort belonging to Scindiah, about 8 miles

from Poonah), that the negotiation with the confederated Mahratta chieftains was broken off, he immediately took the field, and two days after (the 8th of August, 1803) proceeded towards Ahmednugur\*,

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the

\* The division of general Wellesley's force with him, was composed of

	European.	Native.	Total.
Cavalry	384	1,347	1,731
Infantry	1,363	5,631	6,999

Grand total 8,903 with 357 artillery lascars, and 653 Madras pioneers.



he fortified town belonging to which, was, on the same day, attacked and carried by escalade. On the 10th, batteries were opened against the fort, and, on the 12th, it surrendered at discretion. The possession of this fortress at once secured the communication with Poonah, and afforded a depôt for supplies of provisions and military stores. Immediately upon its capture, general Wellesley proceeded to take possession of the districts dependant thereon, yielding an estimated annual revenue of 634,000 rupees, and placed them under the management of a British officer. General Wellesley then put a respectable garrison into Ahmednug-hur, and moved towards the Godavery river, which he crossed on the 24th of August. On the 29th, he arrived at Aurungabad.

In the mean time, the confederates had entered the territories of the nizam, by the Adjunttee Pass, with a large body of cavalry, having passed between colonel Stevenson's corps (which had moved eastward towards the Badowly Ghaut) and Aurungabad, and reached, unmolested, a small fort called Jalnapore, the capital of a district of the same name, about forty miles east of Aurungabad; but they no sooner heard of general Wellesley having entered that city, than they immediately advanced to the southward and eastward, with the intention, as it was believed, of crossing the river Godavery, and advancing to Hyderabad. In this project, however, the enemy was frustrated by the judicious movements of general Wellesley, who continued to proceed to the eastward, along its left bank, which measure obliged him to return to Jalnapore, and afforded the Bri-

tish commander means to cover two valuable convoys in the road to the army, from Moodgul.

During these operations, colonel Stevenson returned from the eastward on the 1st of September, and the next day attacked and stormed the fort of Jalnapore, from whence the enemy had previously retired to the northward. For several successive days, this officer endeavoured to force the confederates to a general action, but without success. His spirit and activity were, however, amply rewarded on the ninth, in the night of which he succeeded in surprising and beating up their camp.

The united chieftains now determined on a change in their operations, and moved northward towards the Adjunttee Pass, near which they were joined by a detachment of regular infantry, under the command of M. Pohlman, and of M. Dupont, consisting of 16 battalions, with a large and well-equipped artillery, in the whole amounting to 10,400 men. The whole of their force was now concentrated between Bokerdun and Jaffierabad.

On the 21st of September, the divisions under general Wellesley, and colonel Stevenson, being united at Budnapore, it was determined that they should move, separately, towards the enemy, and attack him on the morning of the 24th: with this view, the two corps marched on the 22d, colonel Stevenson by the western route, and general Wellesley by that of the east, round the hills between Budnapore and Jalna. Early on the morning of the 23d, the latter division reached Naulnair, at which place intelligence was received, that the combined force of Scindia and Bhoonsla

were



were encamped at about six miles distance from the ground which general Wellesley intended to occupy.

With that decision and promptitude, which have ever distinguished general Wellesley's military exploits, he immediately determined upon attacking the enemy, without waiting for the junction of colonel Stevenson's corps on the following morning. Had he acted otherwise, the confederate chieftains, in pursuance of the defensive system they had adopted, would probably have withdrawn their guns and infantry in the course of the night of the 23d, and thus have eluded a general action, which was so much to be desired. The measure of attack, therefore, was directed by prudence as well as courage.

Having provided for the security of the baggage and stores, general Wellesley moved on towards the army of the confederates, which he found encamped between, and along the course of the two rivers Kaitna and Juah, towards their junction. Their line extended east and west along the north bank of the Kaitna, which was steep and rocky, and impassable for guns, excepting close to the villages. Their right, entirely of cavalry, was posted near Bokerdun, and extended quite to their infantry, encamped in the neighbourhood of the fortified village of Assye. The British army had marched 14 miles to Naulnair, thence to the enemy's camp was six; thus it was one o'clock in the afternoon before it came in view of the combined army of the confederates.

Although general Wellesley's line of march brought him in front of the right of the enemy, he deter-

mined on attacking its left, where the infantry and guns were posted. He, accordingly, moved round to the left flank, covering the British column of infantry by the British cavalry in the rear, and by the Mysore and the peishwa's horse on the right flank.

The British army crossed the Kaitna, at a ford beyond the enemy's left, and were immediately formed in two lines of infantry, with the British cavalry as a reserve in a third, in an open space between the Kaitna and the Juah, where these rivers run nearly parallel. The peishwa's and the Mysore cavalry were stationed to the southward of the Kaitna, on the left flank of the British troops, and kept in check a large body of cavalry which had followed, though at a respectful distance, general Wellesley's route from the right of their own position. The first line consisted of the advanced pickets to the right, two battalions of Sepoys, and the 78th regiment;—the second, of the 74th regiment and two battalions of Sepoys;—and the third, of the 19th dragoons, with three regiments of native cavalry, the whole amounting to about 4500 men. From the most accurate calculation that could be made, the enemy consisted of between thirty and forty thousand, of which a third was commanded by European officers,) and a train of more than one hundred pieces of ordnance. Under this vast disproportion of force, the engagement began.

When the enemy discovered the intention of attacking him on the left, he changed the position of his infantry and guns, from the line along the Kaitna, and extended it from that river across to the village of



of Assye, on the right of the British army: a second line was formed nearly at right angles, to the rear of the enemy's first line, with its left towards the village of Assye, and its rear to the Juah river, along the bank of which it extended in a westerly direction from Assye. General Wellesley immediately attacked, and the British troops advanced under a heavy fire from the enemy's guns, the execution of which was terrible. The British artillery had opened upon the enemy at the distance of 400 yards, but finding that it produced little or no effect, and that it could not advance on account of the number of men and bullocks that were disabled, general Wellesley ordered the whole line to move on, leaving the guns behind: at the same time colonel Maxwell, with the British cavalry, was ordered to cover the right of the infantry as it advanced. By this prompt and spirited movement, the enemy was compelled to fall back on the second line, in front of the Juah. In the advancing, the right of the British first and second lines suffered severely from the fire of the guns on the left of the enemy's position near Assye. The 74th regiment was so thinned by the dreadful cannonade, that a body of the enemy's cavalry was tempted to charge it; but was charged in turn, by colonel Maxwell, and pushed, with great slaughter, into the Juah river. At length, the steady advance of the British troops completely over-awing the enemy's line, it gave way in every direction, and the British cavalry, who had crossed to the northward of the Juah

river, charged the fugitives along its bank with the greatest effect. At this moment several of the enemy's guns, which had been carried, but could not be secured on account of the weakness of general Wellesley's army, were turned against his rear by individuals who had been passed by the British line, under the supposition that they were dead, and who had availed themselves of this artifice, (of throwing themselves upon the ground, often practised by the native troops of India,) to continue, for some time, a very heavy fire; nor could it be stopped till the commander in chief took the 78th regiment and the 7th of native cavalry, to effect this object. In this operation the general had his horse shot under him. The enemy's cavalry also still continued unbroken. Just then a part of the enemy's infantry, which had again formed, on a charge of the British cavalry,\* gave way, and retreated, leaving 1200 men dead on the field of battle, the whole country covered with the wounded, and in the possession of the victors 98 pieces of cannon, their camp equipage, seven standards, a great number of bullocks and camels, and a quantity of stores and ammunition.

The loss to the British army was, on this occasion, very severe, it amounting to about 600 killed and 1500 wounded. The action continued for more than three hours, during which the enemy's infantry fought with the most determined courage, and their artillery was served with the utmost precision, steadiness, and effect. Throughout the

\* In which the gallant colonel Maxwell was slain. For the official report of this memorable victory, see our volume for 1803, p. 556.



whole of this severe and brilliant action, the conduct of general Wellesley evinced a degree of ability, prudence, and undaunted bravery, seldom equalled and never surpassed; while the exemplary order, firmness, and alacrity of the troops under his command, compelled an enemy of more than six times its number, to fly before them, and abandon the whole of their guns, stores, and ammunition to the conquerors.

Colonel Stevenson with the corps under his command, from several unforeseen impediments, did not join general Wellesley till the evening of the day of battle; and was immediately dispatched in pursuit of the flying enemy.

On the 8th of October, general Wellesley received a letter from one of Scindiah's ministers, requesting that he would dispatch a British officer to the enemy's camp, to open a negotiation for peace; with which the British general refused to comply, as the letter had no direct reference to the authority of either of the confederate chieftains; and because the presence of a British officer in the camp of the confederates, would, at that juncture, raise the spirit of their troops, and prevent their dispersion, as it might be represented by the enemy to be an attempt of the British government to sue for peace: at the same time he expressed his willingness to receive, with every mark of honour and respect, any person duly empowered by the direct authority of Scindiah, or the rajah of Berar, to propose terms of peace to the allied powers.

The confederates, with the remains of their broken army, now moved to the westward, along the banks of the Taptee, with a view to take the route towards Poonah; in consequence of which, general Wellesley determined not to descend the Adjunttee Ghaut, but to regulate his movements by those of the enemy. But colonel Stevenson was directed by him to continue his route to Boorhampore, and Asseerghur, the latter a hill fort of great strength, and denominated the key of the Deccan.

While general Wellesley was thus engaged, the most severe blows were received by the confederate chieftains, from the successes of the other divisions of the British force, in their operations against the provinces of Guzerat on the western, and of Cuttack, on the eastern side of the Indian peninsula.

In conformity to the general plan of the campaign, a proportion of the Bombay army had marched to the Guzerat, whence lieut.-col. Woodington, with a strong detachment, consisting of the 96th regiment and a proportion of European artillery and native infantry, marched on the 21st of August from Baroda, and arrived before Baroach on the 23d, of which fort the investment immediately took place. A breach was reported to be practicable on the 29th,\* and the assault was given at three o'clock in the afternoon. The enemy opposed a vigorous resistance to the attack of the storming party, but were soon compelled to retreat, and to abandon the fort, which was carried with inconsiderable loss on

\* The fort of Baroach was stormed and carried on the 29th of August, the day on which general Lake, at the distance of 600 miles, attacked and compelled M. Perron's forces to quit the field of battle, at Coel.



the part of the assailants; that of the enemy was nearly 600 in killed and wounded. Together with the town and fort of Baroach, the captors obtained possession of the district of that name, which yields an annual revenue of eleven lacks of rupees. After this important service, colonel Woodington proceeded to reduce the district of Champaneer, the only territory remaining to Scindiah in the province. Little difficulty ensued in the accomplishment of this design, and the judgment, spirit, and courage displayed by the Bombay army in the Guzerat, at the same time that it bereft the enemy of the whole of his possessions in that province, reflected the highest honour on its state of discipline, and its gallant leader.

Nor was the progress of the British arms in the province of Cuttack less distinguished by merit or success. The total number of troops destined for the reduction of this province, amounted to 4916 men, of which number 3041 formed the main body, which was to advance from Ganjam, under the command of lieut.-col. Harcourt, of the 12th regiment of foot, and who was appointed to the general command of all the forces employed upon this service, (colonel Campbell, for whom it was originally designed, being incapacitated by illness from assuming it.) Five hundred Bengal native volunteers were on their way, under captain Dick, to reinforce colonel Harcourt. A second detachment of 521 native volunteers, four field pieces, and a proportion of artillery-men and stores, were to embark from Calcutta, under captain Morgan, on the 13th of September, and to occupy Balasore, a place belonging to the rajah of

Berar, situated on the coast of the bay of that name, and distant about 25 miles from the river Subanreeka, which forms in that quarter the barrier between the British territories and the province of Cuttack. Eight hundred and fifty four men were placed under the command of lieut.-col. Ferguson, at Jelasore, a town situated on the English side of the Subanreeka, 20 miles from the sea; and was designed to form a junction with the force at Balasore, when the state of the intermediate country, and the progress of the main division from Ganjam, should afford a favourable opportunity; and 1300, of which 800 were Sepoys, and 500 Bengal native volunteers, remained at Midnapore, a military station in the British dominions, 45 miles north of Balasore, to supply the troops at Balasore and Jelasore, and at the same time to protect the company's territories against the incursions of the rajah of Berar's predatory cavalry.

On the 14th of September, the troops under the command of colonel Harcourt, took possession of Munickpatam, a town in the Bhoonsla's territory, and on the 18th, encamped at Jaggernaut, where the Bramins of the celebrated pagoda at that place, put it under British protection. After leaving Jaggernaut, colonel Harcourt received little molestation on his rout, from the enemy's troops, and he took possession of Cuttack without any opposition. The detachment under capt. Morgan was equally successful at Balasore and Sooring, a post 20 miles to the southward of that town, both places being taken possession of with little or no loss, on the 21st of September, and the 1st of October.

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Colonel Fergusson with his reserve, moved from Jelasore on the 23d of September, reached Balasore on the 4th of October, and on the 10th, proceeded to the southward, to form a junction with colonel Harcourt.

The storming and capture of the fort of Barabuttee, was the last exploit of colonel Harcourt in the Cuttack. This fort is of strength, and has only one entrance by a narrow bridge, leading over a wet ditch 20 feet in depth, and varying in breadth according to the situation of the bastions, from 35 to 135 feet. On the morning of the 14th of October, a battery of one 12 pounder, 2 howitzers, and 2 six pounders, opened its fire upon the fort, about 500 yards from its outward gate; by eleven o'clock in the forenoon, the enemy's guns were silenced, and most of their defences on the south face were destroyed, where they now promised well for an assault, and lieutenant colonel Clayton was ordered to storm the fort. The party sent on this service, in passing the bridge, were exposed to a heavy but ill directed fire of musketry, and forty minutes elapsed before it succeeded in blowing open the wicket, the remaining part of the gate being strengthened with great masses of stone; having forced this obstacle, although obliged to enter singly, and experiencing considerable resistance in forcing 2 other gates, the British troops were completely victorious, and obtained possession of the fort, which was immediately abandoned by the enemy, whose loss was considerable. This success, brought with it the whole province of Cuttack under the British

dominion, an object, the value of which we have already stated, but which was considerably enhanced by having taken place at such a momentous period of the war. By this conquest, the communication between the supreme government at Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, general Wellesley, and the residents at Poonah, and Hyderabad was opened; and the whole line of coast from the mouth of the Hooghly, to Pondicherry, under the protection of a British flag, presented a hostile front to the fleets of France, with which country the war had just been renewed in India.

Having thus brought into one point of view all the transactions connected with the military operations against the confederated armies in the Deccan, and those in the provinces of Guzerat, in the western, and Cuttack on the eastern side of India, it will now be our pleasing task to revert to the transactions in the northern Hindostan, and to exhibit the result of the operations entrusted to the personal direction and command of general Lake, the chief in command of the British troops in the peninsula. The variety and importance of the objects to which that great officer's exertions were to be exclusively directed, both in a military and political point of view, induced the governor-general to invest him with full discretionary powers, to conclude upon the spot, whatever arrangements might appear to be necessary for the accomplishment of that plan of operations, with the execution of which he was entrusted.

Vested with this high authority, the commander in chief moved from the station at Cawnpore, on the 7th  
of



of August, 1803, and arrived in the neighbourhood of Coel,\* with the main body of the Bengal army on the 28th. On his march thither, he received advices from the British plenipotentiary to Scindiah, informing him of the rupture with that chief, by the termination of the negotiation: on this intelligence, general Lake considered himself warranted, as well as from the tenor of the governor general's instructions, to enter the territories of that chieftain, on the 29th, in order to attack M. Perron's army, then encamped at a short distance from the fortress of Ally Ghur. This position of the enemy, was particularly advantageous. His front was completely covered by an extensive swamp, which, in some parts is not fordable;—his right was protected by the fort of Ally Ghur, and his left by some villages, occupied by parties of his troops. M. Perron's force was estimated at about 15,000 horse, of which from four to five thousand were regular cavalry.

General Lake having determined on turning the left flank of M. Perron's force, the British troops were formed into two lines, and advanced to the attack supported by the infantry in three and four lines, as the confined nature of the ground would admit. The excellent front displayed by the British cavalry, and the determined countenance of the whole army, so completely overawed M. Perron and his troops, that they retreated with such rapidity, as to preclude the possibility of charging them with any effect. This precipitate retreat, although at the moment, a source of vexation and disappointment to the com-

mander in chief, was yet, in its consequences, eminently beneficial to the British interests, as M. Perron's military reputation received a shock from the events of that day, which it never recovered, and which was eventually, the cause of the loss to him, of the confidence of his troops; the defection of many of his best officers; and finally, of the disorganization and dispersion of the French corps in India: at the same time that the reputation of the British troops, and of their undoubted superiority, increased in the same proportion, in the opinion of the native powers as that of M. Perron and his boasted troops had diminished.

The commander in chief, in consequence of the action, being in possession of Coel, encamped to the northward, between that town and the fort of Ally Ghur, to the reduction of which he immediately applied himself. This place, one of the strongest in India, has singular advantages; it has a broad and deep ditch, with a fine glacis, and the country being, for a mile round, perfectly levelled, is exposed in every direction to its guns. It has only one entrance, which is very intricate, and over a narrow causeway, under which the enemy had commenced mining; but fortunately had omitted to construct a drawbridge, and thus the assailants were enabled to pass the ditch on the causeway, and immediately to attack the body of the place. General Lake having made many attempts to induce the governor M. Pedron, to surrender, but in vain, ordered a storming party, under the command of the honourable colonel Monson,

\* A town situated in Scindiah's territory in the Douab.



on the morning of the 4th of September.

Colonel Monson conducted the attack with the utmost degree of gallantry and judgment. His party moved on at half past four o'clock, under cover of a heavy fire from the British batteries, and arrived within one hundred yards of the fort, before it was discovered. As soon, however, as colonel Monson saw he was perceived, he endeavoured, by pushing on with the two flank companies of the 76th, to enter the fort, along with the guard stationed outside its gates behind a strong breast-work, which covered the entrance. The colonel succeeded in passing the breast-work, but found the first gate shut: two ladders were immediately applied, on which major M'Leod, of the 76th regiment, and two grenadiers, attempted to mount, but they were forced to desist, by a most formidable row of pike-men, who menaced every assailant with certain destruction. A twelve-pounder was then brought up, but some time elapsed before it could be placed opposite to the gate, which was situated in an inconvenient direction, near the flank of a bastion. Four or five discharges took place before any effect was produced, during which time (nearly twenty minutes) the storming party were exposed to a most severe and raking fire of grape, wall-pieces, and matchlocks. The principal loss was here sustained. Colonel Monson was wounded by a pike, fired, it is supposed, from a gun; at the spot also fell four grenadier officers, the adjutant of the 76th regiment, and lieutenant Turton, of the 4th native infantry. As soon as the first gate was blown open, the troops advanced, in a circular direction,

round a strong bastion of masonry, along a narrow road, and through two gate-ways, which were easily forced, to a fourth gate-way, leading into the body of the place; during which time they were much annoyed by a heavy cross fire in every direction. It was some time, attended with great difficulty and danger, before the twelve-pounder could be brought up, and when it arrived, the gate could not be forced. Upon this occasion, the personal gallantry of major M'Leod was again conspicuous. In defiance of all opposition, he burst open the wicket, and the party entered the fort with resistless impetuosity, and soon compelled the enemy to submit. The commandant, M. Pedron, was here taken prisoner, and some part of the garrison surrendered; but far the greater proportion endeavouring, as is usual in India, to escape in every direction, numbers leaped into the ditch, and were drowned. This affair, which was as brilliant as decisive, lasted more than an hour, the besieged having, during that time, offered a most gallant and vigorous defence. Their loss was very great, amounting, in killed alone, to more than 2,000.—The fall of Ally Ghur was a circumstance of considerable importance to the future prosecution of the war; it was the usual place of residence of M. Perron, and the grand depôt of his warlike stores, a considerable quantity of which, and some tumbrils of treasure, fell into the hands of the captors. The latter was divided, on the spot, among the storming party, as the reward of their bravery. General Lake having garrisoned the fort, and applied a draw-bridge to the gate-way, the place may now be considered as impregnable,



pregnable to any native power. On the 7th of September, M. Perron applied to the commander in chief for permission to proceed, with his family and property, to Lucknow, under British protection; he added, that he had resigned his command in Scindiah's army. This measure was probably in part owing to the surrender of Ally Ghur, but M. Perron himself assigned, as his motive, that he was about to be superseded by Scindiah, and that the defection, treachery, and ingratitude of his European officers, had convinced him, that further resistance to the British arms was useless and ineffectual. General Lake complied with M. Perron's request, and he was conducted (escorted by the general's own body-guard) to Lucknow, where, and upon his route, he was treated with every mark of respect and honour.

On the following day, the army advanced to Koorjah, a fort of some strength, about 30 miles from Ally Ghur, and which had been evacuated by its garrison, on intelligence being received of the fall of that fortress. It was here that the commander in chief received advice of the surrender of lieutenant-colonel Conyngham, with five companies of Sepoys, and one gun, to a numerous body of the enemy's cavalry, commanded by M. Fleury, (a Frenchman) at Shekoabad. This little force had only capitulated, after repeated attacks from a body far more numerous, and after having expended its ammunition. To counteract the impression which this unpleasant affair, (slight as the loss was in reality,) might make upon the mind of the enemy, the commander in chief immediately detached a strong body of cavalry, and a bri-

gade of infantry, to beat up M. Fleury's quarters; but before these detachments could effect a junction with colonel Vandeleur, (with whom they were to have co-operated,) at Futtly Ghur, the enemy had recrossed the Jumna, and afterwards dispersed.

The main army, under general Lake, reached Secundra on the 9th of September; on the morning of the 10th, it made a short march to the westward, and on that of the 11th, reached its ground of encampment near the Jehna Nullah, about six miles from the city of Delhi. On the march, intelligence was received that Scindiah's force, under M. Louis Bourquien, (who had succeeded M. Perron) to the number of 13,000 regular infantry, 6,000 horse, and a considerable train of ordnance, had crossed the Jumna in the night, for the purpose of attacking the British army.

The troops, much fatigued with a march of eighteen miles, had scarcely time to pitch their tents, when the enemy appeared in such strength, in front, as obliged the commander in chief to order the grand guard and advanced picquets to turn out; while he proceeded in person to reconnoitre with the whole of the cavalry, (three regiments) and found the enemy drawn up in order of battle, and in full force. Their position was taken very judiciously on rising ground, each flank covered by a swamp, beyond which their cavalry was posted: their numerous artillery covered the front, which was further protected by a line of intrenchments, nor could they be attacked in any other direction. As the British cavalry advanced, the enemy began a most heavy and destructive cannonade.

At



At this moment orders were sent to the camp, to order up the infantry and artillery; upon receiving which, the line was directed to fall in, and move to the front, by columns of grand divisions from each battalion, while the camp was left standing under the protection of the advanced picquets, and a part of the 17th regiment of native infantry. The whole of the British troops who could be brought into action on this ever-memorable day amounted to about 4,500, of which number, the 27th of dragoons, the 76th of foot, and the artillery, were European alone.

Notwithstanding the alacrity and expedition with which the British troops were got under arms, an hour elapsed before the infantry could join the cavalry, who were advanced two miles in front, and had already suffered a considerable loss both in men and horses: during this interval the commander in chief's horse was shot under him.

Finding that it would be difficult to defeat the enemy in their present strong position, general Lake, with the most consummate judgment, determined on a feint, to cause them to quit their intrenchments, and advance on the plain. With this view the British cavalry was ordered to retire, both for the purpose of drawing the enemy into a pursuit, and to cover the advance of the infantry. This movement was performed with the greatest order and steadiness, until the moment when a junction was formed with the infantry, which, on a sufficient interval being left for that purpose, advanced in front, forming one line; the cavalry, who had now faced about, being in a second, about forty yards in the rear of the right wing: the

whole of the British force then advanced towards the enemy, the gallant commander in chief leading it, at the head of the 76th regiment.

As soon as the cavalry began to retire, the enemy, conceiving this movement to be a real retreat, immediately quitted their strong position, and advanced with the whole of their guns, shouting, and displaying every confidence in their future triumph. They halted, however, on the unexpected and steady advance of the British infantry, and then commenced a tremendous fire of round, grape, and chain-shot, which did terrible execution. In the mean while, the British line, led by general Lake, with undaunted bravery and the utmost coolness, without taking their muskets from their shoulders, moved on towards the enemy, until within a hundred paces of their line, which then commenced a general discharge of grape-shot from all their artillery. Orders were instantly given to charge the enemy with bayonets: the whole British line fired a volley, and, with their illustrious commander in chief at their head, rushed on with such impetuosity, as to force their opponents to give way, and fly in every direction. As soon as the British troops halted, after the charge, general Lake, with his accustomed judgment, ordered the line to break into columns of companies, to allow the cavalry to charge through the intervals with their galloper-guns, which completed the victory. The enemy was pursued to the banks of the Jumna, and vast numbers were driven into the river. While these operations took place on the right, those on the left, under major-general St. John, were equally successful. The enemy left the whole of their



their artillery, 68 pieces of ordnance, and 37 tumbrels laden with ammunition, in our possession: 24 tumbrels blew up during the action, exclusive of which, many were lost in the Jehna Nulla, and in the Jumna. Two tumbrils, containing treasure, were also taken on the field of battle. The loss of the enemy was estimated at 3,000 men, nearly equal to three fourths of the whole British army!

This celebrated action was fought within sight of the minarets of the city of Delhi, from which it is usually designated. During its continuance, it displayed to the greatest advantage the judgment and gallantry of the commander in chief, and the steadiness and valour of the British troops, who, on this glorious occasion, were seventeen hours under arms.

On the following day, the whole army encamped close to the Jumna opposite to the city of Delhi. On the 14th of September it began to cross the river: that day, [M. Bourquien, who commanded the enemy's forces in the late action, and four other French officers, surrendered themselves prisoners to general Lake; and on the 16th, the commander in chief paid his first visit to the unfortunate Shah Aulum, in Delhi, to congratulate his majesty on his release from the degrading bondage in which he had been so long held by the French faction.—Immediately after the battle of the 12th, that sovereign had sent to the commander in chief, to express his earnest desire of placing his person and authority under the protection of the British government, and had now directed his eldest son and heir apparent, the prince Mirza Akbar Shah, to conduct general Lake to

his presence. The prince arrived at the camp at half past three in the afternoon, when the cavalcade was formed, and proceeded to the city of Delhi, where it arrived about sun-set. The streets of the city were crowded to such a degree, that it was with difficulty the procession could make its way to the palace; and even there fresh obstacles awaited the cavalcade, from the numbers of people who thronged its various courts, eager to witness the deliverance of their sovereign, and to hail with transport the generous victors.

At length the British chief was ushered into the royal presence, and found the unfortunate and venerable emperor, the descendant and representative of the Tamerlanes, the Akbars, and the Aurungzebes, oppressed by the accumulated calamities of old age, degraded authority, extreme poverty, and loss of sight! His majesty was seated under a canopy, scanty and tattered; all that remained to him of his former state, with every external appearance of wretchedness and misery!

It was the immediate object of general Lake, with united tenderness and respect, to sooth and comfort the royal sufferer; to assure him of the future protection of the British government, which would immediately employ itself in the formation of a permanent arrangement, for the future maintenance of the dignity and comfort of his imperial majesty, and of the royal family; and that the nobility and great officers of state at his capital, (whose fortunes had been destroyed by the usurpation of Scindiah, and the rapacity of the French adventurers,) should be restored to their possessions and revenues.

It is impossible to describe the  
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impression which the conduct of the commander in chief, on this interesting occasion, made on the minds of the inhabitants of Delhi, and of all the mussulmans in India, who have been made acquainted with the transactions of the memorable 16th of September, 1803. In the metaphorical language of the east, the native news writers who describe this extraordinary scene, have not scrupled to declare that his majesty Shah Aulum received his sight from excess of joy. In addition to many other marks of the royal gratitude and favour, the emperor bestowed upon his deliverer, the second title in the empire.\*

The result of general Lake's operations, equally judicious and spirited at Coel, Ally Ghur, and Delhi, were highly beneficial to the British interests in India. While the French officers, deprived of influence and authority, became the objects of the just indignation of the country they had so long enslaved, and found their best safety in the generosity and protection of the victors, whose humane conduct and orderly deportment caused them to be regarded universally throughout the conquered provinces, as friends and deliverers. But these victories, great and important as they certainly were, would have lost half their lustre, and all their effect, did they not serve to enable the governor-general the more effectually to extend his wise, just, and liberal system of policy, over so great a portion of the Indian peninsula. Already advantageously known throughout Asia as the restorer of the ancient royal house of the Mysorean dominion;

his raising from the dust the venerable and unfortunate Mogul emperor, to enjoy, in his latter days, those comforts and even necessities of which he had so long suffered the privation, and the dispersion or subjugation of the enslavers of that sovereign, established the reputation for valour, clemency, and justice of the British government throughout the East. Its triumphs brought no terror, save to the tyrant:—and its alliance and friendship were considered by the native powers as the surest pledges, to their several states, of happiness and tranquillity. Considering these events also in a view purely political, it will be remembered, that by their operation, the Mogul emperor being now firmly restored to his functions, and under the protection of the British government, no other power could now avail itself of the weight and influence which his name must ever possess amongst the Mahometan inhabitants of Hindostan.

The commander in chief having made the necessary arrangements, at once for the security of Delhi and the preservation to the emperor of those blessings of peace and independence to which he had been restored, proceeded in pursuit of the enemy towards Agra.

During these transactions, the force under colonel Powel, stationed near Allahabad, had formed a junction with the cavalry of the peishwa, commanded by Himmud Bahader, his principal officer in the province of Bundelcund. This united army, amounting to near 17,000 men, reached the banks of the river Cane, on the 10th of October,

\* The Persian titles conferred on general Lake are in English, "The sword of the state, the hero of the land, the lord of the age, and the victorious in war."



and found the enemy's troops in considerable force, encamped on the other side, under the command of Shumshere Bahadur, who though in fact an officer of the peishwa, had, from the weakness of the court of Poonah, succeeded in making himself nearly independent in Bundelcund. After some petty successes, col. Powell crossed the Cane on the 12th, and having succeeded in forcing the enemy to a general engagement, entirely defeated them after a short though sharp contest. In consequence of this event the whole province was freed from the armies of Shumshere Bahadur, and the numerous inhabitants of that valuable district became the warm friends and supporters of the British cause.

On the 2nd of October general Lake reached the city of Mathura (or Muttra), where he joined col. Vandeleur, who had occupied it with his detachment.\* To the latter, some few days before, M. Dodermaigne and two other French officers (who had been detached by Scindiah at the head of some regular battalions, to reinforce M. Perron in July), surrendered themselves prisoners. At Mathura also colonel Vandeleur had possessed himself of one of M. Perron's principal founderies for casting cannon.

In two days, the whole army reached Agra, which was immediately summoned to surrender, but no answer was returned, owing, as it afterwards appeared, to the distrust which the garrison had conceived of their European officers, whom they had put into close confinement. On a nearer view of the defences of the place, it was found

that seven battalions of the enemy's regular infantry, with some ordnance, were encamped on the outside of the fort, and occupied the town and the principal mosque of Agra, as well as some ravines which led through broken ground, from the British camp to the ditch, on the south side of the fort, and to the Delhi gateway. These ravines general Lake determined to seize, and to dislodge the enemy from the town, before he proceeded further against the fortress. Accordingly, after a long and severe contest on the morning of the 10th of October, both these objects were attained, although with considerable loss in men and officers. The enemy were entirely defeated, having six hundred men killed, and losing twenty-six guns with several tumbrils of ammunition. The remainder of their battalions, to the number of 2,500, agreed to surrender to general Lake; and marched into the British camp, prisoners of war on the following morning. After some insidious attempts of the garrison in the fort to protract the period of negociation, and its treacherously firing upon the British force, while it was actually depending, general Lake determined upon taking the place by storm: accordingly the breaching batteries were opened on the morning of the 17th, and considerable impression being made on the walls in the course of the day, the fort capitulated in the evening. At noon on the day following the garrison, consisting of 5000 men, marched out, and the place was immediately occupied by the British troops.—An immense quantity of ammuni-

\* Composed of the 8th and 29th regiments of dragoons, the 1st and 4th of native cavalry, three battalions and five companies of native infantry.



tion and stores, and many guns were found in the fortress, together with tumbrils containing treasure, to the value of twenty-four lacks of rupees.\* By this important conquest, that of Delhi, and of Mathura, one of the great proposed objects of general Lake's operations was completely obtained, namely, of securing the navigation of the river Jumna, by a line of posts along its banks, and the co-operation and alliance of the independent chieftains in that quarter.

The attention of the commander in chief was now directed towards the pursuit of a force of the enemy, composed of 15 of M. Perron's regular battalions, (those which formed the detachment under M. Doder-naigue) and of two which had escaped from the battle of Delhi, with a numerous and well-appointed train of artillery. This powerful body, during the siege of Agra, occupied a position about 30 miles in the rear of the British army, and it was now supposed that its object was to attempt the recovery of the important post of Delhi. To frustrate this design, and to destroy so formidable a force, general Lake moved from Agra on the 27th of October, and on the 29th, took up his ground on the north-west of Futtypore Sikree. On the 30th, the army made a march of twenty miles, leaving their guns and baggage behind, properly protected, in order to gain upon the enemy. On the next day, another march of 20 miles was made, and the commander in chief encamped nearly on the ground which the enemy had quitted in the morning. Animated to the greatest exertion by

this intelligence, the pursuit became now much more eager, and general Lake determined to push on the whole of the cavalry, in the hope of delaying the enemy by a light engagement, until the British infantry should come up; and also to take advantage of any confusion which might arise in the attack upon the enemy's guns and baggage. With these views, the commander in chief, with the cavalry, proceeded in the pursuit at 12 o'clock the same night, and having marched a distance of 25 miles in little more than six hours, came up with the enemy about seven o'clock the following morning, whose force amounted to about nine thousand regular infantry, seventy-two guns, and from four to five thousand horse. Previously to this extraordinary march, the infantry were ordered to follow at three o'clock in the morning.

When the British troops reached the enemy, the latter appeared to be retreating in such confusion, that general Lake was induced to try the effect of an attack with cavalry alone. The enemy, however, whose operations were concealed by the clouds of dust, raised by the movement of so large a body of horse, succeeded in preventing for a period its rapid advance, by cutting through a large reservoir of water, and thus rendering the road nearly impassable. In consequence of which delay, they were enabled to take up a most advantageous position, having their right in front of the village of Laswaree, and thrown back upon a rivulet, whose banks were steep and difficult of access; their left upon the village of Mohaulpore, and their

\* About 280,000*l.* the well-earned reward of the activity and courage of the army



whole front concealed by high grass, and protected by a powerful line of artillery. Unaware of this change in the enemy's disposition, General Lake, therefore, proceeded in his original intention, and directed the advanced guard, and the 1st brigade of cavalry, to move upon the point where the enemy had been observed in motion, but which proved to be the left of their new position. The remainder of the cavalry was ordered to attack in succession, as soon as they could form after passing the rivulet.

In consequence of this order, colonel Vandeleur, and major Griffiths, at the head of their corps, made a charge with the utmost gallantry and effect. The enemy's line was forced, and the cavalry penetrated into the village, and captured several guns; the successive attacks of the other brigades of cavalry, were conducted with the same spirit and equal success. But, the fire from the enemy's remaining artillery was so galling, that it was found prudent to withdraw the cavalry out of its reach; which was effected with perfect order and steadiness, some of the enemy's ordnance still remaining in its possession. The death of colonel Vandeleur, upon this occasion, was very justly deplored, as that of a most brave, accomplished, and meritorious officer.

About noon on this ever-memorable day, the British infantry arrived (after a dreadfully fatiguing march of twenty-five miles) on the banks of the rivulet. As rest and refreshment was absolutely necessary, during the time that they halted for this purpose, the enemy sent a message to the commander-in-chief, offering to surrender their

guns on certain conditions. Anxious to prevent the effusion of blood, general Lake directed a reply to be written, in which he acquiesced to the proposition, but limited them to one hour to execute its terms. In the mean while the following disposition of the whole force was made for a general attack, should the enemy allow the prescribed time to elapse.

The British infantry was formed into two columns on the left; the first, composed of the right wing, under major-general Ware, was destined to assault the village of Mohaulpore, and to turn the enemy's right flank, which, since the morning had been thrown back, leaving a considerable space between it and the rivulet. The second, under major-general St. John, was ordered to support the first column. The third brigade of cavalry, under colonel Macan, was directed to support the infantry; lieutenant-colonel Vandeleur, with the second, was detached to the right of the British army, to watch the enemy's left, to avail himself of any confusion in their line, and to attack them should they retreat. The first brigade of cavalry, under lieutenant-colonel Gordon, composed the reserve, and was formed between the second and third brigades. As many of the field-pieces as could be brought up, and the galloper guns, formed four different batteries to support the attack. It must here be observed, that since the morning the enemy had formed their infantry into two lines, with their right thrown back, the first line to the eastward, and covering Mohaulpore, and the second to the westward of that village.

At the expiration of the time which



which general Lake had allowed the enemy, no reply having been received, the British infantry advanced to the attack, moving along the bank of the rivulet, through high grass and broken ground, which afforded some cover. As soon as it became exposed to the enemy's guns, the four British batteries commenced their fire, and continued to advance, notwithstanding the vast superiority of the enemy's artillery. The cannonade on both sides was extremely severe, and maintained with the greatest vigour and spirit. The artillery of the enemy was extremely well served, and they threw grape from large mortars, as well as from guns of a very heavy calibre.

When the 76th regiment, which headed the attack, had arrived within one hundred and fifty paces of the enemy, it was so much exposed, and men fell so fast, that the commander-in-chief judged it preferable to proceed to the attack with that regiment, and as many of the native infantry as had closed to the front, rather than wait till the remainder of the column, which had been much impeded in its advance, should be able to form. As soon as this small body of brave men arrived within reach of the enemy's cannister-shot, a most tremendous fire opened upon them. The loss sustained was severe, and, under such a cannonade, it was impossible to make a regular advance. The enemy's cavalry now attempted to charge, but was repulsed by the fire of this gallant body of British infantry; it rallied, however, at a short distance, and assumed so menacing an aspect, that the commander-in-chief ordered it to be charged in its turn, by the British horse,

which was executed with the utmost gallantry and success, by the 29th regiment of dragoons, under the command of captain Wade, major Griffith being at that instant unfortunately killed by a cannon shot. The remainder of the infantry arrived in time to join in the attack of the enemy's reserve, which was formed in the rear of their first line.

About this time general Ware fell dead, by a cannon-shot; which event, from the courage and skill which always distinguished that gallant officer, may well be regarded as a public loss. The command of his column devolved upon colonel Macdonald, who, though wounded, executed its important duties, at this trying moment, in the most exemplary manner.

The enemy opposed a vigorous resistance to the last, and did not abandon their position, until they had lost all their guns. Even then their left wing endeavoured to retreat in good order, but they were broken in upon by lieutenant-colonel Vandeleur's division of cavalry, which cut several of them to pieces, and drove the rest in prisoners, with the whole of the enemy's baggage.

The loss sustained by the British troops, in the achievement of this complete victory, was severe, amounting to nearly two hundred killed, (in which number were included several valuable officers) and nearly seven hundred wounded. Of the enemy, two thousand were made prisoners, and by far the greater number of the remainder were destroyed upon the field of battle!

There remained in the possession of the British troops, after the battle, the whole of the enemy's baggage and camp equipage; all their ele-



phants, camels, and bullocks ; 72 pieces of cannon, serviceable, and in excellent order ; and a vast quantity of ammunition. Three tumbrils laden with treasure, were likewise the fruits of the victory, and 5,000 stand of arms, which had been thrown down by the enemy, were found in the field of battle.

Thus terminated, at four o'clock in the evening of the 1st of November, 1803, the battle of Laswaree, in which British valour and steadiness were so eminently conspicuous, and which completely subverted Scindiah's hostile power, and formidable resources in Hindostan, and those of the French force in that quarter. Great part of the army had been under arms for 16 hours, and had marched, in the course of two days and nights, a distance of more than 65 miles ! This great victory must, however, principally be attributed to the admirable skill, judgment, heroic valour, and activity of general Lake, who thus, at once consummated his triumphs, and terminated his campaign. During the heat of the action, he was exposed to one of the most severe trials, to which providence has ever put human fortitude. On his horse falling under him, pierced by several shot ; his son, (a most promising young officer, who constantly attended his father's person,) dismounted, and offered his horse to the general, who at first refused, but on his repeated solicitations, mounted, and major Lake mounted a horse from one of the troops of cavalry ; in a moment, a shot struck the son, and wounded him severely. At this instant, the commander in chief, found it necessary to head the infantry in the advance, and to leave major Lake

wounded on the field ! A more affecting scene, can hardly be presented to the imagination. Our readers will rejoice, that, at the close of the battle, the most agonizing suspense was terminated, by the general finding his son still alive, and his wound not likely to prove dangerous.

The operations of the British arms, thus gloriously concluded, on the north-western frontier of Oude, we shall now revert to the campaign in the Deccan, where we left general Wellesley eagerly following up his splendid victory, at Assye. It will be remembered, that colonel Stevenson had been detached in the beginning of October, towards Boorhanpoor, and Asseer Ghur, for the purpose of reducing those places. The former was taken possession of without resistance, on the 16th, and the following day, he proceeded to Asseer Ghur, whence the enemy's infantry precipitately retired on his approach, and which place, after some ineffectual attempts on the part of the garrison to gain time by the usual artifices of Indian negotiation, consented to surrender on terms indeed highly advantageous to the besieged, but not less so to the victors, if it be considered, that this fortress was deemed by the enemy impregnable, and that its fall was of the utmost importance to a speedy termination of the contest.

Whilst colonel Stevenson was thus successfully employed, the unceasing activity of general Wellesley was productive of fresh triumphs to the British arms, and of apprehension and dismay to the enemy. On the 25th of October, the division of the British army, commanded by him, re-ascended the Adjunttee Ghaut, and marched to the south-



southward; intelligence being received, that the Berar rajah had passed the hills which form the frontier of the province of Candeish; and was proceeding towards the river Godavery. On the 29th, general Wellesley arrived at Aurungabad, where he learned that the Bhoonsla had gradually advanced to the eastward, and was at that moment at Lackeegaun, about 20 miles north from Pulteim. The rajah finding himself thus hotly pursued, endeavoured by various stratagems, to elude the vigilance of the British commander. Between the nights of the 29th, and 30th of October, he changed his camp five times. With a further view to distract general Wellesley's attention, he detached a body of 5,000 horse, to intercept a valuable convoy of supplies for the British army, which was distant only a few days march. But his design was seen through, and frustrated by the sagacity and activity of the British commander, who still continued to watch and harass the army of the rajah, confiding in the strength of the party under whose escort the convoy was placed, and the skill and bravery of its commander. Nor was he disappointed; the convoy was attacked by the rajah's cavalry at Amber, but captain Baynes, who commanded the British detachment, repulsed it with considerable loss, secured the whole of the supplies, and conducted them in triumph, a few days afterwards, to the British camp. This success still further increased the rajah's efforts to avoid a general engagement, by every means that activity and local knowledge could furnish.

In the mean while, Scindiah, who saw all his projects subverted, his

French establishment and alliance utterly destroyed, his provinces conquered, his fortresses in the Deccan captured, and even his capital threatened by the victorious British, found that his best policy was to negotiate. Accordingly, on the 11th of November, he sent an ambassador to general Wellesley's camp at Jaum, to propose a treaty of peace.

That officer, well aware that to gain time, (the usual object of Mah-ratta subterfuge,) was his purpose, yet anxious to evince the sincere wish of the British government for the restoration of tranquillity, received him with every demonstration of respect and satisfaction. After various conferences on the 23d of November, a cessation of arms was agreed upon, between Scindiah and the British force in the Deccan, and province of Guzerat. The principal condition of this truce was, that the army of the former should occupy a position 40 miles to the left of Elichpore, and that the British force should not advance farther into the territories of Scindiah.

While these negotiations were on foot, the Berar prince had moved towards his own dominions, and general Wellesley had descended the mountains by Bajoorah, in order to co-operate with colonel Stevenson in the reduction of the strong fortress of Gawil Ghur, on which service that officer had been detached after the fall of Asseer Ghur. On the 28th of November, general Wellesley came up with the greater part of the Bhoonsla's infantry, strengthened by a considerable body of Scindiah's regular horse: And as the latter had not fulfilled the conditions of the truce, he had himself demanded with such eagerness, general Wellesley resolved, notwithstanding



standing the eager remonstrances and protestations of Scindiah's ambassador, (still in the British camp,) to attack the enemy with all possible celerity. General Wellesley, immediately moved forward to Parterly, where he was joined by col. Stevenson's division, and whence the confederates had retired, although their rear was still discernible from a lofty tower near the spot. The extreme heat of the day, and the fatigue of the troops, disinclined general Wellesley from a further pursuit of the enemy until the evening. But the British troops were not long halted, before large bodies of horse were observed in front; and upon advancing the picquets in consequence, the whole army of the confederated Mahratta chiefs was distinctly perceived, formed in a long line of infantry, cavalry, and artillery, extending in front, nearly five miles on the plains of Argaum. General Wellesley, finding that the enemy was thus prepared for a general action, lost not a moment in advancing with the whole of his army in one column;—the British cavalry leading, in a direction nearly parallel to that of the enemy's line. On a nearer approach to the confederated force, the British army was formed in two lines, the first of which was composed of the infantry, the second of the horse: the right wing was advanced, in order to press upon the left of the enemy; the British left was supported by the Mysore cavalry. On arriving very close to the enemy's line, the 74th and 73rd regiments were attacked by a large body of Persians, which, after a desperate conflict, those gallant corps succeeded in totally destroying; and Scindiah's cavalry, being at the same time repulsed with great loss by the 1st battalion of the 6th

regiment, the whole line of the enemy gave way, and retreated with the utmost precipitation and confusion, leaving in the possession of the victors 38 pieces of cannon and all their ammunition. The British cavalry immediately pursued, destroyed many of the fugitives, and captured the whole of their elephants and baggage. The loss on the part of the British forces was very inconsiderable.

After this action, which, if not so brilliant, was certainly not less decisive than that of Assye, general Wellesley immediately moved towards Gawil Ghur in Berar, for the purpose of investing that fortress, considered to be one of the strongest in India, and hitherto deemed by the natives to be impregnable. For this purpose, he arrived at Elichpoor on the 5th of December, and halted on the 6th, in order to settle the plan of the proposed siege with colonel Stevenson, and likewise to establish an hospital for the wounded in the battle of Argaum.

The fort of Gawil Ghur is situated in a range of mountains, between the sources of the Taptee and Poonah rivers. It stands on a lofty mountain in this range, and consists of one complete inner fort, which fronts to the south where the rock is most steep; and an outer fort, which covers the approach to it from the north, by the village of Labada; all these walls are strongly built and fortified by ramparts and towers. The communications with the fort are through three gates; one to the south, with the inner fort; one to the north-west, with the outer fort; and one to the third, with the north wall. The ascent to the first, is very steep, and is practicable only for men; that to the second, is by

a road



a road for the communications of the garrison with the countries to the southward, but the road passes round the west side of the fort, and is exposed, for a considerable distance, to its fire; it is so narrow as to make it impracticable for regular approaches, and the rock is scarped on each side: this road also leads no farther than the gate. The communication with the northern gate is direct from the village of Labada, and here the ground is level with that of the fort; but the road leads through the mountains for about 30 miles from Elichpoor, and it was obvious, that the labour and difficulty of moving ordnance and stores, thence to Labada, would be very great. Upon the most mature deliberation, however, the latter point of attack was determined upon, and as colonel Stevenson had long been destined, and was indeed, equipped for that service, his corps was directed to make the principal attack by Labada, and that under general Wellesley was to cover the operation of the siege, and, if possible, carry into effect attacks upon the southward and westward.

On the 7th of December, both divisions marched from Elichpoor, and, from that day till the 12th, the troops of colonel Stevenson went through a series of laborious service, such as had scarcely been ever witnessed. The heavy ordnance were dragged up, over mountains and through ravines, for nearly thirty miles, by roads which it had been previously necessary for the troops to make for the purpose.

On the 12th, at night, colonel Stevenson erected two batteries, for brass and iron guns, to breach the outer fort and the third wall; and

one to clear and destroy the defences on the point of attack. A fourth battery was opened by general Wellesley's division, on the mountain, under the southern gate, with a view to breach the wall near that gate, or at least to divert and distract the enemy's attention. On the night of the 16th, the breaches of the outer wall of the fort were deemed practicable, and a storming party was ordered for the attack, at 10 o'clock on the following morning, under the command of lieutenant colonel Kenny. At the same time, two attacks were to be made from the southward, the one on the south gate, by a strong detachment under lieutenant colonel Wallace, and the other of a similar force on the gate of the north-west, under lieutenant colonel Chalmers. These latter dispositions were calculated solely to draw the enemy's attention from the real point of assault. At the appointed hour, the three parties moved forward;—that under colonel Chalmers reached the north-west gate just as the enemy were attempting to escape through it, from the bayonets of the assailants, under col. Kenny. A dreadful slaughter ensued, and colonel Chalmers entered without difficulty. The wall in the inner fort in which no breach had been made, was now to be carried: after some attempts upon the gate of communication between the inner and outward fort, a place was at length found at which it was possible to escalate the wall. Here captain Campbell, with the light infantry of the 94th regiment, fixed the ladders, scaled the wall, and opened the gate to the storming party, who were quickly masters of the place; the garrison was numerous, and numbers of it were slain.



By the success of this timely, vigorous, and brilliant enterprize, the war was brought to a speedy conclusion. The rajah of Berar, awakened to a sense of his danger, determined upon an immediate and separate peace, without waiting to consult the wishes or opinion of his ally; and, without the loss of a day, dispatched an ambassador to the camp of general Wellesley, at Deogaum, in the vicinity of his recent conquest; and the negotiation for a treaty of peace immediately commenced, and was concluded and signed on the part of the British government, and the rajah of Berar, on the 17th of Dec. 1803.

On the part of the rajah it was agreed, first, to renounce all adherence to the confederacy formed against the British government, between Scindiah, himself, and other chiefs; and to engage to give no assistance to those chiefs, should they continue the war: secondly, to cede to the company, in perpetual sovereignty, the province of Cuttack, including the fort and district of Balasore; also all the territories, the revenues of which he had previously collected in conjunction with the nizam, together with all those situated to the westward of the river Wurdah: and lastly, to engage never to take, or retain in his service, any Frenchman, or the subject of any European or American state, the government of which might be at war with the British government, or any British subject, whether Indian or European, without the consent of that government.

The British government agreed, that the forts of Nornullah and Gawil Ghur should be restored to the rajah of Berar, together with

the districts dependent upon them; that the river Wurdah, from its source to the Godavery, should be the boundary between the dominions of the nizam, and the rajah of Berar; that no aid or countenance should be given to any discontented relations or subjects of the rajah, who might fly from, or rebel against his authority; and finally, it was agreed, that in order the more effectually to preserve the relations of amity and good understanding between the contracting parties, that accredited ministers from each government, should constantly reside at the court of the other.

This treaty, ratified by the rajah of Berar, on the 25th of December, and transmitted to Calcutta, was speedily followed by one with Scindiah. That restless prince, finding that no chance existed of gratifying his ambition and revenge at the expence of the British government; having exhausted his resources and expedients, and without an ally; sent instructions to his ambassador, (who still followed general Wellesley's army,) seriously to open negotiations for a durable and definitive treaty of peace: to which measure that officer acceded. By his firmness and decisive tone, the treaty was concluded in a few days, and on the 30th of December, 1803, a peace between the British government and Scindiah was signed in the English camp at Surge Angengaum. Its principal conditions were as follow.

On the part of Scindiah it was agreed, first, to cede to the company in perpetual sovereignty, all his forts, territories, and rights in the Douab, together with all his forts, territories, rights, and interests



rests, which lie to the northward of the dominions of the rajahs of Jeypoor and Judpoor, and of the Ranah of Gohud: secondly, to cede in like manner the fort and territory of Baroach, in the Guzerat, and the fort and territory of Ahmednughur, in the Deccan, and likewise all the territories which belonged to him before the commencement of the war, which are situated to the southward of the Adjuntee hills in the Deccan, including all the districts between that range of mountains and the Godavary river: thirdly, to renounce for ever all claims upon the emperor Shah Aulum, and to engage never again to interfere with that monarch: and lastly, not to take any Frenchman, or the subject of any European or American state, the government of which might be at war with the British government, or any British subject, whether European or Indian, without the consent of that government.

On the other hand it was agreed, first, to restore to Scindiah the fort of Asseer Ghur, and the city of Boorhanpoor, in the Deccan, and the forts of Dohud and Powan Ghur, with the territories in Candesh and Guzerat, appertaining to these forts: secondly, to allow Scindiah, under the protection of the British government, to retain certain lands, which he had long held in his family, by gift from the kings of Hindostan; and that certain other lands, situated in the provinces conquered by the English, in Hindostan, which were held in Jaghire by persons belonging to the family of the late Madhagee Scindiah, should remain in the possession of those persons; and further, to prevent any individual from in-

curring loss, or suffering distress by this arrangement, that the company should either pay pensions, or grant lands in Jaghire, to such other persons as Scindiah should name, provided the sum to be paid did not exceed 17 lacks of rupces by the year: thirdly, to restore to Scindiah certain lands and villages, situated in the peishwa's dominions, and lately taken possession of by the British government or its allies, and which the family of Scindiah had long held as a personal estate: lastly, Scindiah was invited to partake of the benefits of the subsidiary treaties, existing between the British government and the peishwa and nizam; and it was stipulated, that for the future, accredited ministers from each government should, in future, constantly reside at the court of the other.

The treaty was ratified by Scindiah, and returned to general Wellesley for transmission to the seat of government. On the 15th of January, in the present year, that with the rajah of Berar was ratified by the governor general in council; and, on the 13th of February, that with Scindiah was also ratified by the marquis Wellesley, who immediately caused the complete restoration of peace with the Mahratta princes, to be proclaimed, with the usual forms, throughout the British empire in India.

The news of this glorious event was received in every part of the company's dominion in Hindostan, with the most enthusiastic joy, which was demonstrated by public rejoicing in every town and settlement. The inhabitants of Calcutta, who had the best opportunity of witnessing the unwearied solicitude of marquis Wellesley for the public interests



interests, presented him an address on the 29th of February, in which they expressed their entire concurrence in the justice and necessity of the war, their admiration of the plan of the campaign, the heroic energy with which it was carried into effect, and the wise, humane, and liberal policy which dictated the conditions of peace. But, not contented with this manifestation of their respect and gratitude, in a few days afterwards they voted, that a marble statue of the governor general should be erected at Calcutta, as a lasting memorial of his eminent public services. It was also agreed, at the same time, to present swords of considerable value to generals Lake and Wellesley, as testimonials of their high sense of the distinguished merit evinced by these officers in the late campaign;—measures were immediately adopted to carry these resolutions into effect.

At home, the public gratitude was not less alive to the extraordinary ability and exertions of the marquis Wellesley, and the troops in India. The thanks of parliament were voted to the governor general, and the commanders, officers, and soldiers of the several armies, which had shared in the glory of the contest. His majesty was also further pleased to create general Lake a peer of the realm, and general Wellesley a knight of the Bath, to mark, in the strongest possible

manner, the royal approbation of their signal services.

We have gone so much into detail in the preceding chapter, upon the origin and policy of the Marhatta war, that it is only necessary here to observe, that every object for which it had been found necessary to contend, was obtained in a campaign of five months, against the two most powerful of the native princes in India, without a single reverse of fortune or serious disaster befalling the British arms. In the terms of peace, the British government was as moderate as in war its force had been irresistible; every point being abandoned and every conquest restored, that did not belong to the principles of justice and security upon which hostilities had been resorted to. In a word, the combined exertion of the talents and wisdom of the marquis Wellesley, the true military genius of generals Lake and Wellesley, and the invincible courage of the troops, have produced the most lasting benefits to their native country; by their result, the best interests of humanity have been served; our enemies discomfited; our allies protected; our military superiority confirmed; our dominion enlarged; the subjects of other European powers excluded from the peninsula, and a secure and durable peace, founded upon the general good as well as our own, established throughout India.

CHRONICLE.



# CHRONICLE.

## JANUARY.

1st. **A** MIDST the warfare in which we are now engaged for our preservation and existence as a Nation, it is matter of exultation and self-confidence to reflect, that the most considerable and most important of our public works suffer, comparatively speaking, but little interruption. A scarcity of hands will naturally rather retard the completion of them; and such materials as are wanted must be purchased at an increased price, particularly the articles of timber and bricks.

THE WEST INDIA DOCKS, occupying a surface of 30 acres for unloading *all* vessels coming from the West India Islands and Colonies, have been completed some time since, and there is now sufficient accommodation in the substantial and extensive stacks of warehouses for such merchants as wish to bond or to house their commodities within the walls, unexposed to fire or plunder, as no lights are suffered at any time, nor any person allowed to remain on board, or within the walls after dark. The excavation of the dock for loading, which is to occupy 24 acres, is proceeding in with great spirit. In the mean while, it is highly gratifying to the subscribers,

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and encouraging to these grand national undertakings, that the profits warrant a dividend of 10 per cent. on the sums already subscribed, and which the subscribers have begun to receive.

THE LONDON DOCKS, forming in Wapping, for the accommodation of shipping, bringing wines, spirits, rice, and tobacco, and for the *whole trade* of the port (West and East India shipping excepted) of such as choose to avail themselves thereof, are in a very advanced state of forwardness; and there is every reason to believe that the Dock for Imports will be ready to receive vessels in the course of the ensuing summer. Immense warehouses are forming; and, in particular, a most stupendous stack for housing bonded tobaccos, which Government are to rent, besides giving every encouragement in its power to the concern, with a view to the security and increase of the public revenue, and to the safety and dispatch of the property of the merchant.

THE EAST INDIA DOCK, for the use of the East India shipping exclusively, is as yet in a state of infancy. The Dock Company have purchased Mess. Perry's and Wells's Wet Dock, for the purpose of forming part of the Dock for loading outwards; and the Dock for unloading is excavating

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ing with all possible dispatch, on a site or marsh above, and is to occupy a surface of about 18 acres, and is likely to be completed in the Spring of next year. The capital subscribed is 200,000*l*. There are 13 Directors, of which four must always be Directors of the East India Company.

**COMMERCIAL ROAD.** In addition to these immense accommodations to trade, a wide road, called the Commercial Road, is nearly paved and finished, commencing at the North-west corner of the West India Dock, and coming out into Whitechapel near Aldgate. This road has been used since the opening of the West India Dock, and the tolls received weekly from 70*l*. to 80*l*. and are daily increasing; and, with the profits of houses and lands purchased by the trust and let, will very shortly yield the subscribers their limited 10 per cent. profit on the capital of 50,000*l*. subscribed. The road is intended to be carried on to the East India Dock, and to communicate with the London Dock.

**THE GRAND JUNCTION CANAL,** a concern of immense importance to the commerce of the country, is now pretty well known to the public. The company have lately experienced some impediment from the drought during the summer; but, on the other hand, it has enabled them to repair and cleanse the bottom in some parts where it wanted. The sum subscribed for this concern is about 1,350,000*l*.; and, when the tunnel and aqueduct at Blisworth are completed, which, it is expected, will be so at the end of this year, this immense undertaking may be considered as quite complete, and well supplied with water, without interruption; then the subscribers will begin to look

forward for a gradual and rapid increase of their dividends, which, there can be no manner of doubt, will very amply remunerate them for their long patience and spirit of perseverance in assisting a work of this national consequence.

What a splendid contrast do these proud facts furnish to the condition of our enemy! France is driven to acts of unqualified robbery to collect the momentary means for carrying on her war; her army is unpaid, and held to its obedience by the hope of plunder; her commerce is annihilated; she has now no trade but that of murder and rapine: while in England, the confidence and the wealth of the people are such, that, after every sacrifice which the safety of the empire demands, we find millions embarked in commercial speculations.

4th. The splendid and interesting spectacle of the presentation of colours to the Queen's Royal Volunteers, which was this day displayed at Ranelagh, fully answered the expectation which had been formed of it. Its effect was greatly heightened by the ease and adroitness with which the Queen's Royal Volunteers performed their part of the ceremony, together with the great regularity observed in all the other proceedings of the day. At nine o'clock the Westminster Cavalry mustered in Hyde-park: their accoutrements were in excellent order, their horses in high condition, and they exhibited a very striking military appearance: they then proceeded to Ranelagh, to take the different stations which had been appointed for them. A party of them were stationed at the end of Ranelagh-lane, close to the Green, and at the beginning of it, and others patrolled the road leading from Ranelagh to Buck-



Buckingham-gate. The corps being thus judiciously disposed, no large body of people could assemble, or carriages accumulate, to obstruct the general arrangements. The St. Margaret and St. John's Volunteers assembled at an early hour in Westminster-hall, and thence proceeded to Ranelagh-green. A detachment of them formed a line across the green, to keep the doors free from the pressure of curious intruders; another party was stationed to examine persons on foot, as they passed, to ascertain if they had tickets, and to prevent those who were not so fortunate from passing the line. A small detachment was posted at the carriage-gate leading into the gardens, to prevent any person passing that way, and to keep a clear passage for the royal carriages. At a quarter past 12, the trumpet announced the arrival of the courtly party in three of his Majesty's carriages. They were preceded by two noblemen's carriages, and followed by five. When they reached the gate leading into the garden, which it was necessary for them to pass through, Major Rolleston rode before them uncovered, and ushered them into it. As the first of the royal carriages was passing through the gateway, the horses became restive for some time, till one of the St. Margaret and St. John's volunteers seized the bridles, and led them along. The royal retinue having reached the entrance at the west side of the Rotunda, Major Rolleston alighted from his horse, and handed the countess of Harrington and her attendants from their carriages. In the first were Miss Vernon, Miss Coleman, and Miss Digby, maids of honour to her majesty; in the second, the vice-chamberlain and

Mr. Vincent; and in the third, lady Harrington and her daughter, lady Anna-Maria Stanhope, lady Cardigan, and lady Aylesbury, two ladies of the queen's bedchamber. The company having all quitted their carriages, lady Harrington was conducted to her box by the vice chamberlain, and followed by her attendants, in the same manner as the queen would have been. Her ladyship was dressed in a black pelice, and a scarlet sash. Her head-dress was a rich velvet hat, highly decorated, and with four very elegant coquelicot feathers. Her ladyship also wore an antique necklace of great value, and a fine cameo of his majesty, being a large beautiful onyx, set as a medallion, which was presented to her by her majesty a few days ago, as a memorial of the event. Lady Anna-Maria Stanhope appeared in a dress of white satin, ornamented with pearls. The company in the rotunda, assembled as spectators, were numerous, and added to the splendour of the scene. Ranelagh has seldom exhibited so distinguished a display of beauty, elegance, and fashion. On the arrival of the countess in the box fitted up for her reception, the two regiments of the queen's royal volunteers, under the command of lord Hobart, having taken their station two hours before, presented arms, with the bands playing. As soon as the corps had shouldered arms, two pair of colours were introduced, and placed on each side of the royal box. The king's colours of each regiment was a plain union standard; but the county or regimental colour, which has been designed and executed by the princesses, was a superb piece of needle work. The ground was a rich purple silk,



and in the centre of the colours were her Majesty's arms, embroidered and surrounded with sprigs of variegated colours and designs. At the lower corners were the letters C. R. ; and under the coat of arms were the words " Queen's royal volunteers." Prayers were read by the Rev. Weeden Butler; after which the Duke of York's band quitted its situation before lady Harrington's box, and went to assist at the orchestra. At this period the coronation anthem was sung by Incledon, Sale, and a full chorus, the boys from Westminster-abbey attending. The colours were removed from lady Harrington's box to the pulpit; when the rev. Mr. More delivered an animated and appropriate discourse, from Nehemiah iv. 9: " Nevertheless we made our prayer unto our God, and set a watch against them day and night." At the front of lady Harrington's box were assembled lord Hobart, general Burrard, lord Amherst, the right hon. Mr. Secretary Yorke, and several general officers. When the discourse was concluded, Mr. Butler stood ready, by the colours, to read the consecration prayer, a copy of which had been previously presented to the countess of Harrington; but, from some momentary inadvertence in the very zealous and respectable conductors of this interesting business, no signal having been given to Mr. Butler, the colours were taken back to their former station; and the officers from each battalion, who were to receive them, were ordered by lord Hobart to place themselves before lady Harrington. The chamberlain then descended from the box, and gave the colours to major Rolleston, who was in the box with her ladyship, and on his knees held them by a piece of purple ribband, which

tied them together, two and two. Her majesty's representative then delivered the following address: " Gentlemen, Her majesty having been graciously pleased to confer upon me the honour of presenting to you these colours, I am anxious to express how highly I am flattered by this distinguished mark of the queen's favour. At a time of all others the most awful, when our country is threatened with the unprovoked attack of a most implacable enemy, and when you have evinced your readiness to stand forward in the defence of every thing that is most dear to us all; what can be more gratifying, or more honourable to you, than being peculiarly distinguished by her majesty, and receiving your colours from her? Animated as your hearts must be by gratitude to the queen, in addition to every other noble sentiment that has guided you from the moment of the first offer of your services, it would not only be superfluous, but presumptuous in me, to add any thing upon the occasion, than the expression of every fervent wish for your success in the event of the enemy carrying his threats into execution; confident that no power, however strenuously exerted, will ever wrest these colours from you, while there is yet left a man in your corps to defend them." To which lord Hobart replied in the following words: " Madam, in the name of the corps, which I have the honour to command, I am to convey our humble and grateful acknowledgments for the distinguished favour with which her majesty has been pleased to honour us upon the present occasion: and, encouraged by so flattering an instance of her majesty's condescension, I am the  
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more confident in expressing a full persuasion that those sentiments which originally called forth our services will uniformly govern our conduct, so long as it shall be her majesty's pleasure to permit their continuance. Stimulated to the discharge of our duty by the most powerful motives that can influence the mind of man, the protection of every thing that is dear to us in private life, and every thing that is valuable in public estimation, our religion, our laws, our liberty, and our king; I can venture to assure her majesty, that the expectation she may have formed of our exertions, shall not be disappointed. And, if the day should come, when his majesty, actuated by that valour for which his family has ever been conspicuous, and by that affection which he has always manifested towards his people, shall think fit to share their dangers; if that anxious and animating period should arrive; then, may these colours, the gift of our most gracious queen, prove a shield to guard and defend the sacred person of our beloved sovereign against any hazard to which it may be exposed, by the desperate efforts of an inordinate and destructive ambition." Major Rolleston now untied the ribband, and gave the golden cord which supported the tassel into her ladyship's hand, and she gradually let the colours descend to the ensigns, who were on their knees ready to receive them: they then arose and went to present them to their regiments, who received them with presented arms, while the band played "God save the King." After which Messrs. Incledon, Sale, &c. with a full chorus, sung "God save the King." The regiments did not march past

her ladyship; this part of the ceremony was rendered impracticable, from the concourse of spectators. Immediately on the countess receiving the royal salute, she, with her attendants, returned in the same manner as they came. The regiments marched four deep to lord Hobart's, and lodged their colours. They quitted them as they received them, with presented arms, officers saluting, &c. after which they were dismissed. The earl of Harrington, lord Hobart, and several general officers, dined with the officers of the queen's royal volunteers, at the British coffee-house, and spent the day in the most convivial manner. A number of loyal and patriotic toasts were given; and nothing was omitted, that could animate the mind to perseverance in the glorious cause.

7th. This morning about two o'clock, Mr. Salven's cotton-manufactory, at Durham, which comprises a very extensive range of buildings, near Elvet church, was discovered to be on fire. These premises have long been admired by strangers, on entering the town, for their stupendous size, and containing exactly as many windows as there are days in the year. The Durham volunteers were immediately roused from their beds, and with the greatest alacrity beat to arms; their example was followed by the Lanarkshire militia, quartered at that city. As fast as the military assembled, they repaired to the spot, where the fire was raging with incredible fury; both officers and men used their greatest exertions to extinguish the flames, by carrying buckets of water to aid the fire-engines which were collected from different parts of the town; nothing, however, could avail. About four



o'clock, the conflagration had gained too much power to admit of any control; its blazes were seen for nearly 20 miles round the country, particularly at Gateshead-Fell, Hamsterly, and Houghton-le-Spring, which had a grand and awful effect. At seven in the morning, nothing remained of the stupendous building but the shell, which fell to the ground in the course of the day. It is understood that the loss sustained, after deducting what has been insured, will amount to upwards of 20.000l.

12th. At a meeting of the antiquarian Society, this day, a letter of Mr. Jackson's was read on the Antient Utica, which was next in extent and magnitude to Carthage, and in the same gulph. Here Mr. Jackson visited the subterraneous vaults, in which the ceilings were covered with bats of an enormous size, called, by Virgil, Harpies, which being disturbed, left their places, and nearly extinguished the flambeaux; and, but for a lanthorn, the curious visitors might have been lost in the dark. In the same place Mr. Jackson found foxes burrowing in the under-ground ruins. The air in these caverns was oppressive, but by discharging fire arms was much purified, and became respirable with safety.

13th. This day Francis Smith, officer of excise, was tried at the Old Bailey for the wilful murder of T. Millwood. It appeared on the evidence of Mr. Locke, wine merchant in Hammersmith, that, that town had been infested with a pretended ghost for five weeks previously to the alledged fact being committed. Several parties had gone out to the purpose of discovering it. Its dress had been described as sometimes in

white and sometimes as if in the skin of some beast. He was returning to his own house on the night of the 3d of January, in company with another person, about half-past ten o'clock, when he met the prisoner in wonderful trepidation, who informed him that he had shot a man, believing him to be the pretended spectre who had so long terrified the town, and wished to surrender himself immediately. He added that he had challenged the deceased twice, but who, instead of answering him, marched up to him, which increased the prisoner's fear. Mr. Locke, his companion, and the watchman, who had now come up, all proceeded to Limekiln-Lane, where they found the deceased lying dead, and observed that a shot had passed through his under jaw. The witness concluded his testimony by asserting his thorough knowledge of the prisoner, and his conviction of his mild disposition, humanity, and generosity, and the general high estimation in which he was held by the whole vicinage.

William Girdler, watchman, at Hammersmith, met the prisoner, with a gun in his hand, about half-past ten at night, who told him he was going to look after the ghost, and further corroborated the whole of the preceding evidence.

The sister of the deceased said she lived in her father's house at Hammersmith; on the 3d of January, between ten and eleven at night, her brother came in. He had been to seek his wife, who was at a friend's in the neighbourhood. After remaining some time in the house, he again went out for the same purpose; a minute or two afterwards, standing at the door, she heard a voice exclaim "Damn you, who or what



what are you? Speak, or I'll shoot you." And immediately the report of a gun was heard, upon which, from solicitude about her brother's safety, she ran out, and about half-way between her father's house, and that to which the deceased was going, she found him lying dead on the ground! no person was near him at the time. The lane was very dark, so much so, that although narrow, it was impossible to see a person at the opposite side of it. Her brother, at the time of his decease, was all in white, and his trowsers reached down to his heels. She did not believe that any animosity subsisted between the deceased and the prisoner. They hardly knew each other.

A surgeon of eminence ascertained the death of the deceased to have proceeded from a gun-shot wound, which had injured the spinal marrow.

The prisoner spoke as follows in his defence. "I can most solemnly declare, that I went out with a perfectly good intention; after calling to the deceased twice, and receiving no answer, I became so agitated, that I knew no longer what I did: but I was innocent of any malicious intention whatever."

The mother-in-law of the deceased proved, that he had been, from his white dress, taken once before for the ghost, and she advised him, in consequence, to wear a great coat.

Several most respectable witnesses gave the prisoner the highest character for propriety of conduct, humanity, and benevolence.

The lord chief baron not being able to find, in the case made out by the prisoner, any thing which could take it off the legal definition of

murder, charged the jury accordingly; who, however, after retiring for an hour and five minutes, brought in a verdict of manslaughter!

The judge hereupon reminded the jury, on the oath they had taken, that this was a verdict they could not give—they must either find the prisoner guilty or not guilty of murder, and justices Rooke, Lawrence, and the Recorder, concurring in opinion, the jury, after a few minutes deliberation in their box, returned their verdict—Guilty of murder.

The Recorder immediately pronounced the judgment of the court, sentencing the prisoner for death on the following Monday, and his body to be dissected, &c. The lord chief Baron declared he would immediately report the case, and in consequence a respite was sent to Newgate in the course of the evening. (The prisoner has been since pardoned, on condition of a year's imprisonment in Newgate. At the close of the trial, he was obliged to be removed into the air, he was so much affected: his case seemed to excite universal commiseration.)

15th. This day two gentlemen, (and one in deacon's orders) brothers, of the name of Gordon, dined with Mrs. Lee, a lady of considerable income, in Bolton-Row, Piccadilly; and in the evening, her footman being absent, they endeavoured to force her from her house. She made much resistance, and on being assisted by her two female servants, one of the gentlemen drew a pistol, and threatened to shoot them, while the other succeeded in forcing the lady into a post-chaise in waiting at a short distance, and instantly drove off. The



next day a hue and cry was raised by the friends of the lady, and the Bow-street officers apprehended one of the brothers, who had returned to Bolton-Row for Mrs. Lee's clothes.

The pursuit was of course continued, and on Thursday night (the 19th) Miller, the officer, arrived in London, with Mr. Laudon Gordon and Mrs. Lee, whom he had traced to Gloucester. On a further examination it appeared, that Mr. Laudon Gordon ordered his servant on Sunday to prepare him linen for travelling, and to hire a chaise for Uxbridge. On Tuesday evening, a letter was brought to Mrs. Lee's maid, in Bolton-Row, by a young man, who said that it came inclosed to him from his mother, who keeps an inn at Tetsworth, Oxfordshire, and where it appeared the parties had stopped on Sunday night; but from their strange behaviour to each other, much astonishment was excited, especially as the lady remained while her gown and stockings were washed. Mrs. Lee's letter, there is reason to believe, was written privately and in great haste; the words were very few, and nearly as follows:—"No clothes, no money; death or compliance!"—Another examination took place on Friday the 20th. Mrs. Lee's deposition was first taken privately, and afterwards on being confronted with the Gordons, she stated that she had been acquainted with them about fourteen years, and that their acquaintance was renewed about two months back. The Gordons were again brought to Bow-street on the 27th, and, after a long examination, the parties were bound over to prosecute at the next assizes for Oxfordshire, the offence having been com-

mitted in that county. Mr. Lockhart Gordon then applied to the magistrates for permission for his brother to be committed to Tothill-fields Bridewell with him, which was readily agreed to, both by the magistrates and Mrs. Lee's solicitor, and where they are to remain until trial.

The person who was the subject of the outrage, is the illegitimate daughter of the late Lord le Despencer, and, before her marriage, was called Rachael Fanny Antonina Dashwood. She was married in 1794, to Mathew Allen Lee, esq. and after the marriage, a settlement of her property was made by the court of chancery, by which nearly the whole was vested in the trust of Mr. Parkin and three other gentlemen, who were authorised to pay a certain sum to Mrs. Lee for her own and separate use, and in 1795, a separation took place, when it was agreed that Mrs. Lee should receive 1200*l.* per year for her life, which has been paid to her ever since that period, she continuing to live separate from her husband, still living, and by whom she has no children.

19th. This evening one of the most tremendous storms ever experienced, was felt throughout the whole kingdom; the following are among the most remarkable of its effects. At Falmouth the roof of one of the stables of the new barracks there, a building 178 feet in length, though of the best possible materials and workmanship, was blown off bodily; and even of the walls little more than fragments remain. A high wall of a new house in Lemon-street was blown down, which beat in the wall and roof of another house, that of Mr. Almond Hitchem, about 20 feet distant from it. One of the pinnacles of the tower



tower of Camborne-church fell through the roof, and has greatly damaged it. The roof of a large barn between Penryn and Truro was lifted whole and thrown upon the turnpike road at several yards distance, which for a considerable time prevented the passing of the mail-coach. A very great number of trees have been blown down at Carclew, Tregothan, &c. On the south-western part of the coast the storm was dreadful. Our channel fleet has suffered considerably. The following ships came into Plymouth with the loss of masts, yards, or other damage: the Dreadnought of 98 guns, the Neptune of 98, the Terrible of 74, the Plantagenet of 74. Our little squadron has also been driven in from off Boulogne, but without damage. A preternatural ebbing and flowing of the tide happened at the same time at Falmouth and Plymouth. A tremendous gale came on at Hull from the south-east. Two sloops were sunk in the Humber, at the south end, and another off the Long Jetty. During the night, a considerable part of a house, building in Osbourne-street, fell down; and some other buildings in and about that town have received trifling damage. At Scarborough the weather was uncommonly tempestuous. Five sail of ships were sunk there close to the harbour, all laden with coals; but happily no lives were lost.—Great numbers of dead bodies, however, continue daily to be thrown on shore by the waves along the whole coast. At Brighton, the wind blowing briskly from the south-west, the tide, though at neap, flowed as high, and more completely inundated the strand there, than is altogether usual when at full

spring. A large fragment of the cliff, to the east of the half-finished crescent, undermined by the water, fell in, and was partly washed away in the course of the night, leaving a chasm in the road which leads to Rottingdean, dangerous to pass, and frightful to behold. At Birmingham, and in the neighbourhood, considerable damage was done; at Eagebaston, Hampstead, and other places, several large trees were torn up by the roots. Very great injury was done to the roofs of several houses and other buildings in Gloucester and neighbourhood; and in various parts of the country, trees have been torn up by the roots, out-houses unroofed, and a variety of other losses. At Worcester, a stack of chimneys falling on the roof of a house occupied by Mr. Harris, attorney, in Edgar-street, great part of the roof was forced into one of the upper rooms, where the nurse-ry-maid was in bed, with two children under her care, and who was instantly killed, by a beam falling upon her neck; but the children were providentially taken out of the ruins, without any material injury. At Stapleton, near Bristol, a great part of the wall of the French prison was blown down; in consequence of which, one of the loyal Bristol light horse was sent off express to that city; and such was the expedition of the courier, that a reinforcement to the guard of 50 men arrived at the prison in the short space of three or four hours.—The orchards have sustained, throughout the cyder counties, the most material damage, and the mischief universally done is incalculable!

24th. In the court of king's bench, Mr. Erskine moved for a writ of *certiorari*,



*tiorari*, to remove into that court the conviction of Mr. Dowley before the magistrates of Surrey, for certain fines he had incurred while in the Southwark cavalry. Mr. Erskine admitted the legality of the conviction under the 43d of the king, chap. 121, section 14; but thought the case, taking the whole of the facts into consideration, a fit subject for their lordships' decision. Mr. Dowley admitted that he had enrolled himself in the corps alluded to; but, in his defence, said, "that he was no longer a member of the corps." He had received a letter from his commanding officer, informing him, that, if he did not attend certain drills, he would be dismissed. Mr. Dowley, finding such attendance wholly incompatible with his business as a corn-dealer, was compelled to write for answer, that he could not comply with the letter of instructions; and therefore sent in his resignation. This, however, was not accepted; the fines for non-attendance were imposed; and, a conviction taking place, a distress and sale was made of Mr. Dowley's property to the amount claimed. "The question," Mr. Erskine said, "for their lordships to decide was, whether or not Mr. Dowley, under the peculiar circumstances of the case, was subject to the fines; and that," said Mr. Erskine, "will depend upon his right to resign." The learned counsel then took a short review of all the volunteer acts; concluding with "his firm conviction that a volunteer, enrolled under the acts alluded to, had an unquestionable right to resign; and that the legislature considered the service purely spontaneous, trusting to the same motive for its continuance which has operated to give it birth. At

the same time he was aware, that the moment a member of a volunteer corps withdrew himself, or was discharged for neglect or other causes, from that moment he became amenable to the compulsory statutes; and, though he should have been previously exempted from the militia ballot by reason of his enrolment, yet, if drawn under that exemption, he was liable to be called on; and if the vacancy that he should have filled but for his then exemption be filled up, he might be made to serve as a supernumerary till a fresh vacancy should occur." After alluding to the necessity ministers had of checking the volunteer service of the country, which, he said, had nearly swallowed up the male population of the kingdom, Mr. Erskine called their lordships' attention again to Mr. Dowley, who, he would affirm, had withdrawn his services from no dishonourable motives. He was ready, Mr. Erskine said, to sacrifice his life in the service of his country; but it was important that he should not sacrifice his family. Mr. Erskine concluded by saying, that there was no want of volunteers, nor any necessity of forcing a continuance of their service longer than they were disposed to give it. Lord Ellenborough desired Mr. Erskine to take the *certiorari*.

A misunderstanding between Lieutenant-colonel Tierney (treasurer of the navy), and one of the companies of the Southwark volunteers, has led to the establishment of a principle applicable to the whole volunteer system. The Resolutions of the 3d company declared, "That as the choice of officers was vested in them in the first instance, so the right of election remained with them at the present time; expressing

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ing their surprise and dissatisfaction on the nomination, by the lieutenant-colonel, of a stranger to a vacant commission." These resolutions were submitted for the opinion of his majesty; and the king desired Mr. Yorke to write to Lord Teignmouth, the lord lieutenant of the county, to express his perfect approbation of Lieutenant-Colonel Tierney's conduct, and his concern that the company should entertain so erroneous an opinion of the terms on which the tender of their services was accepted; it never having been his majesty's intention that the vacancies which might happen amongst the officers of corps should be filled up in the manner which has been supposed. It adds, "The corps once being established, his majesty expects that your lordship, as vice-lieutenant in the county of Surry, will recommend proper persons to fill up the vacancies as they may arise among the officers, in the full confidence that the commanding officer of the corps will from time to time be consulted as to the merits and qualifications of such persons as may have pretensions to succeed." Lord Teignmouth communicated this letter to the corps; and farther observed, that it is his majesty's pleasure that the services of those individuals, who shall adhere to resolutions so adverse to a proper subordination, shall be discontinued; in which case he requested them to deliver up their arms, &c. These letters being read at the head of the regiment, the 3d company still persisted in their objections. They thought the letters of too serious a nature to be answered in a few minutes, and wished to have an opportunity of considering them. The company was then ordered to

be suspended until some future determination of the question. Each man went individually to the captain's house, and lodged his arms; it being their determination not to disband, if possible, but to hold themselves in readiness to answer any call which the country may have upon them. The light infantry company has also been suspended; and the 3d company have come to the determination of not returning without gaining the exercise of what they conceive to be their just privileges. They deny ever having heard Mr. Tierney say, that after the regiment was formed he would allow of no farther elections by the corps.

27th. A bill was filed by Lady Augusta Murray, in the court of chancery, against his R. H. the Duke of Sussex and Mr. Coutts, praying, among other things, that the defendant, Mr. Coutts, might be restrained, by an injunction of the court, from paying to his Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex a sum of 4,000*l.* per annum, part of an annual pension of 12,000*l.* settled upon his royal highness; and which sum of 4,000*l.* had been settled by deed upon Lady Augusta, in consideration of her educating and maintaining the children she already had, or might have, by his royal highness. It also stated, that Mr. Coutts received the 12,000*l.* under the authority of a power of attorney from the Duke of Sussex, who was at present at Lisbon, and out of the jurisdiction of the court. The motion was resisted, upon the ground that Mr. Coutts was merely authorized to receive this money under a letter of attorney, and accountable to his constituent alone for the application of it. The lord chancellor said, that he never recollected a similar



similar case, where the grantor of the deed was not before the court, and who, if present, might set up many objections, which might perhaps be fatal to the existence of the instrument. His lordship said, it was impossible, in this stage of the cause, to grant the injunction as prayed; but that he saw no objection to restrain Mr. Coutts from receiving the money at all at present; and, if the plaintiff chose to make any other motion, he should certainly hear it, assisted by the judgments of the master of the rolls and the lord chief justice of the common pleas.

28th. Some workmen digging to repair the pipes in Leadenhall-Street, opposite the East India House, ten feet below the surface of the street, struck upon something solid, which proved to be a beautiful tessellated pavement, forming, when entire, a square of nine feet, in the centre of which, within an elegantly-adorned circle of about three feet diameter, was a figure of Bacchus, in a green mantle, holding in his left hand a Thyrsis dressed with ivy; and in his right a goblet: his brows crowned with ivy; sitting on a tiger at full speed, his head inclined to the neck of the beast, who turns his head back upon the rider. This circle is surrounded by three circular borders of different patterns, and in each angle is a cup with two handles. The margin to the wall was filled up with plain red tiles. The pavement has been raised in pieces, under the direction of Mr. Wilkins, librarian to the Company, and deposited, for the present, in a room adjoining to the library, till it can be completely arranged and put together; when most probably the whole will be communicated to the public, through the medium of the well known taste

and patriotism of Mr. Wilkins. Fragments of an urn which contained a few bones were found at the same time.

31st. From the almost unprecedented mildness of the season, the crocus, snow-drop, polyanthus, and garden daisy are in full-bloom. The lilac and seringa are spreading their foliage, and the rooks and daws beginning to build.

The magnificent library of the late Thomas Astle, Esq. is, by the direction of his will, to be sold in the course of the spring; a collection highly interesting to the lovers of literature in general, but particularly to the lovers of English antiquity and English history. It will be matter of great gratification to those who know how to appreciate that splendid collection of Saxon characters, Saxon MSS. ancient registers, and other documents, tending to the illustration of our early Constitution and history (and to which the public are so highly indebted for many of the learned essays presented to them by Mr. Astle), that they are not to be separated; but are bequeathed by him to his noble friend the Marquis of Buckingham, to be added to his magnificent library at Stowe; which will now have the singular advantage of uniting in it, and that of the venerable and learned Charles O'Connor, the Antiquary of Ireland, the most valuable and the earliest illustrations of Irish and of Saxon antiquity. The condition of the legacy is, that the marquis pay 500l. to Mr. A's executors. Should this be declined, the MSS. are to be offered on the same terms to the British Museum. Many of the ancient Saxon rolls and charters have been already communicated to the public; and the specimens of the  
Irish



Irish MSS.\* so far as they tend to illustrate the remote history of that kingdom, its laws, its customs, and the progress of society and sciences in it, have been for some years digested, under the immediate eye of the Marquis, by the grandson of the very learned collector of these valuable materials, and will, we trust, speedily make an inestimable addition to this most interesting branch of literature.

DIED.—3d. At Grantham, aged 100, Mrs. Dewie.

## FEBRUARY.

1st. A robbery of an extraordinary nature was lately committed in Paris: it consisted of a fine coronet of emeralds, the property of a Madame Demidoff; and the robber proves to be the Countess of Schwiechelt, a young and beautiful lady from Hanover. She had made herself acquainted with the place where it was kept, and at a ball given by its owner, the Hanoverian lady contrived to purloin it. The theft has been proved, and the beautiful thief conducted to prison. Her youth and rank in life have induced many persons to solicit her pardon; but it is generally believed that Buonaparte will leave her to the punishment to which she has been condemned. The love of play, and to repair the immediate loss of 50,000 livres, impelled this lady to commit this criminal act.

2nd. In the court of common pleas a cause was tried, in which a horse-dealer was charged with having sold an *unsound* horse. The plaintiff, on putting the horse to his cart, to draw a load of not more than four hundred weight, heard him begin, when

he had gone not more than twenty yards, to *roar* most dreadfully, and it turned out that he was, what is called in the jockey phrase, a *roarer*. A conditional verdict was given for the plaintiff, subject to the opinion of the court. In the course of this trial, Lord Alvanly, the Lord Chief Justice, told the following story:

“Some years ago,” said his Lordship, “an action was brought against a gentleman at the bar, respecting a horse, which he had bought to go the circuit upon. The horse was taken home, and his servant mounted him to shew his paces; when he was on the animal’s back, he would not stir a step; he tried to turn him *round and round*, but he was determined not to go the *circuit*. The horse-dealer was informed of the animal’s obstinacy, and asked by the purchaser how he came to sell him such a horse? “Well,” said the dealer, “it can’t be helped, give me back the horse, allow me five pounds, and we’ll settle the affair.” The barrister refused, and advised him to send the horse to be broke in by a *rough rider*. “Rough rider,” said the dealer, “he has been to rough riders enough.”—“How came you to sell me a horse that would not go?” rejoined the barrister. “I sold you a horse *warranted sound*, and sound he is,” concluded the dealer,” “but as to his going, I never thought *he would go*.”

According to the last returns made of the effective force in the united kingdom, the total numbers are, in Great Britain, 380,193; in Ireland, 82,941; making all together a patriot army of four hundred and sixty three thousand one hundred and thirty-four men!!!

4th. The following letter on the

\* Vide the article in the Review of Books, p. 936, of our last Volume.



state of his affairs, was this day addressed by Alderman Boydell to his friend Sir John W. Anderson, and read by the latter in the House of Commons, when applying for leave to dispose of the paintings, &c. by lottery :

Dear Sir, *Cheapside, Feb. 4.*

The kindness with which you have undertaken to represent my case, calls upon me to lay open to you, with the utmost candour, the circumstances attending it, which I will now endeavour to do as briefly as possible. It is above 60 years since I began to study the art of engraving, in the course of which time, besides employing that long period of life in my profession, with an industry and assiduity that would be improper in me to describe, I have laid out with my brethren, in promoting the commerce of the fine arts in this country, above 350,000*l.* When I first began business, the whole commerce of prints in this country consisted in importing foreign prints, principally from France, to supply the cabinets of the curious in this kingdom. Impressed with the idea that the genius of our own countrymen, if properly encouraged, was equal to that of foreigners, I set about establishing a *School of Engraving in England*; with what success the public is well acquainted. It is, perhaps, at present sufficient to say, that the whole course of that commerce is changed; very few prints being now imported into this country, while the foreign market is principally supplied with prints from England. In effecting this favourite plan, I have not only spent a long life, but have employed near 40 years of the labour of my nephew, Josiah Boydell, who has been bred to the business, and whose as-

sistance during that period has been greatly instrumental in promoting a school of engraving in this country. By the blessing of Providence, these exertions have been very successful; not only in that respect, but in a commercial point of view; for, the large sums I regularly received from the Continent, previous to the French Revolution, for impressions taken from the numerous plates engraved in England, encouraged me to attempt also an *English School of Historical Painting*. I had observed with indignation, that the want of such a school had been long made a favourite topic of opprobrium against this country among foreign writers on national taste. No subject therefore could be more appropriate for such a national attempt, than England's inspired poet, and great painter of nature, Shakspeare; and I flatter myself, the most prejudiced foreigner must allow that the Shakspeare Gallery will convince the world, that Englishmen want nothing but the fostering hand of encouragement to bring forth their genius in this line of art. I might go further; and defy any of the Italian, Flemish, or French schools, to show, in so short a space of time, such an exertion as the Shakspeare Gallery; and if they could have made such an exertion, the pictures would have been marked with all that monotonous sameness which distinguishes those different schools. Whereas in the Shakspeare Gallery every artist, partaking of the freedom of his country, and endowed with that originality of thinking so peculiar to its natives, has chosen his own road to what he conceived to be excellence, unshackled by the slavish imitation and uniformity that pervade all the foreign schools.

This



This gallery I once flattered myself with being able to have left to that generous public, who have for so long a period encouraged my undertakings; but unfortunately for those connected with the fine arts, a Vandalic revolution has arisen, which, in convulsing all Europe, has entirely extinguished, except in this happy island, all those who had the taste or the power to promote those arts; while the tyrant that at present governs France, tells that believing and besotted nation, that in the midst of all his robbery and rapine, he is a great patron and promoter of the fine arts; just as if those arts that humanize and polish mankind could be promoted by such means and by such a man. You will excuse, my dear Sir, I am sure, some warmth in an old man on this subject, when I inform you, that this unhappy revolution has cut up by the roots that revenue from the Continent which enabled me to undertake such considerable works in this country. At the same time, as I am laying my case fairly before you, it should not be disguised that my natural enthusiasm for promoting the fine arts (perhaps buoyed up by success), made me improvident. For had I laid by but ten pounds out of every hundred pounds my plates produced, I should not now have had occasion to trouble my friends, or appeal to the public; but, on the contrary, I flew with impatience to employ some new artist with the whole gains of my former undertakings. I see too late my error; for I have thereby decreased my ready money, and increased my stock of copper-plates to such a size, that all the printsellers in Europe could not purchase it, especially at these times so unfavourable to the arts. Having thus candidly

owned my error, I have but one word to say in extenuation. My receipts from abroad had been so large, and continued so regular, that I at all times found them fully adequate to support my undertakings at home—I could not calculate on the présent crisis, which has totally annihilated them—I certainly calculated on some defalcation of these receipts, by a French or Spanish war, or both; but with France or Spain I carried on but little commerce—Flanders, Holland, and Germany, who, no doubt, supplied the rest of Europe, were the great marts; but alas! they are now no more. The convulsion that has disjointed and ruined the whole Continent, I did not foresee—I know no man that did. On that head, therefore, though it has nearly ruined me and mine, I can take but little blame to myself. In this state of things, I throw myself with confidence upon that public, who has always been but too partial to my poor endeavours, for the disposal of that which, in happier days, I flattered myself to have presented to them. I know of no means by which that can be effected just now but by a lottery; and if the legislature will have the goodness to grant a permission for that purpose, they will at least have the assurance of the even tenour of a long life, that it will be fairly and honourably conducted. The objects of it are my pictures, galleries, drawings, &c. &c. which, unconnected with my copper-plates and trade, are much more than sufficient to pay, if properly disposed of, all I owe in the world. I hope you, my dear Sir, and every honest man, at any age, will feel for my anxiety to discharge my debts, but at my advanced age of 85, I feel it becomes doubly desirable. I am, dear Sir,

with



with great regard, your obedient and obliged servant, JOHN BOYDELL.

6th. The court of king's bench came to a decision in the case of the king *v.* Dowley,\* in which was involved the question "Whether a volunteer had a right to resign or not?" when Lord Ellenborough stated it as the opinion of the court, that such right did exist; and that the conviction of Mr. Dowley could not be sustained, and ought to be quashed.

7th. Mr. John Pauley put a period to his existence, by nearly severing his head from his body at a barber's shop, Charles-street, Portman-square, whither he went on pretence of getting himself shaved. The barber's wife being the only person at home, the deceased got possession of a razor, and effected his purpose. Coroner's verdict—Lunacy.

11th. The sun was this day visibly eclipsed. The following were the particulars for London:

	H.	M.
Beginning of the		
Eclipse . . .	10	27
Greatest Obscu-		
ration . . .	11	39
End of the		
Eclipse . . .	12	55
Digits eclipsed	8 deg.	36 min.

About half past six o'clock it blew a most terrible storm, and rained the whole morning, and during the eclipse, particularly, it poured a torrent.

14th. His majesty became so much indisposed at the queen's house, as to require the close attendance of Sir Francis Milman, Doctor Heberden, and Doctor Dun-

das, of Richmond, during the whole day. At 12 o'clock the following bulletin was issued, and shewn to the nobility and gentry who came to enquire after his majesty's health:

*Feb. 14, 1804.*

"His majesty is much indisposed to-day."

A coroner's inquest was held on the body of Mr. Lacey, attorney, of Bread-Street-Hill, who, the preceding evening, cut his throat with a razor in a dreadful manner. By the evidence it appeared that the fact was committed during a paroxysm of the gout in the head, with which the deceased was severely afflicted. Verdict—Lunacy.

An ewe, belonging to Mr. Thomas Evans, jun. of Eastington, Gloucestershire, yeaned 6 lambs, all of which appear healthy and are likely to live. When dropped, they were nearly as large as lambs usually are at their yeaning.

15th. The bulletin of the king's health was couched in the following terms:

"His majesty is to-day much the same as he was yesterday."

16th. This day Mr. Astlett† was put to the bar; and the judge, after recapitulating the counts of the indictment on which he was convicted, noticed the opinion of the twelve judges, the majority of whom had determined that the embezzlement of the bills by the prisoner had subjected him to the penalty of the act of the 15th Geo. II.; or, in other words, that he was guilty of felony as laid in the indictment.—On the Monday following, the recorder passed sentence of death upon him.

\* Vide Chronicle for January, p. 361.

† Vide Chronicle of last year's Volume, p. 403.



The bulletin of the king's situation was as follows this day :

“ No material alteration in his majesty since yesterday.”

17th. At the recommendation of the cabinet ministers, two more physicians, namely, Sir Lucas Pepys and Doctor Reynolds, were this day called in to consult upon the king's situation : their united report was in these words :

“ His Majesty has had several hours sleep, and seems refreshed by it.”

18th. Brigadier General Picton, late governor of the island of Trinidad, appeared before the lord chief justice, and gave bail, himself in 1000*l.* and two sureties in 500*l.* each, to answer to an indictment upon which a bill was found the last day of term, by the grand jury of Middlesex, for the infliction of tortures on Louisa Calderon, a free Spanish girl, under fourteen years of age.

The bulletin of his majesty's health, signed by the four physicians, was this day as follows :

“ His majesty is much the same as yesterday, and we do not apprehend him to be in danger.”

From this date till the 26th, there was little variation in the daily statements, and the public solicitude about his majesty was excited to the greatest degree. The alarm experienced by all descriptions of persons on this sudden, violent, and calamitous indisposition, was commensurate with the high stake at issue. Every man conceived his individual interest implicated ; every man sympathised in the sufferings, and dreaded the loss of him who was to his subjects a father and a friend. On Sunday, the 26th, however, the bulletins assumed a tone of gradual amendment, and the follow-

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ing form of thanksgiving and prayer was offered up at the numerous chapels and churches of the metropolis, including the limits of the bills of mortality, upon the prospect of his majesty's speedy recovery from his dangerous illness :

“ O Almighty God, we render unto thee our unfeigned thanks and praise, that thou hast vouchsafed to be merciful and gracious to this kingdom, in granting to thy servant, our sovereign, the hope and prospect of a speedy recovery from his dangerous sickness. Confirm and establish, we beseech thee, O Lord, the work which thou hast begun. Make the light of thy countenance to shine upon him, and renew in him his perfect strength. Grant that he may long continue a nursing father to thy church, and thy minister for good to all his subjects ; and that, in the present crisis, he may be thy blessed instrument of restoring peace to the distracted world. And when thou hast lengthened his days on earth, in the enjoyment both of domestic happiness, and of public peace and prosperity, crown him, O Lord, with everlasting glory in the life to come, through Jesus Christ our Lord and Saviour.— Amen.”

22d. Early in the present week, after having received the compliments of the different prisoners of the French republic, at Ashburn, on their parole, General Rochambeau (captured at St. Domingo) gave an elegant dinner at his lodgings, in the market-place : at which were present Generals Boyer and Puget, le Capitain de frigate Mandelat (taken early in the present war, off Martinique, by the Hon. Captain Paget, in the *Endymion*), and several other officers. This has been followed by

B b

similar



similar complimentary parties by the other generals, who frequently walk with their general en chef. Their appearance to a stranger is somewhat singular, being a half-military undress, consisting of blue riding-frocks, military pantaloons, boots, spurs, round hats, and a band of tri-coloured ribbon, and cockade of the same colour, of the size of a half-crown piece. Gen. Rochambeau has solicited to be indulged with a horse, fearing, by the deprivation of the accustomed exercise, to add to the injuries his health has already received by his fatigues and hardships while in St. Domingo, which appear, if one may attach credence to his relation, to have been dreadful in the extreme. "Pressed almost to death by the effects of absolute famine, and after having, for some time, wretchedly appeased the wasting calls of hunger, by feeding on our horses, mules, asses, and even dogs, we had no way to escape the poniards of the enraged negroes, but by trusting our fate to the sea, on which we were taken by the English *pirates*." These are the captured general's words, the last of which seems to be a most ungracious term of acknowledgment to the brave commanders of those vessels, who, though as prisoners, bore him and his suite with full swelled sails from the fury of the most terrible and powerful of enemies!"

25th. This morning a fire broke out at Messrs. Wild and Barrington's, cheesemongers, Charing-cross, in consequence, as is supposed, of a light having been left unextinguished in the shop. The flames communicated to the house of Mr. Thomas Butcher, which they also consumed. The houses of Mr. Four-

drinier, Place, and Tapster's baths, were considerably damaged. A maid servant perished in the flames.

28th. The public mind was still farther assured in the probability of his majesty's convalescence by the bulletin of this day, which stated the opinion of the physicians in these words:

"We have the same favourable opinion of his majesty's progressive amendment as we had yesterday."

And by the declaration of the minister (Mr. Addington) in his place in the house of commons, "that there is not at this time a necessary suspension of the exercise of the royal authority."

At Carlisle, some eminently valuable and curious Roman sacrificial vases have been discovered in Sewell's-Lane, Scotch-Street, which, both from their rarity, and from the elegance of the workmanship, must be extremely precious in the eyes of the antiquary. The name that the vase is generally distinguished by is *præfericulum*, and it is understood to have been appropriated to holding the incense, &c. used in the sacrifice. Many of these have been brought from Greece and Sicily, and have been highly estimated by the curious, for the elegance of the workmanship, and the beauty of the relief in the ornaments. But the Grecian vessels are principally of fine clay, or bronze. These vases we are speaking of, we believe, are the first which have been discovered in Britain; and the sculpture of such a vessel but once appears among all the altars found in this country: it is on a beautiful Roman altar, discovered at Ellenborough, which was removed to Flat-hall, at Whitehaven, and is now in the possession of Lord Viscount Lowther.



Lowther. This altar is inscribed, "*Genio loci, Fortunæ reduci, Romæ Æternæ, et Fato bono,*" &c. It is said to be the most curious Roman altar that ever was discovered in Britain, and it is particularly described both by Camden and Horsley, who go into a long train of conjectures respecting the instruments sculptured on its sides, which are the *præfericulum*, the *patera*, the axe, and the knife.—The metal which the vases in question are formed of, seems to be a composition of refined brass, capable of receiving a very high polish, and so flexible that it allowed the artificer to form them excessively thin. At the top and bottom of the vases it is evident that they have been turned and finished in a lathe. From there being no accompanying altar or inscription, we regret that we cannot suppose exactly the time of the empire when these sacred vessels have been used. The only guide is the elegant sculpture of the handles, which consists of four tiers of groupes of figures, in excellent workmanship, and all apparently illustrative of sacrifice. The uppermost seems to be two persons holding, or preparing, a cow or bullock for sacrifice; the next, a person taking hold of a hog for the same purpose; the third, a priest clothed in his robes, standing at an altar, holding something on it; the lower one, which is the most beautiful, is, on the one side, a man clothed in complete armour, holding a knife, as if going to sacrifice a sheep or a lamb, which another person below holds for that purpose; on the other side the priest stands, with another knife or sword, attending the ceremony. These vases are, from their extreme rarity, and from

other causes, unquestionably of much greater value than was at first set upon them.

DIED.—2d. At Wallace town, Ayr, Jane George, aged 110 years and 10 months. This woman was born at Edinburgh, never had any illness, retained her faculties to the last, and died without a struggle.

She attended the late Earl of Eglington in his infancy, and has enjoyed a pension from that noble family ever since. In her 47th year she had a son, who is now in his 64th year.

11th. Mr. John Miller, of Lane-End, Staffordshire, aged 106. He was attended by thirty friends to the grave, whose united ages amounted to 1296!

13th. At Kingston, at the advanced age of 109 years, George Gregory, supposed to be the last of the crew of the *Centurion*, which ship bore Lord Anson in his circum-navigation. He never knew a day's illness since he went to sea in 1714.

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## MARCH.

1st. This morning, between one and two o'clock, a fire was discovered in the large factory at Garratmill, in Manchester, belonging to Messrs. Wood and Foster, and in the occupation of several persons. It was soon one immense blaze, and in less than two hours the building was reduced to a mere shell. The damage is estimated at 20,000l.

This morning a fire broke out at the house of Mr. Laperte, No. 21, Winchester-Row, Paddington, and though the damage done to the premises has been comparatively trifling, it has been attended by dread-



ful consequences. Some persons were alarmed by a smell of fire, and soon observed whence it proceeded; on entering the room, two of the children, one of five and the other seven years of age, were found suffocated, and burnt almost to a cinder. A third, aged 15, although dreadfully burnt, was still living, and medical assistance being immediately procured, there are strong hopes of its recovery.

3d. This day at a hunt near Kinswood, Northumberland, the fox being hard pressed, took shelter in a cleft of a high rock. The hunters provided themselves with spades and mattocks, wrought for a considerable time, until they were upon the point of reaching the fox, when one of them, by putting in a lever, gave a shock to the rock, which was near 40 feet high, and it immediately gave way, and three men who were on the top, with some hundred tons of the rock, were hurled together down the precipice. The ponderous load shivered several trees in its way, and two of the men were almost buried beneath the fragments; the third was cast down to the bottom, and in the act of recovering his feet, when a large shiver of the rock struck him lifeless. The former two were taken out much bruised, and there are but slender hopes of their recovery.

5th. This day the grand jury at Oxford found a true bill against the Rev. Lockhard Gordon, and Mr. Laudoun Gordon:\* it consisted of several counts, and charged them with haying, “to the great displeasure of Almighty God, the disparagement of Rachael Fanny Antonina Lee, and the evil example of

his majesty’s subjects, forcibly carried away and defiled her, contrary to the statute.

6th. The prisoners were put to the bar, and Mr. Mills, for the prosecution, opened the case, by describing it as the most violent and extraordinary outrage that had ever been submitted to a jury, and adverting to the statute of Henry VIIIth. shewed that the crime of the prisoners amounted to felony, without benefit of clergy. In conclusion he said, that Mrs. Lee was the natural daughter of the late Lord Le Despencer, who left her property to the amount of 70,000*l.* She ran away with Matthew Allen Lee, Esq. and was married to him at Haddington, in Scotland, but parting with him, she resigned 1,200*l.* per annum, with power to will away the moiety. She had become acquainted with the Gordons from having been at school with their mother at Kensington, and her intimacy was renewed in December last. On Sunday, the 15th of January, they dined together, and Mrs. Lee was carried off.

Mrs. Westgarth, the first witness, with whom the prisoners lodged in Alsop’s buildings, proved the extreme embarrassment of their affairs. She had hired the chaise by their order.—Janet Davidson proved the forcibly carrying off of her mistress, which testimony was strengthened by the corroboratory evidence of William Martin, Sarah Hunt, and others.—Two post-boys were next called; one of whom said, that Lockhart threatened to shoot him if he did not make haste. There was however not the slightest appearance of force; the lady  
*laughed*

\* Vide Chronicle, p. 359.



laughed when she got into the chaise.

Mrs. Lee was last called.—She very pointedly denied her acquiescence in being carried away, and said, she had frequently advised them to desist; and that, in various parts of the transaction, she was so much agitated as not to know what was going forward. On her cross examination, Mr. Abbott asked her if, when she left her house, she had not a steel necklace about her neck, to which was suspended a bag with camphor in it? Whether it were not customary with some people to wear such a thing as an amulet or charm, to stifle passions, more particularly that of love?—This she admitted. He then asked her, if she did not remember throwing it out of the chaise-window, on some part of her journey, with such an expression as this:—“I have no more need of this charm; I have given myself up, and now welcome pleasure.”

Mrs. Lee.—“I had my common dress steel necklace on which I usually wear—I threw it out of the window—I cannot say when, nor can I say that it was before we came to Uxbridge.—I said, that it was my charm against pleasure—I had no occasion for it now, at that moment I gave myself up—I afterwards expostulated. I believe the word charm applies to the medical properties of camphor—I wore it as a sedative—it is supposed to calm the passions and quiet the nerves.—I went up stairs at Tetsworth, the chambermaid asked me when I should be in bed, or when the gentleman should come up? I said, in about 20 minutes. I was then under the impression that my life was in danger from Lockhart, and also of some serious scuffle at the inn, in which

blood might be lost. I recollect inquiries were made as to the health of Laudoun—don’t recollect giving advice that the sheets should be well aired. When I thought it inevitable I gave myself up—my demeanour might be such from desperation as to give Laudoun an idea that he might approach my bed.”

Mr. Abbott asked her if her notions of religion were not sceptical. She answered yes, and that she had not been to church for several years.

Here the trial was stopped. Judge Lawrence entered into a conversation with Mr. Abbott, and the counsel, on the part of the prosecution. The latter admitted that no compulsion was used to bring her into the county of Oxford, she having declared her free consent, when she threw away her charm. On which, after a few minutes charge to the jury, the prisoners were acquitted.

7th. At a numerous and respectable meeting of persons of various descriptions and denominations, held this day at the London Tavern, Granville Sharpe, Esq. in the chair, a society was formed for the circulation of the Holy Scriptures, whose object is grand and simple: viz.—“To promote the circulation of the Holy Scriptures in the principal living languages.” In such an object all sincere christians of every description may cordially unite.

The society looks with confidence to liberal support, both at home and abroad, in pursuance of the broad and extensive scale upon which it is formed, and which has commenced with a very handsome subscription. Three secretaries of different religious persuasions have been appointed, namely, the Rev. Josiah Pratt, lecturer of the



united parishes of St. Mary, Woolnoth, and St. Mary, Woolchurch; the Rev. Joseph Hughs, dissenting preacher at Battersea; and the Rev. Charles Frederick Steinkopff, minister of the Lutheran church in the Savoy.

10th. A fatal event terminated the life of Thomas Pitt, the second Lord Camelford, (for the particulars of which see "the deaths" of this month, at the end of the chronicle.)

17th. The members of the benevolent society of St. Patrick held their annual meeting this day at the Crown and Anchor Tavern. At about 6 o'clock Lord Hutchinson took the chair, and the company sat down to dinner; after which the children supported by the charity were introduced, and walked round the room. Their appearance, which bespoke cleanliness and sound nourishment, and their natural concomitant, the bloom of health, was observed by the society with the most grateful satisfaction. The treasurer then reported the state of the funds to the society, and the additions made to them in the course of the last year. Lord Darnley having proposed the health of Lord Hutchinson, which was drank with every expression of applause, his lordship returned his cordial thanks. "It was his fate," he said, "in succeeding to his noble friend who filled the chair last year, to recal to the recollection of the company the manly and eloquent exhortation in which his predecessor had then addressed them. His noble friend had then warned them, that they were engaged in a contest for every thing that was dear and valuable to a nation. If the dangers which then menaced the country were great and

formidable, they were still more so at the present moment; they being immediately over us, they were urgent and called for the most cautious preparations—the most determined resistance! It was doubtless unnecessary to arouse their courage, or stimulate their exertions on such an occasion. His countrymen had only to recollect the cause in which they were engaged, and the necessity they were under to support their ancient fame. They should also recollect that it was peculiar in their history, that they never had to contest against a single rival, when their efforts were not crowned with victory. Such proud recollections should fully animate their hopes, and tell them that, while they continue to be influenced by the same heroic sentiments, they must continue to be invincible on their own shores. Whatever then may be the difference of opinion of those who heard him, on religious or political points, he was convinced that they must be all animated with one common sentiment, in resolving to resist the encroachments and ambition of a power that seems to have sworn to embroil the peace of Europe, and who more prominently betrays his rancorous jealousy of the commerce and prosperity of this country, and of the wealth and strength that redounds from the commerce and prosperity to the British empire at large. On these topics, however, he should not now further dilate; but remind the meeting of the object of the humane institution which they were called together to patronise. Such an institution could alone take its rise from Christian charity, which embraces the interests of all mankind, and which have more particularly directed its attention to the relief of un-



unoffending innocence and unprotected youth, who were strangers, in some measure, in the land, and who could look for no parochial assistance. It was for the wisdom of those whose generosity was this day called forth in behalf of those innocents, not only to direct its beneficial operation towards the particular country to which they belong, but to give it a wider scope, and make it tend to the service and benefit of the empire at large." The noble lord, after again assuring the meeting of his own grateful feelings, proposed the health of a noble friend, which he was confident the company would receive with the same satisfaction with which he gave it; for they would feel with him, that his noble friend was universally acknowledged to be the boast and ornament of this country—it was unnecessary to add, that he meant the earl of Moira. It is impossible to describe the ardour of enthusiastic affection with which this toast was received, or the eloquent effusion of gratitude in which the compliment was acknowledged by the noble earl. "The noble president," he humorously observed, "was anxious to prove himself an Irishman, in recommending himself to their notice by a blunder; for nothing but a blunder could have made his noble friend stumble upon such an extravagant encomium as that which he was pleased to bestow upon him. Indeed, it evinced that generous disposition which holds in abhorrence the depreciation of merit, and which, by a contrary impulse, prompts to extol it by an extravagance of praise. To such praise he had but little claim; if, indeed, he were entitled to the slightest shadow of such a distinction, he was conscious that

the prominent motive in his mind, and that which alone could endear him to his countrymen, was the fear of staining the shamrock. So far he aspired to the distinction conferred upon him by his noble friend; but that distinction was applicable to the whole company, as a national assembly. But it should not be merely national in its effects, it should be made to extend to the defence and protection of the whole empire; and this, he trusted, would be a principal object of the meeting, whose charity would not be confined to merely feeding and cloathing the children they patronised, but infusing into them the spirit, and those principles which might be displayed for the advantage and glory of the empire. As to the fear of staining the shamrock, it was a sentiment which not only glowed in his breast, but which vibrated in every heart of every individual of the country to which he was proud to belong, and of which he here stood the representative. It was to that sentiment he confidently looked, as the parent of many heroic deeds in the present moment of peril—it was that sentiment which must prompt his countrymen to the manly exertions which their country's cause now required at their hands. The situation in which we stood reminded him of an old saying which prevailed in his part of the country, viz. that "an old castle of bones is worth more than an old castle of stones." It was to the hearts and energies of men, that the honour and security of the empire was now to be entrusted. The fear of staining the shamrock must therefore teach them to trample danger under foot, and to arouse themselves from any thing like sullen security and indolent



indolent repose. The united energies of the three kingdoms were now to be called into action, and he hoped that Ireland would not be the last to contribute her share, assert her loyalty, and vindicate her ancient fame." The noble earl's speech was received with long-protracted peals of applause.

22d. This morning, a fire broke out in a court near the obelisk, in St. George's fields, and a poor infirm woman perished in the flames.

24th. This night, a fire broke out in the upper part of the house of Mr. Adams, of Charlotte-street, Bloomsbury; which consumed the same.

25th. This morning, a stage erected across the passage of St. George's dock, Liverpool, for the repairing it, gave way, by which two workmen were killed, and seven men and two women dreadfully bruised.

29th. The restoration of his majesty's health, may be said to be entirely confirmed, by the discontinuance of the official bulletins respecting it; and in the happy termination of his illness, the prayers of a dutiful and loyal people have been heard.

DIED.—7th. At Littleton, near Wells, Samuel Curtis, aged 107.

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## APRIL.

1st. Intelligence was this day received in London of the murder of the duke D'Enghien, (son of the duke de Bourbon and grandson of the prince of Condé), at Paris, by order of that scourge of the human race, Bonaparte. The particulars, as well as they can be collected from the most credible sources of information, are as follow:

On the 20th of March the Duc D'Enghien having been apprehended,

a special commission was formed by general Murat, for the purpose of bringing him to trial. The commission was opened at the castle of Vincennes, and included six charges, viz. 1st, of having carried arms against the French republic; 2d, of having offered his services to the English government; 3d, of receiving, and having, with accredited agents of that government, procured means of obtaining intelligence in France, and conspiring against the security of the state; 4th, that he was at the head of a body of French and other emigrants paid by England, formed on the frontiers of France, in the districts of Fribourg and Baden; 5th, of having attempted to foment intrigues at Strasburg, with the view of creating a rising in the adjacent departments, for the purpose of operating a diversion favourable to England; and 6th, that he was concerned in the conspiracy for the assassination of the first consul.—The prisoner was then introduced, and interrogated as to his name, birth, age, &c.; and was allowed to speak in his defence. The members were next asked if they had any thing to say on the subject; when they all answered in the negative, and the accused was conducted back to prison. The court then deliberated for some time with closed doors; and the result was, that they unanimously found the prisoner guilty of all the charges. Sentence of death was immediately passed on him, on the ground of having acted as a spy, and corresponding with the enemies of the republic. The following are the names of the commission, all of whom are chief officers: Guiton, Bazancourt, Ravier, Barrois, Rabbe, d'Autancourt, captain reporter; Molin, captain register; and Hulen, president.



dent. The sentence of the Duke D'Enghien took place in the night between the 21st and the 22d. He was shot in the Bois de Vincennes about 2 o'clock in the morning. The prince was brought from Ettenheim on the evening of the 20th, in a coach and six, under an escort of 50 gens d'armes, and carried to the temple, but not imprisoned there, his conductors finding an order to convey him to the castle of Vincennes. What is termed a military commission was immediately assembled. The prince was so extremely fatigued with his journey, that he could scarcely refrain from sleep even in this critical moment. He desired to speak with the first consul, but this could not be permitted. He then collected himself, and met death with firmness. It is said that he would not suffer his eyes to be bound. Several generals were present when he was shot. [It is remarkable, that the intelligence of the above melancholy event is not given in the Paris papers; but in the *Hamburgh correspondenten*, which, however, is well known to be completely under French influence, and would not dare to insert a fabrication.] The private accounts of the execution all agree, that the duke refused to be bound, and died with a degree of fortitude worthy of the descendants of the ancient kings of France. It appears that, for 24 hours after his murder, petitions for him were presented by the duke de Liancourt, and several other of his friends, thro' the means of madame Bonaparte; and in the senate, on the 22d, Lanjunaïs proposed to *advise* the first consul to grant him a pardon; observing in strong language on the danger of accustoming him to blood in civil causes. It is also asserted,

that Bonaparte desired general Mortier to be president of the military commission which condemned the duke, but he declined it. General Hulen was then appointed, (the son of a washerwoman, and formerly a servant in the workhouses of the court of Versailles.) After sentence was passed, the duke asked if he could see Bonaparte? "Yes," said Hulen, "if you have any discoveries to make." "Discoveries!" answered the duke, with indignation—"carry me to the place of execution." From the time of his arrest, he had never been allowed to dress, shave, or change his linen; and in his dungeon he had nothing but straw. The generals who attended his execution were Murat, Mortier, Hulen, and Louis Bonaparte, escorted by 50 mamelukes, and 4 aids-de-camp. Each mameluke held a flambeau; and 200 gens d'armes, and 300 men of the *Italian* troops, surrounded the castle. Of the nine grenadiers who fired at him, seven hit him. Immediately after the execution, he was buried in the garden of the castle. He was 32 years of age. The manner in which he was taken is thus detailed in private letters from Strasbourg: a party of emigrants had been for some time assembling in the neighbourhood of Ettenheim and Offenbourg, territories of the elector of Baden; of which notice having been sent to the first consul, he dispatched M. de Caulincourt, his aid-de-camp, who arrived on the 14th ult.; and, ordering the gate leading into Germany to be opened, marched through it, with several general officers, towards the right bank of the Rhine. The next morning they crossed the river with a strong detachment of troops; and, arriving at Offenbourg, ordered the commandant to



to point out the emigrants in the town, of whom 15 were immediately arrested. Besides the duke D'Enghien, it is said that two Englishmen of distinction were taken; but this report is not credited. Every exertion is made by the French to convince the inhabitants, whose territory they have violated, that the persons apprehended were in the pay of England, and that one of their objects was to gain possession of the citadel, and turn the artillery against the people.—No resistance was made to this irruption by the elector of Baden; but an account of the outrage was dispatched to his son-in-law, the emperor of Russia.—It is said, that as soon as the news of the duke being in custody reached Paris, orders were received by the telegraph that he should be immediately conveyed thither. The distance is 400 miles; and he was chained hand and foot the whole way.

Letters from Paris describe, in the strongest terms, the disgust and indignation of the people at the late inhuman murder of the duke D'Enghien. Bonaparte has appeared once since at the theatre; but the moment he entered, half the audience withdrew.

2d. Nearly 40 sail of the British outward bound West India fleet, and their convoy, the Apollo frigate, were lost upon the coast of Portugal, in the morning before day-break, between cape Mondego and Aveiro. The Apollo sailed from the cove of Cork on the 26th of March, in company with the Carysfort frigate, whose original destination was to the Madeiras. Among the persons who have perished are the captain, the third lieutenant, and about 100 of the crew of the Apollo. The crews and cargoes of many of the vessels

were saved; and the rest of the fleet proceeded with the Carysfort for their original destination.

Two nests of coiners have been discovered at Birmingham. At one place the constables were obliged to shoot a large mastiff, before they could approach to the house; but this act so intimidated the fellows within, that they permitted themselves to be taken without resistance, except throwing some bags of base metal out of the window upon the party, to prevent them from being found upon the premises. As many implements however were discovered as filled a cart; and a quantity of finished coin was found between the beds and sacking.

A melancholy circumstance occurred at Docking. Thomas Callaby, who had been only a few days discharged from Bethel-hospital in Norwich (and who appeared to have recovered his senses), went to bed on Saturday the 7th inst. apparently composed and easy; but about 2 o'clock in the morning he arose from his bed, under pretence of being thirsty, when he secured a case-knife which he had hid in his shoe, and about 4 o'clock the same morning stabbed his wife in a dreadful manner; cut the throat of his grandchild, about 3 years of age; and also stabbed his daughter, the mother of the child. The maniac was at length confined by his neighbours, to whom the alarm was given by the son, who escaped from the house, or the event might have been much more dreadful. The child is since dead, but the wife and daughter are likely to recover.

5th. The lightning struck a house at the Five Ways, near Birmingham, entering down the chimney, and out of the fire-place in a vivid flash, which



which burnt the muslin the lady of the house was working, scorched the chair on which she was sitting, and lifted a flower-pan through the parlour window two or three yards, bursting out two of the panes of glass, and cracking three others. The lady, though much alarmed, providentially received no personal injury; but the room retained a strong smell of sulphur for many hours. No lightning was perceived out of the house, nor any thunder heard but what appeared to be very distant.

A man sowing oats in the neighbourhood of Ingatestone, co. Essex, was this day struck dead by lightning: an oak tree was at the same time completely stripped of its bark and branches.

Of all the different species hitherto discovered of the genus scolopax, or the woodcock, belonging to the order of Gratae, one of the most extraordinary was shot by the gamekeeper of the Rev. Mr. Stephens, of Ludgvan, Oxfordshire, in an inclosure near the parsonage-house, called Coopers Croft. The head, tail, and extremity of the wings are of a milk white, the bill and legs of a light yellow, and the body a brownish ash colour. It is altogether as elegant in its shape, as singular in its species. The celebrated Mr. Pennant has described this bird as very rarely seen in the Hebrides. The bird has been carefully preserved, and forwarded to the Leverian museum.

7th. The following article appeared in the Paris papers of this date. The *ci-devant* general Pichegru has strangled *himself* in prison. The following are the particulars of the suicide:—his guards were at night dismissed; and on the 5th, having supped heartily, he retired

to bed at midnight. He had previously taken a faggot from the bundle with which his fire had been kindled in the morning, and tying a black silk handkerchief round his neck, he twisted it close to the glands by means of the stick, till he had stopped respiration. He then passed the stick behind his ear, and throwing himself on the same side, to prevent its removal, he was speedily suffocated. On the discovery of his death, eight physicians and surgeons were employed to make a report of the state in which the body was found. It was afterwards opened in the hall of the criminal tribunal; and the verdict was, "*Died by strangulation.*"—He was buried in a place appropriated to the remains of those who commit suicide; and a *proces-verbal* relative to the event was ordered to be published throughout the republic.—Notwithstanding this specious statement, it is strongly suspected, that the unfortunate and gallant object of it, fell a victim to the mean jealousy and fear of Bonaparte.

11th. The gazette of this night contains the following letter from capt. Hardinge of the Scorpion, off Vlie, to Admiral Thornborough.—“Sir, Having reconnoitred the position of the two men of war brigs in the Vlie, I resolved to attempt the outermost on the first favourable opportunity.—When accidentally falling in with the sloop Beaver, in her way to her station, on the 31st ult. capt. Pelly volunteered the assistance of himself and his boats.—The attack was made the same night; the intrepidity of British seamen overcame every obstacle (she being in all respects prepared with boarding netting, &c.), and, after a sharp contest, we were in full possession of her.



her. She proves to be the Dutch national brig *Atalante*, capt. Carp, mounting 16 long 12 pounders, and had on board 76 men.—She is one of the largest brigs in the Dutch navy, is a remarkably fine vessel, and, in my opinion, admirably calculated for his Majesty's service."

*Killed and wounded*.—Scorpion, lieut. Bluett; Mr. Williams, master; Mr. Jones, midshipman; J. Wilkinson (badly) and R. Tucker, seamen, wounded.—Beaver, none killed or wounded.—*Atalante*, capt. Carp, and 3 seamen, killed. First lieutenant, 3 officers, and 8 seamen, wounded.

Admiral Thornborough, in his introductory letter, observes, that the Dutch captain refused quarter, and fell in defence of his brig.—The Dutch pilot and purser were liberated, and sent on shore with the effects of the captain, in consequence of the gallant conduct of the latter.\*

12th. The anniversary of the literary fund, an institution which does equal honour to the heart and understanding of Englishmen, was this day kept at the crown and anchor tavern, Strand; Lord Pelham in the chair. After the cloth was removed, the usual toasts, the king, the queen, and royal family, were given from the chair, and received with the most ardent enthusiasm. The noble president then informed the meeting, that he should take the liberty of proposing his royal highness the prince of Wales as a subscriber to the institution. The proposal was received with unbounded applause. His lordship next observed, that, as the proposal he had the honour to make had been received so kindly, he wished to add to it, that his royal highness had in-

structed him to propose a subscription on his part of 100l. (*increased and prolonged plaudits*.) His lordship, considering this unanimous applause on the part of the meeting as an unequivocal approbation of what he had announced, thought it proper to add, that he had moreover to propose, that his royal highness be received as the patron of the institution. The plaudits were here redoubled, and the health of his royal highness was drunk with three times three, as patron of the institution. The recitations, as usual, formed a principal part of the literary amusement of the evening; they were by Mr. Fitzgerald, Mr. Pye, and Mr. Kett. The leading sentiments in these were strongly and happily applied to the present times, and as such were marked with very distinguished applause; more particularly a passage in which Mr. Fitzgerald contrasted the condition of a tyrant and an usurper with that of a legitimate and beloved sovereign. The lines of Mr. Kett's poem which made the strongest impression, were those which called up to the recollection of the meeting the various virtues of Lord Moira; more particularly his unbounded benevolence towards the French emigrants.—The ordinary business of the institution was then transacted, and the meeting closed with the utmost unanimity and satisfaction.

At the Westminster sessions Mary Edwards, and Mary Anne Edwards, mother and daughter, were indicted for feloniously stealing a quantity of wearing apparel, the property of Mr. Rogers, of Manchester-buildings, Westminster. It appeared, that

\* Vide an admirable letter of captain Hardinge to his father on this capture, in the Appendix to the Chronicle.



on the 2d of March, about half past 1 o'clock, the child of Mr. Rogers was decoyed from the door of her father's house, and was not heard of until late in the afternoon of the same day; when she was found naked on the flight of steps leading to the water, on the Surry side of Westminster-bridge. On searching the house of the prisoners, in Brookes'-court, Lambeth, the child's bonnet and shoes, with other parts of her apparel, were found.—Both were found guilty, and sentenced to be transported for 7 years.

The remains of the largest person ever known in Ireland, at least since the days of the giant of Hibernian romance, Fion M'Coul, were interred in the church-yard of Rose-unallis in the queen's county. The coffin, with its contents, weighed 52 stone, which amounts exactly to 600lbs. It was borne on a very long bier by 30 strong men, who were relieved at intervals. The name of this extraordinary person was Roger Byrne, whose residence was near Burros in Ossory. He died of suffocation occasioned by excessive fat, which impeded the action of the lungs, and put a period to his existence in the 54th year of his age. He was 13 stone heavier than the celebrated Bright of Maldon, whose waistcoat buttoned round 7 large men.—Byrne was a married man; his widow is a very small woman, by whom he has left 4 sons.

13th. Lady Glanville was found dead in her bed-room, in Manchester-street, at 4 in the morning; her clothes had taken fire, and were consumed to her body, which presented a shocking spectacle.

The same day, as Mrs. Dawson, of Caldbeck, Cumberland, relict of general Richard Dawson, formerly

lieutenant-governor of the Isle of Man, was standing near the parlour fire, immediately after dinner, part of her muslin dress came in contact with the flame, by which she was dreadfully scorched: in this painful situation, her distress being heightened by the most violent agitation and terror, she languished until Monday following, when she expired! She was 71 years of age.

16th. This night a fire broke out near Sun Tavern Fields, Shadwell, in the rope-ground and warehouses of Mr. Cornwell. The warehouses were filled with cables, pitch, and other combustible matter, to a very great amount: of course the flames burnt with great fury, and extended themselves with extraordinary rapidity. They soon communicated to the deal-yard of Mr. Miles, all of which were instantly in a blaze. The immediate scene of the conflagration was inaccessible to the engines, and the volume of fire so great, as to afford no hope that they could, if within reach, make any impression upon it. In this extremity, the firemen turned their attention to the neighbouring houses, and exerted themselves to cut off all communication between them and the burning premises. They played the engines upon the dwelling-house of Mr. Cornwell; but all their energy, as it was feared, was not able to save it, as the wind blew the flames directly upon it. A more dreadful fire, or a more awful spectacle, has not been seen for many years in London. The damage is estimated at 20,000l. Happily no lives were lost.

The earl of Strathmore's valuable stud-horse, Pipator, dropped dead a few days ago. He was considered worth 1000 guineas.



18th. A spectacle more gratifying, and at the same time more affecting, cannot be imagined than the anniversary festival of that truly excellent institution, the Royal Humane Society, which was this day celebrated at the London Tavern, attended by upwards of 300 persons of the first distinction for benevolence and opulence. The chair was taken by Dr. Lettsom, having on his right hand the bishop of St. David's, and on his left Mr. Erskine. The Messrs. Goldsmids were present, and contributed with their accustomed laudable liberality. At ten the company separated, delighted with the pleasing contrast, that whilst tyranny and murder shed their horrors on a neighbouring country, it was the proud and peculiar boast of Britons, not to massacre—but to *save*!

The celebration of high mass, and a solemn requiem for the late duke D'Enghien, took place this morning at the French chapel, in King-street, near Portman-square. The bishop of Montpelier assisted on this most solemn and affecting occasion, as did the venerable archbishop of Narbonne, the bishops of Arras, Avranches, Nantz, Angoulême, Noyon, Rhodes, and Usez.

There were present many of the English nobility; and of the French, Monsieur, the dukes of Berry, Orleans, and Montpensier, compte de Beaugolois, and the marquis di Livarôt.—The feelings of the prince of Condé, the unfortunate grandfather of the murdered and innocent D'Enghien, would not admit of his attendance.

It appears, by the accounts lately delivered to parliament, that the number of shipwrights and artificers in his majesty's dock-yards has been

increased, between the 1st of March 1803, and the 1st of March 1804, from 5691 to 6967.—It likewise appears, from the same documents, that the number of vessels employed in the defence of this country, amounts to the enormous sum of 1652!

28th. Colonel Harwood applied to the court of chancery for an injunction to restrain the further negotiation of a promissary note for 4000l. given by him to Mr. Horne Tooke. It appeared, from the colonel's statement, that the note had been given as an accommodation note to Mr. Horne Tooke; but, by the account of the latter, that an agreement had been entered into between them to share, reciprocally, the bounty of Mr. Edward Tooke, deceased; and that the note was the voluntary gift of colonel Harwood, in discharge of his honour and good faith. The note was to be laid out in the purchase of annuities for the lives of Mrs. Tooke and her two daughters, but Mr. Tooke changed the disposition, by purchasing of sir Francis Burdett, bart. an annuity of 400l. for his own life, for 2400l. and taking a bond for 1600l. the residue of the note, which he conceived would be more eligible, and ultimately more beneficial to his family. The chancellor, after taking a comprehensive view of the case, said it would best answer the justice and equity of the case, if colonel Harwood brought the money into court, and after some material points were discussed, the court would finally dispose of it. The money was then ordered to be brought into court within two months, and there abide the final issue. It was at the instance of the above-mentioned Mr. Edward Tooke, that Mr. John Horne



Horne assumed the name of Tooke; a coldness, however, afterwards took place between them, subsequent to which, colonel Harwood and Horne Tooke entered into the agreement above-mentioned, to divide whatever should be left to either of them by Mr. Edward Tooke.

The following is recorded as a fact in a country newspaper:—At Cadoxtown, near Cardiff, a young mother died within a few days after child-bed. The child survived, but there was no person to suckle it.—Its grandmother, merely to still its cries, put it to her breast, and although the aged nurse was 70 years old, milk flowed upon the pressure of the infant.

She continues to suckle the child, and her breasts support a constant supply of milk.

Alexander Davidson, esq. the opulent banker and contractor; John White Parsons, and Thomas Hopping, gents. have been sentenced, by the court of king's bench, for gross bribery and corruption at the late Ilchester election, to twelve months confinement in the marshelsea prison.

29th. This evening, about ten, a young seaman, named Stoddart, was pursued by the press-gang down the Broad Chace, in Newcastle, when, to escape them, he jumped into the Tyne, and attempted to swim across the river to Gatehead. One of his pursuers threatening to fire at him if he did not return, the fright and exertion took away his strength, and he was drowned!

30th. This morning, between five and six o'clock, the neighbourhood of Maidstone was visited by a tremendous thunder storm, attended by lightning and much rain.

The lightning in the S. W. direction was apparently the most vivid; a tree on Barming heath was shivered to pieces by it, and several houses in the adjoining villages much damaged.

According to a recent enumeration, it appears that in the metropolis there are 346 places of public worship; namely, 112 parish churches, 58 licensed chapels and chapels of ease, 19 for foreign Protestants, 12 for Roman Catholics, 133 meeting-houses and Methodist chapels of various sects, dissenting from the established church, 6 Quaker's meeting-houses, and six Jew's synagogues.

DIED.—At Gateshead, near Newcastle, Mrs. Aune Parkin, aged 104.

## MAY.

1st. The following letter was received at the admiralty from Capt. Shipley, of his majesty's sloop of war Hippomenes, dated 29th March.

Sir,

I have the honour to acquaint you with the capture of L'Egyptienne French privateer, (formerly a republican frigate) mounting 36 guns, twelves and nines, commanded by M. Placiard, and having 240 men on board, on the evening of the 27th, after an arduous chase of 54 hours, and a running fight of three hours and twenty minutes, by his majesty sloop under my command, for she struck the moment we fairly got alongside of her. I feel much pleasure in saying the officers and men behaved with that coolness and intrepidity inherent in Englishmen.

The slight resistance she made, I can only attribute to the fear of being



ing as severely beat as she had been four days previous by the Osprey, who killed eight of her men, and wounded nineteen, and whose gallantry astonished them, &c.

(Signed) Conway Shipley.

4th. The storm this afternoon was attended with more awful circumstances in the neighbourhood of Bath, than ever accompanied any elemental convulsion of the same nature within the memory of the oldest inhabitants. Tropical deluges may equal, perhaps, the violence of the rain; but in continuance it exceeded the customary duration of tempests in the neighbourhood of the Line. Unprecedented examples of devastation appeared, when the torrents ceased to fall; roads torn up, gardens destroyed, and considerable portions of land removed from their situation. Among these phænomena may be reckoned—a vast body of earth from the summit and declivity of Beecheen Cliff, which fell “with hideous ruin and combustion,” (for it is doubtful whether it was occasioned by the action of the electrical fluid or water), loaded with bushes and trees on the field below; the dislocation of almost half an acre in a field belonging to the Rev. R. Warner, at Hanging-land; and a slip of nearly the same magnitude in a field on the Prior-park estate. We hear of only one life lost (the fatal consequence of imprudence), the gardener of Mr. Langton, at Newton, who was drowned in attempting to cross at the bottom of Penny-quick-lane. Much damage was sustained in the parish of Combhay.

A most awful and tremendous storm of thunder and lightning was also experienced the same night, in

the counties of Lancashire and Cheshire; and the damage sustained is almost incredible. The thunder was succeeded by immense torrents of rain and hail. Not far from Warrington, on the Cheshire side, a bolt fell, which did great injury, and by which one person in particular suffered severely in his property. At Bolton, and its vicinity, the people experienced a most dreadful tornado; and it is supposed that a water-spout must have burst in that neighbourhood, the river Irwell having swelled to so great an height as to sweep away many buildings, and large quantities of household furniture, &c. The duration of the storm was upwards of two hours.—At Houlton-park, a ball of fire fell with such force as to split in shivers and tear up an ash tree, which had long been admired for its strength and beauty. Several bridges have been thrown down.

5th. A verdict went against Mr. Cromwell, brewer, of Hammersmith, in the court of king's bench, for causing a man to be put into the cold damp cage of that place, at Christmas time, and there kept two nights on an unfounded charge of felony.—Damages 150*l.* and costs.

7th. A melancholy accident happened to an infant child of Mr. Boyle, of Truro, at his grandfather's, in the parish of Kea. The grandsire had become so fond of this little boy, that he had taken him from his father to reside with him, and he was the “darling of his heart.” Late in the evening the deceased, with another child, about six years old, were playing in the yard, where was a butt placed on its ends against a wall; which of them meddled with the butt does not appear;



appear; the butt was upset, and fell on the head of the deceased, which instantly killed him.

A court-martial was held on board the Illustrious man of war, on the armourer belonging to the Leda, for having thrust a red hot iron into the left side of a seaman belonging to the same ship, which occasioned his death in about five minutes. The armourer was condemned and executed.

9th, 10th, and 11. His majesty, on each of these days, to the infinite gratification of an affectionate people, appeared in public: accompanied by her majesty and some of the princesses, he drove through the principal streets of London and Westminster.

11th. This morning, about eight o'clock, the eldest daughter of Mr. Bell, confectioner, in Scarborough, was found dead on the sea shore, about a mile below the town, with several marks of violence upon her. The coroner's jury sat on the body on Saturday, and brought in a verdict of wilful murder against some person or persons unknown.

Thomas Ellwood, a lad about 17 years of age, whose parents lived at Empingham, was discovered floating under an arch of the bridge over the Welland at Stamford. He had absconded a week before from a tailor, to whom he was apprenticed; on being slightly reprov'd, he expressed a resolution to destroy himself; since which period he is supposed to have been in the water.—Coroner's verdict, lunacy.

12th. This day his majesty was pleased to appoint the right hon. William Pitt to the offices of chancellor and under-treasurer of the exchequer.

13th. The following melancholy  
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occurrence took place at Durley, about two miles from Bishop's Walham. Between one and two this morning, a rookery, belonging to Mr. Edward Houghton, was entered by some men armed with bludgeons, for the purpose of stealing rooks, when they were hailed by a person of the name of Millet, stationed there to protect the rookery, who endeavoured to persuade them to desist and go away, which they obstinately refused. Millet then left them, and returned with Mr. Houghton and his brother-in-law Mr. Peter Barfoot; a scuffle ensuing, one of the men, named James West, received a wound from Mr. Barfoot with a knife, which occasioned his instant death; another of them, Dowse, was wounded. The coroner's inquest has since set on the body of West, and, after an investigation of two days, returned a verdict of—wilful murder. Mr. Barfoot is in consequence committed for trial.

16th. A fire broke out in the premises of Mr. Jordan, grocer, in Spon-street, Coventry, which, with nearly the whole contents, were in a very short time reduced to ashes. Providentially not a single life was lost: Mr. Jordan, his wife, and six small children, with the rest of the family, having fortunately escaped through the windows from their beds, a few minutes before the floors fell in, whilst devastation and ruin spread with a most awful effect in every direction.

As some children were playing, one of them fell into the New River, near Hertford; the cries of the rest alarmed the neighbours, when two women ran to its assistance: the first plunged in, but, being out of her depth, she unfortunately sunk; a man



a man recollecting there was a long pole, with a hook, at a neighbour's, went for it, and, after some time, brought up both woman and child, to all appearance dead. The means directed by the gratuitous delivery of the Royal Humane Society's plan was here providentially employed with success. An only child, in about half an hour, was restored to its fond parents; and the young woman, who had been deprived of life in her humane efforts to preserve an unknown child, was most happily resuscitated, to the great joy of the spectators and her numerous family.

This morning a young woman, who lived servant at a butcher's in St. James's-street, put an end to her existence, by throwing herself into the bason in the Green-park. It appeared that she was seduced from her place by a gentleman's servant, who took lodgings for her, and afterwards deserted her. She was turned out of doors by her friends the night previous to her fate.

17th. In a garden at Swire, in Holderness, in the occupation of a Mr. Hesseltine, a few ancient silver and copper coins were lately found, turned up by the gardener with his spade, one of which is precisely of the same kind as the one figured in the cuts of Roman coins in Camden's *Britannia*, (page 95. No. 18.) and to which he alludes in his notes upon them, (p. 104.) in the following words: "XVIII FLAVIVS CONSTANTINVS MAXIMVS AVGVSTVS. The great ornament in Britain stamped this coin in Constantinople, as we are taught by these characters underneath, COINS with this GLORIA EXERCITVS, that is, *the glory of the army*, to curry favour with the soldiers, in whose choice in those days,

and not at the disposal of the emperor, was the sovereign rule and government." It should be observed, that the figures representing the head of Flavius on one side, and two men in armour, with bows and spears in their hands, standing on each side, with two banners on the other side, are remarkably legible, considering the very great antiquity of the coin, which is upwards of 1350 years old. There was formerly an abbey at Swire, a circumstance which may, probably, account for the discovery there of ancient coins.

As some workmen were lately digging over the foundation of the Roman wall, at Tarraby, about two miles N. E. of Carlisle, they found an altar one foot six inches high, and seven inches broad, with the following inscription upon it.

MAR. T COCM

LEG. II AVG

SANCTANA

SECVNDINI

DSOL. SVBET

RA. AELIANLE

1

CVRA. OPIV

1

FELIX. OPTO

Which is thus interpreted: "The second sacred Augustan legion, under the charge of Ælianus, commander in chief of the second legion, Oppius Felix being his deputy lieutenant, dedicates this altar to Mars the great local deity, and took care to have it set up."

Every admirer of antique architectural grandeur will lament the necessity there exists of immediately taking down the truly venerable tower, transept and chancel of the ancient church at Kirton on the Hill, in Lincolnshire; its condition no longer admitting of its existing with safety.



safety. Proposals are this month made for rebuilding it in a modern manner.

Some labouring men lately digging stones in certain quarries near the old family mansion of Earl Fortescue, in the parish of Ebrington, near Campden, in Gloucestershire, discovered about twenty skeletons, apparently of warriors, with fragments of armour and several implements of war, of various shapes and sizes; the whole of very remote antiquity.—Many of the bodies were found laid with their faces downward, and not more than a foot in depth from the surface of the earth. Among the disturbed remains were those of a superior officer or chief, at least supposed so, as by his side were found a sword of excellent metal, and an iron casque or head piece, the ornamented top and rivets of which were plated with silver. The skeleton was deposited at the depth of not more than three feet in the ground, and, notwithstanding the number of years it must have lain thus buried, the master bones were perfect and sound, and the teeth in the highest state of preservation.

A traditionary account prevails in the neighbourhood of Campden, that that village and that of Ebrington were once united, that some signal battle was anciently fought in this part of the island, and that the ford at the end of Ebrington brake, which now divides the above parishes, has, from that period, retained the name of Battle Bridge.

The royal Jennerian society held their anniversary dinner this day at the crown and anchor tavern, his grace the Duke of Bedford in the chair. About 300 members were present. After dinner, *Non Nobis Domine*, in good style, was sung.

After his majesty the patron's health was drank, God save the king was sung by Mr. Hill. Among the toasts were the health of Dr. Jenner (who was not present), the Duke of Bedford, &c. &c. Mr. Travers, jun. recited, in a very excellent manner, an extract from a poem lately published, by Mr. R. Bloomfield, called, "Good Tidings, or News from the Farm." It was greatly applauded. Mr. Travers, sen. one of the trustees, in a very elegant manner, gave an account of the great exertions that had been made by the society, and the very liberal contributions of many noblemen, gentlemen, and ladies. He, among other facts, stated, that by the influence of vaccination, communicated through the medium of the different societies, the annual deaths from the small-pox had been most materially diminished. Through this society, in co-operation with others, the vaccine system had been propagated in Asia and America. At Constantinople the Turks, although so much averse from innovation, had embraced the system with the greatest eagerness. In India, the Hindoos, from their religious veneration of the cow, had most materially benefited by this mode of inoculation; and he might almost assert, that millions had already been saved by vaccination. In America, the Canadian Indians came down the country many hundred miles, to get the matter; and thus whole tribes escaped the effects of that malignant and fatal distemper. Dr. Walker, the resident physician at the Central-house belonging to the society in Salisbury-Square, read a letter from Lady Louisa Broome, wherein her ladyship stated, that she had vaccinated 150 children in the neighbourhood



hood of the family residence in Suffolk, which had been attended in every instance by the happiest effect; and that they had since been all exposed to the small-pox in the natural way without the least effect being produced by the experiment. Mr. Travers stated, that 34 persons were now on the establishment of the indigent blind, of whom no less than 14 owed their blindness to the small-pox; and it was to be hoped that, by the introduction of vaccination, that institution would ultimately be rendered unnecessary. Lords Somerville, Morpeth, and Granville Levison Gower, Mr. A. Goldsmid, Dr. Lettsom, &c. &c. were present. The society broke up about ten o'clock, with an unanimous determination to promote vaccination by every means in their power.

The Duke of York, with a paternal and becoming regard for the welfare of the soldiery (no less creditable to his feelings as a man, than to his watchfulness of their health as a commander in chief), has caused to be circulated throughout the army the following letter on the advantages resulting from the cow-pox; which, for the honour of the immortal Jenner, are now universally known and acknowledged even in the remotest and most barbarous nations. By so general an adoption of this useful and wonderful process, as must necessarily arise from the inoculation of his majesty's troops, the extermination of that dreadful scourge of the human race bids fair to be materially accelerated; and the prejudices against such a safe, innocent, and efficacious

remedy, are likely to be considerably diminished, if not altogether removed.

“ Sir, *Horse Guards.*

“ The commander in chief having observed, with infinite regret, the fatal effects which the small-pox has, in several *recent* instances, produced in the army—his royal highness apprehends that sufficient attention has not been paid to the order respecting the *vaccine* inoculation, issued on the 18th of November last. His royal highness, therefore, requests that you will recal the order to the recollection of officers commanding brigades and regiments; and that you will enjoin them to give it all possible effect by explaining to the men the beneficial consequences resulting from the inoculation of the cow-pox, which has long been proved to the entire conviction and satisfaction of those who have had the best opportunities of observing the mild and rapid progress of this important discovery.

(Signed) HARRY CALVERT.

Ad. Gen.\*

18th. Colours were this day presented with the utmost pomp and solemnity by the city of London to the loyal London volunteers†.

This morning a young man, private in the coldstream regiment of guards, was tried by a court martial, charged with having committed several acts of vagrancy, by begging in the streets in a disguised dress, pretending to be a cripple, and thereby defrauding passengers of their money. The surgeon of the regiment reported him to be in a perfect state of health, and no ways disabled, and he was adjudged by the

\* For the order alluded to, vide Chronicle in our vol. for 1803.

† An account of which see in the Appendix.



court-martial to receive 300 lashes, which were immediately inflicted with the utmost severity.

This day the French *senatus consultum* decreed the title of emperor on Buonaparte, with different modifications of the imperial dignity to his consort, and the other branches of his family !!!

A young man, named Joseph Slater, late of Welbourn, near Wellingore, Lincoln, aged 22, in attempting to leap from the shafts of a stage waggon, of which he had the care, entangled his clothes with some of the tackle, and being thrown under the wheels, was crushed in so dreadful a manner as to occasion his death the same night.

20th. A letter from Lord Keith to the admiralty of this date, announces a vigorous, but unsuccessful attack upon the French flotilla, by Commodore Sir Sidney Smith.\*

Captain Wright, of the Vincengo gun-brig, was lately captured near Morbihan, by some French gun-boats, which surrounded him during a calm; and was conveyed to his old prison, the Temple, at Paris, where he formerly shared the captivity of Sir Sidney Smith. He was accused before the criminal court at Paris of having landed most of the conspirators against Buonaparte, in France. He replied, that being a prisoner of war, he was not competent to make any deposition; and, as an English subject, he could not answer any questions.

22nd. A notice appeared in this night's Gazette, from the governor and company of the bank of England, stating, that, with the approbation of his majesty's most honourable privy council, they have caused

dollars to be stamped at Mr. Bolton's manufactory, Soho, near Birmingham, with his majesty's head and inscription, "Georgius III. Dei Gratia Rex," on the obverse; and Britannia, with the words "Five Shillings Dollar, Bank of England, 1801," on the reverse; which they propose to issue instead of the dollars lately stamped at his majesty's mint at the Tower; the latter of which, now in circulation, will not be current, nor will be received at the bank at the rate of 5s. each after the 2nd. day of June. In the mean time permission was given to exchange them for the dollars with the new stamp, or for bank notes, after the rate of 5s. for each dollar.

A beautiful coinage of half guineas has been delivered from the mint. In this impression the head of his majesty is somewhat smaller than in others, and the wreath is twined round it more in the Roman form. The reverse is that of the last coinage; the legend, "Fidei Defensor, Britanniarum Rex."

24th. This afternoon a fire broke out at Darnford oil-mills, near Stapleford, Norfolk, in the occupation of Mr. Charles Marsindale, which raged with such fury, that the whole premises were totally destroyed in about an hour and a half; the loss is supposed to be between 8 and 9,000l.

25th. This day was, by proclamation, observed as a general fast throughout England, "for humbling ourselves before Almighty God, in order to obtain pardon of our sins, and in the most devout and solemn manner to send up our prayers and supplications to the Divine Majesty, for averting those heavy judgments

\* Vide Appendix.



which our manifold provocations have most justly deserved; and for imploring his blessing and assistance on our arms, for the restoration of peace and prosperity to these dominions."

The solemnity which pervaded the metropolis and its environs was such as suited the moral obligation individuals were called upon to perform. The sober silence of the streets was only interrupted by the bell of the parish churches, calling the inhabitants to prayers. The pause produced by a suspension of the busy round of trade and shut up shops was, however, lessened by the early appearance of the volunteers gaily dressed in their uniforms, who, pursuant to orders, proceeded in all directions to their respective churches, which were numerously attended, and displayed awful grandeur. The new form of prayer used upon this occasion appeared to be fervently attended to; and gratitude filled the bosoms of the different congregations towards the Divine Being, for his Majesty's restoration to health. In short, a general sense of morality and loyalty was every where conspicuous. Many of the volunteers, after the afternoon service, proceeded to their drill-grounds, where they devoted the remainder of the day to improvement. The public rejoiced at the favourable alteration which was made in the form of prayer. We allude to the different state in which his majesty's health is represented in the different editions.

#### FIRST EDITION.

"Have mercy, we beseech thee, upon thy servant our sovereign, whom thou hast smitten for the transgressions of his people. We acknowledge, that for our manifold

sins we are worthy of the severity of thy judgments; yet we beseech thee, incline thine ear to us, when with penitent and contrite hearts we turn unto thee; and remove from our sovereign, and from us, *this* dreadful visitation. We yield thee thanks and praise, O Lord, for the hope and prospect of recovery, which thy mercy already hath afforded in the abatement of his dangerous sickness. Confirm and establish, we beseech thee, O Lord, the work which *we trust* thou hast begun."

#### SECOND EDITION.

"Have mercy upon thy servant, our sovereign, whom thou hast repeatedly smitten for the transgressions of his people. We acknowledge, that for our manifold sins we are worthy of the severity of thy judgments; yet, we beseech thee, incline thine ear to us, when with penitent and contrite hearts we turn unto thee; and remove from our sovereign and from us, *these* dreadful visitations. We yield thee thanks and praise, O Lord, for thy great mercy already manifested towards us, in his recovery from his late dangerous sickness. Confirm and establish, we beseech thee, O Lord, the work which thou hast begun.

William Cobbett, the celebrated editor of the Political Register, a weekly journal of high reputation, was tried in the court of king's bench, on an information for a libel on the Earl of Hardwicke, Lord Redesdale, and other officers of state in Ireland, and found guilty.

26th. Another action was tried in the same court, brought by Mr. Plunkett, solicitor-general in Ireland, against the above Mr. Cobbett, for a libel. Damages were given against him for 500l.

31st. This day the anniversary meeting



meeting of the charity children was held at St. Pauls. The scaffolding, as usual, formed an amphitheatre under the dome, with the pulpit in the middle, covered with crimson cloth. By twelve the children were all seated, the boys on the higher seats, and girls below; their different devices were displayed with pleasing uniformity; and in other respects the arrangement was such as presented a scene awfully grand, and gratifying to a benevolent mind. The procession of the children from St. Pauls to their respective parishes, afforded the same pleasing spectacle as at their going; the beadles at their head, and the flags which they carried, made them the objects of admiration. St. Paul's church-yard was so crowded by spectators as to be almost impassable; the crowd in the church was also vast; on leaving it, the charity collected at the gates was considerably augmented by their donations.

DIED. — 5th. Mrs. Margaret Holmes, of Sunderland-bridge, Durham, 103 years of age.

17th. At Walmesby Ford, near Blackburne, aged 103, Mr. Richard Heaten, farmer: within the last two years he was able to go on foot from his own house to Preston and back again in one day, a distance of not less than 29 miles.

## JUNE.

4th. The following report has been made and signed by Thomas Henley, constable of St. Helier, in the island of Jersey:—"On the above date, being the anniversary of the birth-day of our gracious sovereign, all the forts in this island fired a royal salute at noon, by order of

his excellency the commander in chief. The cannon in the new fort on the large hill were also fired. A corporal of the invalid company of artillery then received the matches, and locked them up in the powder magazine, at the top of the hill, which is constructed in such a manner as to be bomb-proof; it contained 209 barrels of gun-powder, charged bombs, caissons full of cartridges of every kind, and a great quantity of other combustibles. The magazine was then shut, and the keys carried out of the fort. About six in the evening, while the officer on guard was at dinner with the brother officers of his regiment, the soldiers on guard observed smoke issuing through an air-hole at one of the ends of the magazine, and immediately ran from the fort. Mr. P. Lys, the signal officer on the hill, seeing from the watch-house the soldiers in motion, and hearing them calling out, Fire! ran out before they had all set off, and approaching the magazine, observed the smoke issuing through the two air-holes at the two ends. Having found Thomas Touzel and Edward Touzel, two brothers, and both carpenters, employed by him in the town, who had come to assist him to take down a temporary ensign-staff, he sent them to acquaint the commander in chief of the danger with which the magazine was threatened, and to Capt. Salmon, of the artillery, to get the keys. Touzel, before he set out, used every effort to induce his brother to quit the spot. E. Touzel replied, that he must die some day or other, and that he would attempt to save the magazine, and the town, at the hazard of his life; and seeing a soldier making his escape, he proposed to him to remain to as-



sist in breaking open the magazine, which he refused to do. He then proposed the same thing to another soldier, named William Ponteney, of the light company of the third regiment, who acquiesced, saying, that he was ready to die with him; and they shook hands. Edward Touzel then took a wooden bar, with which he broke the barrier of the pallisade which surrounds the magazine, and finding at hand a kind of axe, he got to the door of the magazine, where he broke also two padlocks, and having by these means opened the door, he entered, and addressing himself to Mr. Lys, who was on the outside, said, "The magazine is on fire, it will blow up. We must lose our lives, but no matter, *huzza for the king!* We must try to save it." With these words he rushed into the flames, and seizing the matches almost burnt out, he threw them by armfuls to Mr. P. Lys and W. Ponteney, who had remained without. Mr. Lys seeing a cask standing on one end, filled with water in the neighbourhood of the magazine, and having no other vessel than an earthen pitcher, he and W. Ponteney made use of their hats, and this pitcher, to carry water to Edward Touzel, who was still in the magazine; but scarcely able to see, in consequence of the thick smoke which surrounded him; observing, however, some wood on fire, he extinguished it with the water which was brought to him. He then called out to Mr. Lys, that he was almost suffocated, and requested something to drink. The fire had scorched his hands, and even some part of his face. The people now arrived in crowds, bringing with them water; and Mr. Lys sent him a glass of spirits,

mixed with water, which he drank. At length the fire was entirely extinguished by the zeal and intrepidity of Edward Touzel in particular, and of Mr. Lys and W. Ponteney. Captain Leith, of the 31st. regiment, and Mr. Murphy, of the same, the officer on guard, and several officers of his majesty's troops, repaired with soldiers to the hill, and employed the utmost activity to get the magazine entirely emptied, in order to ascertain whether any sparks remained in it. Two caissons of wood, filled with ammunition, were found, attacked by the fire, and one in particular, in which there were powder-horns, tubes, and a flannel cartridge was half burnt through. Near this caisson stood an open barrel of powder, to which the fire, had it not been extinguished, must inevitably have soon communicated. A rammer was almost consumed, and some of the beams which supported the roof were on fire. Such was the state of things when Edward Touzel, Mr. P. Lys, and W. Ponteney, displayed heroic courage and bravery, exposed their lives to the most imminent danger, and thereby saved the town of St. Helier and its inhabitants from the most terrible disaster! The constable therefore finds himself impelled, both by duty and inclination, to request all persons who have property in the town of St. Helier, or its neighbourhood, to meet on the 13th inst. in the church of St. Helier, at ten in the morning, to take into consideration the means of testifying their gratitude towards these three brave and generous men."

This providential and almost miraculous escape, must have greatly interested every reader. The debt  
of



of gratitude due to the brave men whose names will be handed down to an admiring posterity, is, we are happy to say, in the course of payment.—A general subscription is begun in the island, and is of that amount already, as sufficiently to mark the gratitude of those, who, by the individual heroism of these gallant men, were saved from instant death or total ruin. But the committee who are in the management of the patriotic fund, view this deliverance also as a matter of national importance. It has saved many valuable lives; it has preserved one of our principal depôts of strength in the important island of Jersey; it is honourable to the national character, and worthy of the most distinguished notice, as an example to posterity; therefore well entitled to liberal reward from such a fund as that which they have the honour to direct. They have accordingly voted to Lieutenant Lys, for himself and large family, five hundred pounds; to Edward Touzel, a young man, who has a mother, and is rising in his business as a carpenter in St. Helier, three hundred pounds; and at the request of William Ponteney, a private soldier, (to whom his officers have voted a gold medal) a life annuity of twenty pounds, as he has determined that he will continue through life to serve his king and country as a soldier.

This afternoon, as Lieut.-Col. Hawker, with a party of the 14th light dragoons, was fishing with a drag-net, near Littlestone, in Rowney-bay, on the ebbing side, four of the men who held the ends of the net farthest in the sea, instantaneously sunk, and though all good swimmers, did not rise again. It is supposed they must have been

drawn into a hole, and swallowed up by the sand.

Dr. De Caro, now at Vienna, has received letters, which state, that the vaccine has met with the greatest success in Persia. Dr. Milne and M. Jukes, his correspondents at Bassora, one of the most commercial cities of the empire, state, that all the Persians were desirous to have their children inoculated with the vaccine matter. The Hospodar of Moldavia has sent Dr. De Caro a magnificent Indian shawl, and a very obliging letter, with an account of the efficacious measures he had adopted for its propagation.

There is now in the barracks at Woodbridge, occupied by the royal Lancashire militia, a cat which has brought up two young chickens. The circumstances were as follows:—Some days back a hen was observed sitting upon two eggs, and was frequently visited by one of the soldiers, till the hen was missing, supposed to have been killed by a dog. He immediately took the eggs and laid them under a cat with three small kittens, and to the surprise and admiration of a number of people, four days after, two chickens made their appearance, one of which has five claws on each foot, and the other four. The whole have lived in the greatest harmony for this fortnight past;—when the chickens wander from the cat, she brings them back in her mouth, and is as fond of them as she is of the kittens.

13th. The recorder made a report to his majesty of the following 18 prisoners under sentence of death in Newgate, viz. George Smith, Mary Anderson, George Donohon, James Heath, John Smith (alias, Lacey), Richard Anderson, John Kemp, James Draper, Jeremiah Corneille,



Corneille, James Nixon, William Burnett, Robert Harris, William Gill (alias Harris), Caroline Matthews, Elizabeth Fisher, Mary Anne Taylor, Edward King, and Louisa Darney; when they were all respited during his majesty's pleasure. The cases of Robert Aslett and 15 other prisoners were not reported.

During a violent storm about 2 o'clock this day, the church at Edenham, in Lincoln, was struck by lightning, and one of the pinnacles on the tower was driven off. The electrical fluid descended by the clock wire, and broke a part of the dial. The Rev. Mr. Towers, curate of that village, was thrown down in his house, near the church, by the concussion, but fortunately did not receive any injury.

14th. A pike was taken out of the great pool in Packington Park, Warwickshire, the seat of the Earl of Aylesford, with a carp stuck in his throat that weighed 10lb. which had choked him: the pike when empty weighed 30lb.

16th. Four of 1010 journey-men bootmakers engaged in a combination against their masters, were examined at Marlborough-street police office. Three of them were sentenced to hard labour in the house of correction for two months, and one for one month; which timely severity, speedily put an end to a widely spread and dangerous conspiracy.

19th. This morning two boys who were bathing in the serpentine river were drowned. The one screamed on getting out of his depth, which attracted the other to his assistance, and led him to the same fate.

This morning a committee of such of the noblemen and gentlemen pre-

sent at Woburn Abbey, as are members of the Smithfield society was held, and the premiums for the ensuing Christmas shew were determined on. Soon after 11 o'clock, the shew of South Down tups commenced; different parts of the company being at the same time employed in examining an experiment in drilling turnips on his grace's farm; others were engaged in examining the different implements of agriculture belonging to his grace, and brought by others to be exhibited. About 3 o'clock more than 200 persons, principally consisting of gentlemen of landed property, and agriculturists of note, sat down to an excellent dinner at the Abbey; they had, however, to lament the absence of all the patrons of agriculture who are in the house of commons; nor was the cause known which so unexpectedly detained them all in town. After dinner much interesting conversation followed, enlivened by several suitable toasts.

21st. This day the literary fund held their annual meeting at the ship tavern, Greenwich. Lord Pelham took the chair, and discharged its duties with his usual assiduity. The meeting was very well attended, and passed off with that refined enjoyment naturally arising from festivity founded on benevolence. Mr. Fitzgerald indulged the company with some of his animated recitations, and added the following lines impromptu, to one of his admired effusions of loyalty and patriotism:

Consul, or emperor, what ambition will!

The blood-nurs'd Corsican's a tyrant still!

Imperial purple never can efface,  
Jaffa's base murders, Acre's foul disgrace.



22d. The surrender of Surinam to his majesty's arms was this day communicated in the following letter from Earl Camden, (one of the principal secretaries of state) to the lord mayor.\*

“ Downing-street, June 22d.

“ My lord,

“ I have the satisfaction to acquaint your lordship, that dispatches were received late last night from M. G. Sir Charles Green, commanding his majesty's troops in the Leeward Islands, dated Paramaribo, May 13th. announcing the surrender of the colony of Surinam to his majesty's arms, on the 4th of that month, with a very inconsiderable loss on the part of his majesty's forces.”

“ I have the honor to be,

“ &c. &c. &c.

“ Camden.”

23d. A dreadful fire broke out yesterday morning at Grays, in Essex. A labouring man who had been drinking at a neighbouring public house, on his return home with a lighted pipe, incautiously knocked out the ashes among some straw and other inflammable matter that lay in a heap close by the range of warehouses at the back of the town, which had been long used as granaries. The consequence was, the lighted tobacco smothered during several hours, and on yesterday morning the inhabitants were alarmed by the flames bursting from one of the warehouses, which took fire and communicated with the rest. Before assistance could be procured, the whole range was consumed, with several thousand quarters of wheat and flour. At ten o'clock this morning the columns of smoke

arising from the ruins were seen from the Kentish hills, as far distant as Plumstead.

A Ludgershall tythe cause was decided in the court of exchequer, by which a verdict was given for the minister, originating in his being rated to the poor, contrary to the usage of the parish. It is the custom of the country for the minister to be exempt from poor rates, when he receives his tythes and dues by composition; but when he takes his tythes in kind, he then becomes chargeable. In this case the court decreed the repayment of the rates for the respective years the minister had been compelled to pay.

A thunderbolt fell at Newport, which killed three horses and an ox, and wounded three men.

24th. This day (Sunday), at Hanslope, Bucks, was experienced one of the most tremendous thunder storms, accompanied by lightning, ever remembered by the oldest inhabitant living. It seemed to gather in the W. S. W. with most astonishing rapidity, where it hung for a considerable time in silent and gloomy horror, when on a sudden, a dreadful peal of thunder broke over the village with a tremendous roar, which was succeeded by others still more loud and awful. In fact, the whole artillery of the skies seemed to be let loose at once: and the lightning that accompanied it was the most tremendous ever witnessed. The elements seemed in one continued blaze. About half past eight in the evening, the storm was at its height, and while the affrighted villagers were supplicating the Supreme Power, they were alarmed by the falling of the spire of the venerable

\* Vide Appendix for the details.



and ancient church, which was laid in ruins with a most tremendous crash. This beautiful gothic structure, which the architect seems to have exerted his utmost abilities to complete, and which was 186 feet in height, was in a moment levelled with the earth; and the greater part of it being precipitated upon the body of the church, sunk the roof along with it in common devastation.

Providentially no lives were lost, although some people were passing near the church at the time, and many large stones were projected, with astonishing force in almost every direction, to the distance of 70 or 80 yards.

The same storm prevailed in the metropolis and its neighbourhood: a poor woman was killed by the lightning as she was crossing Mount-street, Grosvenor-square. A gentleman's house at Woolwich was set on fire by the lightning, which was with great difficulty extinguished by the engines and the assistance of the garrison: a bullock on the Kent-road was struck blind, and two horses at Uxbridge killed.

26th. This morning, about ten o'clock, a fire broke out at the melting-house of Mr. Littel, tallow-chandler, near Crispin-street, Union-street, Bishopsgate, occasioned by the boiling over of a copper of stuff, which consumed the whole of the premises. Before the engines arrived, the flames communicated to the house of Mr. Campion, and the two adjoining, which were also burnt; when the flames were got under by the engines and firemen.

27th. The king held a grand levee at the queen's house for the first time since his recovery, at which

were present the foreign ambassadors, all the great officers of state, and a vast number of the nobility. After the levee a privy council was held for the purpose of receiving the recorder's report of 16 convicts under sentence of death; when Providence Hansard, for forgery, was ordered for execution on Thursday.

To the great satisfaction of a crowded court, the Honourable Admiral Berkeley obtained a verdict this day in the court of exchequer, against the editor and publishers of a periodical paper, entitled "The Royal Standard and Political Register," for a libel on his professional character. This infamous production insinuated that the admiral, when captain of the Marlborough, in the memorable action of the 4th of June, had conducted himself in a manner unworthy of his high rank, name, and reputation: than which, according to the evidence, nothing could be more unfounded, or maliciously false; as it appeared, most uncontrovertibly, that his conduct during that arduous conflict equalled, if not excelled, that of any other officer in the fleet, both in skill and personal courage, and had met with the most unbounded approbation of his superiors. The damages awarded were one thousand pounds, a sum humanely proportioned by the jury to the narrow circumstances of the *ostensible* libellers. Earl St. Vincent, Lord Bridport, Lord Duncan, the venerable Sir Peter Parker, and several other distinguished naval characters, attended the trial, to have borne their testimony, if necessary, to the high professional merit and character of the admiral, but from the course pursued by his very eloquent advocate,



cate, Mr. Erskine, they were not called upon.

A fatal accident lately happened in the family of G. E. Stanley, of Ponsonby-hall, Esq. near Whitehaven. A boy who was frequently at Ponsonby-hall, had gone into the servant's hall with two of Mr. Stanley's daughters (the eldest between eight and nine years of age), and stepping upon a box, took down a loaded musket, to shew the young ladies how well "he could go through his exercise," and which he had been in the habit of doing. The piece went off; and the principal part of its contents striking the eldest sister, killed her on the spot, and the younger was most severely wounded.

Parliament has settled 1,200l. per annum on the widow of the late Lord Kilwarden, chief justice of the court of king's bench in Ireland, who was murdered in the streets of Dublin, and on her ladyship's decease, 800l. per annum on her son, and 400l. a year on her two daughters.

30th. The old houses which choaked up the passage from Palace-yard to the church-yard of Westminster, and prevented the view of the north side of Henry the VIIIth's chapel, are taken down, and the space they occupied is to be railed in, which will add very considerably to the grandeur of that ancient and most interesting edifice.

A boy purloined a throstle's nest, near Rockliffe, and exultingly bore away his prize to Carlisle, where he lived. The dam, who had recently quitted her young, was not ignorant of the theft, but, with unceasing solicitude, pursued them step by step. The boy and his companion, perceiving this, repeatedly put down

the nest, which she as constantly dropped into, and maintained possession until almost grasped with the hand. Thus they travelled on together until the boy reached home, when he deposited the nest within the house. The disconsolate dam, watching an opportunity, sprung in at the window with as much alacrity as another would have flew out; again she claimed her progeny, and could hardly be driven away!

DIED.—1st. At Egglestone Abbey, after a short illness, possessing her faculties to her death, Esther Laine, aged 105, servant in the families of Sir Thomas Robinson and Colonel Morrett, of Rokeby.

17th. In his 100th year, which he had attained without experiencing a day's illness, Mr. Benjamin Overton, weaver, of Stamford, co. Lincoln.

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## JULY.

2nd. This morning a cobbler, corner of Wimpole-street and Queen Anne-street West, fastened himself in his stall, and cut his throat in so dreadful a manner, as to place all hopes of his recovery out of the question.

This day a fine boy, seven years of age, belonging to Mr. Kennedy, of Edgeware-road, unfortunately got entangled between a dray and a coach. The hind wheel of the coach went over his loins, and killed him.

The Middlesex election committee reported, that Sir Francis Burdett was not duly elected; that Mr. Mainwaring was duly elected; but that he committed acts of treating, whereby he was incapacitated to serve in Parliament upon such election.



tion. A new writ was in consequence ordered to be issued.

7th. Mr. Iliff, of Narborough, with three of his men, being in a field near Enderby Mill, in Leicestershire, at the beginning of a storm of lightning, repaired to a hovel, taking with them two horses and dogs, and in a short time there came something like a ball of fire, and burst amongst them, which gave them a violent shock, and caused one of the horses to fall. A fine greyhound, which lay in a round posture, as is frequent with dogs when asleep, was quite dead, and appeared as if it had never stirred after it was struck.

8th. This afternoon a man in the service of Mr. Porter, of Felixstone, Norfolk, was struck dead from the top of a hay-stack, during a storm of thunder and lightning, and a dog killed, which lay at the foot of the latter. The stack was set on fire, and another man near it had his head singed. The storm extended over the whole of Norfolk and Suffolk, and did much injury in different quarters. At Bury, a cow was struck dead in a field belonging to Mr. Butcher.—At Harwich, during the same storm, another man was struck dead, while assisting to cover a haystack from the rain. His watch was entirely melted, and some halfpence in his pocket were found run in a mass, as if melted in a crucible. The farmer, who was standing at the bottom of the ladder, had his foot much burnt.

11th. A matter of very considerable importance came on to be tried at the quarter sessions of Bedford:—An overseer of the parish of Liddington, in that country, was indicted for dismissing of a woman from his service, she being, at the

time of such dismissal, actually in labour, without making any provision for her relief. It came out in evidence, that both the master and mistress of the woman (the overseer and his wife) were well acquainted with the state in which she was; that they refused to receive her into their house, upon her entreaty to be so received, and that the overseer ordered one of his labourers to *walk* with her as far as Ampthill, a distance of three miles and upwards, and there left her at the first public house. The jury found a verdict of guilty, and the court sentenced the overseer to an imprisonment of two months, and a fine of 20l.

A thousand pound bank note, one of those alledged to be lost by Nowland, a bankrupt, who has been in Newgate for nearly 12 years, for not making a satisfactory disclosure and surrender of his effects, was lately presented for payment at the bank. The note being stopped, the holders (foreigners) this day brought an action for its recovery in the court of king's bench, and succeeded; it appearing that they had given value for the note in Germany, in order to make a remittance to England.

A Mr. Dinwiddie, the same day, having given a false character of one Harrison, to a Mr. Hutchinson, by which the last mentioned sustained a loss, by the acceptance of bills, drawn by Harrison, to the amount of 1,060l. 8s. 1d. A jury in the court of king's bench awarded Mr. Dinwiddie to stand to the consequences of his improper recommendation of Harrison, and to pay Mr. Hutchinson the whole amount of said loss, and all his costs.

12th. In the court of king's bench,



bench, William Draper Best, Esq. serjeant at law, was indicted for an assault on Rebecca, the wife of James Minifie. The counsel for the prosecution stated the case to the court; in which he observed that Minifie, the prosecutor of this indictment, was formerly a man of some consideration, but misfortune had reduced his station in the world. About nine years ago, his wife being entitled to some relation's property, an intercourse took place between the defendant and them upon that subject, and from that time she had been in the habit of calling upon the serjeant at his chambers. Mrs. Minifie being called, stated, that in consequence of having received a letter from Mr. Serjeant Best, by his appointment she went to his chambers on the 23d of April last; but instead of business respecting her estate, as she expected, he told her it was a letter of gallantry; that he wished her to live with him, and pressed her to make him happy. He said that he saw her husband's circumstances made her uneasy; but he would remove that by getting an appointment for him, which he had often promised. She told him in reply that she did not expect to hear of such a proposition from him; that he already knew her sentiments upon the subject; and that there were many considerations and ties of duty and morality, which forbade such a connexion. The serjeant was not satisfied, but used violent language, and assaulted her by thrusting his hands up her clothes.

It appeared in evidence, that subsequently to the supposed offence, the learned serjeant had been required by the plaintiffs to lend them an hundred pounds, which together with a denial on the part of the de-

fendant that he had ever touched the person of Mrs. Minifie, or even approached her with such intention, and several other circumstances, led Lord Ellenborough to remark that it appeared to be a wicked conspiracy, to extort money from Mr. Best.

Mrs. Minifie was cross-examined by Mr. Garrow, and from her answers, and the testimony of counsellor Ally, who had been consulted on the part of the prosecutor, the jury (without wishing to hear any evidence on the part of the defendant) declared their mind to be fully made up on the subject: in consequence of which Lord Ellenborough said, that he should not trouble them with any observations; and the jury immediately pronounced a verdict of—Not Guilty.

At the Hertford assizes, an action was brought by a Mr. Till, schoolmaster, who had most generously lent 1,300*l.* on bond, to a Mr. Pollard, a young farmer, who had been his scholar. Pollard and his friends had trumped up a bankruptcy, in order to defeat Mr. Till of the effect of his bond, the plaintiff however obtained a verdict for the whole amount and costs.

13th. A shocking accident happened to a poor washerwoman in Market-street, St. James's-market. In hanging some linen to dry on a line, that projected from the two pair of stairs window, by over-reaching, she fell into the street, and fractured her skull. She was taken up with but little appearance of life, and conveyed to the Middlesex hospital.

Robert Howse, James Reynolds, and John Thodey, stood in the pillory, at the corner of Duke-street, Smithfield market (pursuant to their sentence,



sentence), for a conspiracy to defraud the public by assuming the characters of merchants, drawing bills of exchange upon each other, some of which they got discounted among manufacturers and shopkeepers, whereas they were nothing but mere swindling adventurers. The concourse of people upon the occasion was very great. After standing the usual time, they were carried back to Newgate, there to be imprisoned 12 months.

About nine o'clock this night a woman with a child in her arms was run over by a stage coach, on the west side of Fleet-market; the child was killed, and one of the wheels went over the legs of the unfortunate woman, who was taken to the hospital without hopes of recovery.

14th. As a boat laden with Portland stone was last week crossing Portland Roads, at Weymouth, a sudden gust of wind filled it with water, by which it instantly sunk. Two men, and a child four years of age, were on-board at the time, when one of the men, who could not swim, was drowned; the other, though two miles from the shore, caught the child in his arms, and plunged into the sea, when a boat, with some gentlemen on a fishing party, came to his assistance in time to save him and his charge. His boat, the produce of his earnings in the navy, being totally lost, a subscription was opened for him at Harvey's library, which, in a few hours, produced 20l.

16th. At Gwenddwr, Brecon, as two men were close cutting a piece of timber, a girl of about sixteen or seventeen years of age was sitting on the ground near them, when a part of the tree fell upon

her, and crushed her in such a manner that she instantly expired.

16th. This day the freeholders of Middlesex, in the interest of Mr. Mainwaring, jun. met at the Crown and Anchor, to consider on the best means of exempting him from expence, &c. and after some introductory speeches, a subscription was opened, which amounted to 5,525l. On imparting this information to Mr. Mainwaring, jun. he candidly declared that unless the subscription amounted to 10,000l. he should decline the contest. The business of the meeting was then deferred till the Tuesday following, when the subscriptions were much increased, and at the pressing solicitations of his friends, the young gentleman consented to stand the contest.

A young woman this evening, crossing the road with a child in her arms, near the Small-pox Hospital, Pancras, was thrown down by a gentleman's carriage, that was driving along with great fury. The child died almost immediately, and the young woman was not expected to live.

17th. A very affecting circumstance occurred about 20 minutes before 7 o'clock in the morning.—Two houses, No. 33 and 34, Dunkstreet, Mile End, New Town, suddenly fell to the ground, and buried in the ruins 35 persons. Both the houses were let out to poor people with small families. As soon as the neighbours recovered from the alarm, which so dismal an accident necessarily occasioned, they set to work to clear away the rubbish, with the laudable intention of saving as many lives as possible. A person of the name of Richards was the first who was so happy as to relieve



lieve some of the unfortunate sufferers from their dreadful situation ! The confusion of cries under the ruins, rendered it almost impossible at first to discern the exact spot whence they issued : at length he found one Royston, his wife, and son, who had occupied a room up stairs; they were all much bruised, and sent immediately to the London Hospital ; he next found four children, two of whom were seriously injured, and sent thither likewise ; the other two had the good fortune to be screened from the crush by a piece of timber, and escaped unhurt. On searching farther, Richards found a female child, about nine months old, lying on its back, playing with its clothes, unconscious of any danger. She greeted her deliverer with smiles, and was sent to Mile End workhouse to be taken care of. Further assistance arriving, the search was continued with great ardour ; a man named Box, his wife, and three children, were traced by their cries to the cellar, where they were dragged from the window unhurt. It appears that this family had occupied the ground floor, and had fled into the cellar for safety on first hearing the crash. Two old women were found, one of ninety, the other of eighty ; they occupied a back room up two pair of stairs. The former had been confined to her bed seven months, neither of them received the least injury : not so fortunate, however, was a poor woman, who had lain in on the preceding Sunday ; both she and her child were materially hurt.

Before nine o'clock, such exertion had been used, that the whole of the persons (35) were found, who were supposed to be missing ; and, however miraculous it may ap-

pear, not one of them was dead, and but few had broken limbs ! A widow and her daughter, who dwelt in a back room up two pair of stairs, were among those who were most hurt ; as were also a man and his wife who occupied a garret.—When the accident happened, nearly all the people were in bed, consequently, when they were taken from the ruins, they were entirely naked, and had not a rag to put on, except what they obtained from the humanity of their neighbours.

Providentially the party wall between the two houses did not give way, as, in that case, many persons must have inevitably perished.

18th. About nine o'clock, whilst the troops at Eastbourne were performing their accustomed exercise, on the right of the lines, an alarming fire broke out in the centre of the camp. It commenced in the temporary mess-room erected for the officers of the 48th regiment, and as the fabric was composed chiefly of wood and straw, it was soon reduced to ashes. Fortunately, the fire ceased where it commenced. This accident excited a lively sensation in the surrounding country, and along the coast. The fire and alarm beacons, on all the different hills, were immediately lighted, and a considerable alarm was the consequence.

20th. At the common hall for the election of a sheriff this day, John Beadon, esq. having paid his fine into the chamber, of 600*l.* and 20 marks, to be excused serving the same), it was stated to the livery, that Samuel Dowbiggen, esq. the next in rotation (there being 38 remaining on the list in nomination) was very old and infirm, and not capable of fulfilling the duties of the office,



office, he was therefore passed over ; and William Domville, esq. citizen and stationer, was by the livery elected, together with George Scholey, esq. citizen and distiller, to serve the offices of sheriffs of the city of London, and sheriff of the county of Middlesex.

Captain Barber, of the duke of Cumberland's sharp shooters, brought a charge against Mr. Handley, the lessee of the tolls at the top of Tottenham-Court Road, for stopping and taking toll from him when on horse-back at the head of his corps. The charge was founded upon a late act of parliament, in which there is a clause of exemption. Some difficulty arose on the question, whether Captain Barber could be considered as a field-officer, agreeably to the words of the act ; and still more when it was found that Mr. Handley refused any compromise, and that the act inflicted no penalty. Captain Barber pledged himself, in consequence, to indict Mr. Handley, for obstructing the march of the king's troops ; and also to bring an action, in order to try the question of exemption.

22d. A fire broke out some days ago, in the turpentine warehouse of Messrs. Bruce and Jacques, near Traitor's-bridge, Bristol, which destroyed those extensive premises.—Three men were dreadfully burned ; one of them died the day following.

23d. The numerous tenantry of Mr. Coke, of Holkham, this day presented him with a superb vase, valued at 700*l.* as a testimony of esteem, for his judicious and liberal conduct as a land owner and occupier. The cup is extremely elegant, and abounds in the most beautiful emblematical devices. It weighs

700 ounces, and, from the beauty of the workmanship cost as many pounds sterling.

24th. During a thunder storm this afternoon, the lightning struck a large double barn near Eytham, Kent, which immediately took fire ; two threshers, who were at work at the time, gave an immediate alarm to the inhabitants, but the whole fabric was consumed, together with fifty quarters of wheat, a sow, 16 pigs, 30 rabbits, and two favourite dogs. The howling of the latter was truly piteous, when surrounded by the fire. The tempest also fell heavily on some parts of Sussex, particularly at Loxwood, where the houses were shaken by the violence of the thunder, and a poor boy struck dead by the lightning. The deceased, with a man, his companion, were at plough together in a field belonging to Mr. King, and to avoid the peltings of the storm, left their work, and ran to two neighbouring trees, under which they were both struck down by the vivid fluid. The man having received no material injury, soon recovered, and perceiving the condition of the boy, hastened to his assistance, but to no purpose, as he found him quite lifeless, with the hair of his head burnt to a coal, and his clothes on fire !

25th. His majesty's frigate *Lively* was this day launched at Woolwich dock-yard. Her head is ornamented by a beautiful female figure, playing a tambourine, finely carved, and placed upon the cut-water, so as to accord with her rate. The stern is peculiarly neat, and quarter badges, like those of all the river-built fir-ships. Above her decks were distended in the breeze, the British union jack, and the St. George's



George's blue and red English ensigns. A great many persons were on board, who shouted with the surrounding multitude, when the vessel rushed into the Thames, on whose bosom she rested in safety at some distance from the dock-yard. Her royal highness the princess of Wales honoured the launch with her attendance in a magnificent yacht.

The Middlesex election commenced this day. So early as six o'clock, vast crowds of spectators lined the way along Piccadilly and the road to Brentford. About seven, sir Francis Burdett set out for that place in his carriage and four, preceded by seven out-riders, carrying large banners of blue silk, on which were written, in letters of gold; "Burdett and Independance." The baronet was hailed in every quarter by the vociferations of the mob.—About ten, George Boulton Mainwaring, esq. arrived at the hustings in a chariot and six, with two postilions in scarlet livery, trimmed with silver, followed by ten carriages filled with his friends, all of whom wore sky-blue favours.—The colours of sir Francis Burdett are dark blue and orange. Mr. Mainwaring and his friends were in many instances ill-used by the rabble in the interest of his opponent, who threw stones, and otherwise annoyed his respectable party.—Peter Moore, esq. member for coventry, proposed sir Francis Burdett to the electors for the representation of Middlesex; and was seconded by Mr. Knight.—Mr. Mainwaring was afterwards proposed by alderman sir William Curtis, and the nomination seconded by colonel Wood.—Each candidate endeavoured to address the populace; but scarcely

any thing of what was advanced by Mr. Mainwaring could be heard above the incessant hissing.—The shew of hands of course was much in favour of sir Francis, when a poll was demanded by the friends of the opposite candidate, which at the close on Monday evening stood thus: for Sir Francis Burdett, 611; for Mr. Mainwaring, 528.

26th. This day Mr. Pitt, attended by Mr. Long, Mr. Huskisson, and Mr. Sturges Bourne, dined with the company of grocers. On his appearance a rapturous burst of applause took place. The company then sat down to a most sumptuous dinner. After a patriotic song, and toast or two, the master of the company said "That he rose, not to express the honour he had of having the chancellor of the exchequer, but the right hon. William Pitt, a brother grocer, at his right hand, and to drink his health with three times three." A spontaneous burst of applause succeeded throughout the company, which being subsided, Mr. Pitt said, "He thanked his brother grocers for the honour they had done him, and in return drank their healths:" which was received with rapturous applause.

Joseph Jackson, and Thomas Bucknell, were executed at the Old Bailey for forgery, after having made an ineffectual attempt to poison themselves in Newgate.

A very neat chapel, in the Gothic style of architecture, calculated to hold upwards of 1200 persons, is erecting in St. George's-Fields, annexed to the buildings of the Philanthropic Reform, for the use of that truly laudable institution. The shell or carcase is already covered in, and its completion will be effected as soon as the society can procure



cure sufficient funds for the purpose, either by gift or loan: 4000*l.* have been already laid out upon it, and it will require as much more to fit it up.

There are at present in America, two labouring men, named Hoag and Parker, so exactly alike, that on one of them being lately tried on a charge of bigamy, some of the witnesses swore that they knew the prisoner to be Thomas Hoag, while others as positively testified that he was Joseph Parker. Upon this contradictory testimony the prisoner was acquitted.

A man of the name of Samuels, ordered for execution at Botany-Bay, for burglary, was thrice hung up, by virtue of his sentence, and each time the cord broke. On the fourth attempt to carry the law into effect, the provost ordered it to be suspended, and hastened to the governor to communicate the particulars of the extraordinary scene he had witnessed; the consequence of which was, a respite to the man, who had so repeatedly trembled on the very verge of eternity, and for the preservation of whose life so many signal events had almost miraculously occurred.

31st. His majesty went, with the usual procession to the house of peers, and closed the session of parliament with a speech from the throne\*.

DIED.—7th. In St. James's-market, aged 100, Mr. Smith, butcher.

15th. Aged 102, Mrs. Mary Bishop, of Newport-street, Worcester.

19th. Aged 102, Mr. Whinech, father of the late town-clerk of Lynn.

## AUGUST.

1st. This morning, about 10 o'clock, as one of the fire-boys belonging to the 4th loyal London volunteers, was sitting on the edge of a boat in the Thames, he was accidentally struck by the oar of another boat, which knocked him into the water, and he was drowned.

By the late flood and hurricane on the banks of the Aar in Germany, it appears that 65 persons were drowned, 147 houses and 190 stacks or granaries carried away; 20 mills, 8 forges, and 50 bridges completely destroyed by the current; 498 houses, and 239 out-houses so much shattered that they must be rebuilt. There are heaps of stones and mud left on the surface of the ground, 8, 10, and 20 feet high. In some places hills were swept away, and whole villages buried.

East Indian intelligence, arrived this day, informs us that at a public meeting held at Calcutta, it was resolved to erect a marble statue to Marquis Wellesley; and to present a sword of the value of 1,500*l.* to General Lake, and one of 1,000*l.* to Major-General Wellesley, for their glorious achievements against the Mahratta powers.

The American papers have brought an account of a melancholy affair of honour between the Hon. Aaron Burr (Vice President of the United States) and General A. Hamilton, who was appointed to succeed Mr. Livingston, ambassador at Paris.

The origin of the dispute was from a pamphlet published by Dr. Cooper, in which is the following passage: "General Hamilton and Dr. Kent say, that they consider Colonel Burr



as a dangerous man, and one unfit to be trusted with the reins of government."—In another place Dr. C. says, "General Hamilton has expressed of Mr. Burr opinions still more despicable." This latter passage excited the resentment of Col. B. who sent his friend with a letter to General H. in which he demands "a prompt and unqualified acknowledgment, or denial of the expression which could justify this inference on the part of Dr. Cooper."—General H. in his answer, admits the first statement, the language of which, he contends, comes fairly within the bounds prescribed in cases of political animosity.—He objects to Col. Burr's demand, by considering it as too indefinite, or as calling on him to retrace every conversation which he had held, either publicly or confidentially, in the course of 15 years opposition, and to contradict that which, very possibly, might have escaped his memory.—If any thing more definite should be proposed, he expresses his willingness to give Col. B. all due satisfaction.—Col. B. in his reply, insists upon a general retractation, and says, it is no matter to him whether his honour has been attacked loudly or in whispers.—General H. rejoins by calling for something more defined, and refuses either a general denial or general acknowledgment.—The meeting was then demanded by the Colonel.—Previous to the repairing to the ground, the General drew up his will, and inclosed with it a paper containing his reflections on the meeting.—He says,

"On my expected interview with Col. Burr, I think proper to make some remarks explanatory of my conduct, motives, and views. I was certainly desirous of avoiding this

interview, for the most cogent reasons.—1. My religious and moral principles are strongly opposed to the practice of duelling; and it would ever give me pain to be obliged to shed the blood of a fellow-creature in a private combat forbidden by the laws.—2. My wife and children are extremely dear to me, and my life is of the utmost importance to them, in various views.—3. I feel a sense of obligation towards my creditors, who, in case of accident to me, by the forced sale of my property, may be in some degree, sufferers. I did not think myself at liberty, as a man of probity, lightly to expose them to this hazard.—4. I am conscious of no ill-will to Colonel Burr, distinct from political opposition, which, as I trust, has proceeded from pure and upright motives. Lastly, I shall hazard much, and can possibly gain nothing, by the issue of the interview."

It also appears that General H. had determined not to return Colonel B.'s first fire; but that, on his receiving the shock of a mortal wound, his pistol went off involuntarily, and without being aimed at Colonel B. This statement being denied by the opposite party, search was made for the ball, which was found lodged in a cedar-tree, at the height of 11 feet and a half, 14 paces from the place where General H. stood, and more than 4 feet out of the line of direction between the parties. When the General fell, Colonel B. walked towards him, with apparent gestures of regret; but he did not speak to him, as he was hurried from the ground by his friends.

The funeral of the General was observed at New York with unusual respect and ceremony. All the public Functionaries attended; all the



bells in the city were muffled, and tolled during the day—the shops, at the instance of the common council, were shut; all business suspended, and the principal inhabitants engaged to wear mourning for six weeks. After the funeral service, Mr. Morris, the Governor of New York, on a stage erected in the portico of Trinity-church (having four of General H.'s sons, the eldest about sixteen, and the youngest about six years of age, with him) delivered, to an immense concourse in front, an extemporary funeral oration, expressive of the merits of the deceased, and of the loss which America has sustained in his death.

The New York Advertiser says, that no death, since that “of the great and good Washington,” has filled the Republic with such deep and universal regret.

The coroner's inquest held on the body of General Hamilton, have brought in a verdict of “wilful murder against Aaron Burr, Esq. Vice President of the United States; and W. P. Van Ness, Esq. Attorney, and N. Pendleton, Esq. Counsellor, as accessories.”

2nd. Advices of this date were received from Capt. R. D. Oliver, of his Majesty's ship the *Melpomene*, off Havre, with accounts of three several attempts he had made on the numerous vessels in Havre Pier, as well as those which were moored outside, with the squadron under his command.\* Considerable damage was sustained both by the shipping and the town, but the main object of Capt. Oliver was unattainable.

7th. This day Richard Shaples, about 9 years old, apprentice to Whitfield, chimney-sweeper, Little

Shire-lane, near Temple Bar, was employed to sweep a chimney at the house of Mrs. Sandwell, No. 18, Devereux-court, Strand; in performing which, having climbed into the chimney pot, it, with the upper part of the chimney, gave way, and he fell into the yard of the adjoining house, Mr. Saville's, tailor, by which fall his head was very much injured, and one arm and one leg broken. In this deplorable condition he was conveyed to St. Bartholomew's hospital, where he died in the afternoon of the following day. It is much to be lamented that the use of machines for cleaning chimneys are not universally adopted, by which accidents of this fatal nature would be entirely prevented. A society has been formed for the humane purpose of superseding the necessity of employing children in this destructive and dangerous business, and has voted 50l. to Mr. G. Mast, for his useful invention of a machine, which has been most successfully used in cleaning chimnies for many years past.

8th. The poll for the county of Middlesex was this day closed; but the official declaration of the numbers was adjourned till the following day, that due consideration might be had of several votes, which having been objected to on one side or the other, had been postponed for further consideration. Many serious accidents happened in the course of the day. A gentleman, driving a gig with one horse, in Oxford-street, got jammed in between a cart and a hackney coach, both of which were proceeding to Brentford. By the concussion the gentleman was thrown out, and his skull fractured

\* For the particulars of these dispatches see “Appendix to the Chronicle.”



in a dreadful manner: the chair was dashed to pieces. Henry O'Hara, esq. a gentleman well known on the turf, who had just arrived in town, on horseback from Brighton, was in Piccadilly on horseback, the horse's feet were close to the kirb-stone, standing across the street near Moorhouse's livery stable. He was in conversation with one of his friends, a Mr. Powell from Bath, when a post-chaise drove up, and though the street was very wide, and no great number of people present, the post-boy rode against Mr. O'Hara's horse, when the pole going between the horse's hind legs, tripped him up with such force, that the rider was pitched off, and fell with his side so forcibly upon the kirb-stone, that several of his ribs were broken and bent into his body. He languished in great agony for 3 days, when he expired in the 53d year of his age, leaving an amiable wife to deplore his unfortunate death.

Towards night, some symptoms of riot were manifested. About half past five, a party of the mob attacked Mr. G. Gibbons, second son to sir William, as he was passing along Piccadilly, with the watchword, "There is a Mainwaringer—follow him up." As they were very violent in their threats, Mr. Gibbons flourished his stick, and desired them to keep off, at the same time proceeding quickly up Bond-street. There, however, he was attacked more closely, and with increased fury, when he drew out a pair of pistols, with which, having faced about, he retreated backwards, and took refuge in a tradesman's shop. The mob was soon re-inforced, and became violent in their threats to pull the house down, if the gentleman was not turned out. The guards were sent for; but in the mean time

the police officers came and carried off Mr. Gibbons in a coach to Hatton Garden police office, where he was examined by Mr. Baker and two other magistrates; when, after the testimony of the officers, and Mr. Gibbons's own statement of the affair, he was discharged. The investigation before the magistrates lasted an hour. The house of Mr. Mainwaring, senior, in Tenterden-street, was a few hours after attacked, and would, in all probability, have been much injured, had it not been for the timely arrival of lord Amherst, at the head of the grenadier company of the St. James's volunteers, who had been out exercising. The windows of the junior Mr. Mainwaring's house, in Weymouth-street, were broken, by another division of the mob. Mr. Mainwaring's servants, and a gentleman who accompanied him to his house, were severely struck with brick-bats.

9th. After long consultation, and hearing counsel on both sides, the sheriff declared Mr. Mainwaring to be duly elected. The numbers on each day's poll were as follows:

	<i>Mainwaring.</i>	<i>Burdett.</i>
1st day	- 528	611
2d day	- 399	361
3d day	- 311	265
4th day	- 257	187
5th day	- 193	192
6th day	- 152	102
7th day	- 146	204
8th day	- 108	108
9th day	- 109	93
10th day	- 106	99
11th day	- 98	55
12th day	- 70	72
13th day	- 109	150
14th day	- 136	137
15th day	- 106	187

2828      2823

Maj. in favour of Mr. Mainwaring 5.

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This



This night, about 8 o'clock, a dreadful fire broke out in three warehouses in Ducks-foot-lane, belonging to Messrs. Whiting, Shillitto, & Co. wholesale grocers, in Thames-street. In a very short time the whole concerns were in flames, and the entire stock, consisting of teas, sugars, &c. was consumed. The fire was not got under till near 11 o'clock, by which time the roof had fallen in, and the insides of the buildings were completely destroyed. It was reported that when the person, whose business it is to shut up the warehouse and see all safe, went there for that purpose, on opening what is called the lump-room, (a place where a fire is constantly kept,) he found it in a blaze. The property which has been lost is very considerable. A great number of engines attended; and the volunteers turned out with the greatest alertness and promptitude.

M. Bonamy, who lately arrived from St. Domingo, has authenticated, in the Paris papers, the reports of the cruelties committed by Dessalines and the negro chiefs, and has stated many other excesses of a nature almost too horrid for recital.—He vouches for the truth of the following particulars:—M. La Caussade, a merchant, who arrived from Bourdeaux in April, with a valuable cargo, gave a grand entertainment to the negro chiefs, with a view to save his property. Dessalines and 40 of his general officers were present; and after the repast, Dessalines drank the health of his host. On this signal M. La C. was seized, stretched upon the table, and the whole of his guests buried their knives in his body.—They then proceeded to the house of Madame George, whose three beautiful daughters they poig-

narded in the balcony; and, after restoring the senses of the mother, compelled her to witness the dying agonies of her children. They then hung her from the balcony.

10th. A thunder storm took place this day at Chipping Sodbury, which seriously alarmed the inhabitants of that place. Mr. James Wickham, a butcher living there, had three fine sheep struck dead with the lightning, which was extremely vivid and awful. A young man in the act of throwing a wheelbarrow full of stones into a limekiln, near Wotton-under-edge, was in a moment struck dead on the edge of the kiln, and precipitated headlong to the bottom. Though his cloaths were not singed, his body was burnt in a dreadful manner.

As one of the judge's servants was walking in the street near the White-hart, Taunton, (where he stayed to refresh on his road to the assizes at Wells,) a lad rode up against him with such violence as caused his instant death. He was an old and faithful servant.—Verdict, accidental death.

An overland dispatch arrived this day from India, announces the renewal of hostilities there. It appears that Holkar, submitting to the intrigues of the French, who still remained about him, had expressed his dissatisfaction at the treaty of peace, and made some infringements on the newly ceded territories. General Wellesley had set off for Poonah, on the 17th of May, to take the command of the forces. Colonel Murray, who is stationed in the Guzerat, had also received orders to join the general with a considerable body of troops, on Holkar's frontiers. It is added, that a plan has



has been already arranged by our government for the division of Holkar's territory between the Peishwa, Scindia, and the Borgels.

12th. This afternoon about 3 o'clock a most calamitous accident occurred at Mr. Hoffman's, confectioner; in Bishopgate-street.—One of the servants in his employ went into the ice-house for the purpose of preparing ice for a next day's entertainment, when some straw caught fire: another man immediately followed, when they were both suffocated. A third made an attempt to go to the assistance of the others, but being unable to proceed was taken out and saved.—The two first died almost immediately.

This morning about two o'clock, a young lady, of great personal accomplishments, and daughter of a respectable merchant in the city of London, in a fit of despair threw herself out of a two pair of stairs window at her father's house, and was literally dashed to pieces. On the fatal news being communicated to her family, her mother, with whom she had ever been a favourite, instantly snatched up a knife which lay near, and, horrid to relate, stabbed herself in such a manner that her life is despaired of; and the unfortunate father lays under the influence of mental derangement.

This day at high water, a young man in a sailor's dress, while walking over the craft at Billingsgate, fell between two vessels, and immediately disappeared. The body was soon found, but past all hopes of recovery.

In the evening a young man threw himself into the Thames, near Battersea, in the presence of several people: it was some time before the

body was taken out, and too late to be restored to life.

13th. This afternoon a most alarming riot took place amongst the labourers at Poplar, who were principally Irishmen. The dispute originated in which was the best province, and produced the best men, Connaught or Munster. From words they proceeded to blows; and there being several hundreds of them armed with bludgeons, it became a measure of safety to call in the civil power, who took two of the principal rioters into custody, and the rest dispersed. When brought before the magistrates, they expressed much contrition for the error they had been led into, and made promises of future good conduct; upon which, the magistrate, after giving them some proper admonitions, discharged them.

14th. This day as a cart, laden with sand, was coming up the lane from the Bell Sand Wharf, in Upper-Thames-street, (which is so narrow that, except in a space where a warehouse door is fixed, the wheels graze the walls,) a young man, a lighterman, met it as he was going down. The carman warned him of his danger, and requested him to go back, which he refused, but ran on, hoping to gain the door-way; unfortunately his head and the wheel came in contact with the wall, the poor young man's head was crushed entirely flat, and he was left a shapeless and nearly headless corpse.

In consequence of the intelligence received at the India house on the 8th instant, of a most brilliant action having taken place between the homeward-bound East India fleet, under the command of Capt. Dance, of the company's service, as senior com-



commander, and the French squadron under Admiral Linois, consisting of an 84-gun ship, three frigates and a brig;\* in which the latter was completely and shamefully foiled. The committee of the patriotic fund held a meeting this day at the merchant seaman's office, over the Royal Exchange; when it was resolved, that a sword and a vase, each of 100*l.* value, should be given to Captain Dance, who acted as commodore to the fleet from China. A sword and a vase of the same value were also voted to Captain Timmins of the Royal George; and a sword of the value of 50*l.* was ordered to be presented to each of the other captains of the India fleet that beat off Admiral Linois' squadron. A sword of 50*l.* value was also voted to Lieutenant Fowler, of the royal navy, for his services on that occasion; and a letter was written to Captain Timmins to obtain the name and an account of the family of the seaman who was killed, and the sailor who was wounded on board his ship during the action. And on the following day, the directors of the East India company, with a most liberal gratitude for the noble service performed by the Chinese fleet, voted to the commanders, officers, and seamen, the following sums, for "their gallant conduct in beating off the French squadron under Admiral Linois, in the Chinese seas."

Captain Dance, 2000 guineas and a piece of plate value 200. Captain Timmins, 1000 guineas and a piece of plate value 100. Captain Moffatt, 500 guineas and a piece of plate value 100 guineas. To Captains H. Wilson, Farquharson, Torin, Clarke, Meriton, Wordsworth, Kirkpa-

trick, Hamilton, Farrer, Prendergast, Browne, Larkins, and Lockner, 500 guineas and a piece of plate value 50 guineas, to each. To chief officers, 150 guineas each: to second and third ditto, 125 guineas; and to fifth and sixth ditto, 50 guineas each.

Pursers and surgeons 80 guineas each; mates, boatswains, gunners, and carpenters, 50 guineas each; midshipmen, 30; other petty officers, 15 guineas each; seamen, ordinary seamen, and servants, 6 guineas each.

To Lieutenant Fowler, passenger in the Camden, for the services rendered Captain Dance during the action, 300 guineas for a piece of plate. The whole remuneration will amount to nearly 50,000*l.*!!! The value of the fleet thus gallantly preserved, as estimated by the supercargoes, including the private as well as the public investments, appears to be above 8,000,000*l.* sterling.

Captain De Courcy, of his majesty's ship Plantagenet, who convoyed from St. Helena home the China fleet, has likewise been presented by the East India company with 500*l.* for the purchase of a piece of plate.

15th. Mary Champante, a beautiful young woman aged about 20, drowned herself this day in the canal in St. James's Park. She had been for a considerable time past in a melancholy state, owing, it is supposed, to a disappointment in love. Her father, a wholesale stationer of great respectability near the Minories, thinking it proper to remove her out of town for change of air, took lodging at Chelsea, where she had

\* Vide Appendix to the Chronicle for particulars.



resided during the last week with her sister. At Aldgate church she took a coach to Queen-square, Westminster, where she got out, and, after paying the coachman, walked through the gate into the park. It is supposed (for she was not seen) that she got over the railing immediately opposite Queen-square, and threw herself into the water without any hesitation. A gentleman who was passing saw her struggling in the water, and immediately gave the alarm; and with the assistance of the waterman who plies at the stand of hackney-coaches, she was brought out, and immediately taken to an adjoining public house, where every means were resorted to for the purpose of restoring animation, but unhappily without effect. Upon the inquest which was held on this melancholy occasion, Mr Whitrow, a partner of the deceased's father, (Champante and Whitrow, wholesale stationers in Jewry-street, Aldgate,) said, that the father of the deceased could not attend; his feelings having been so affected. The deceased was Mr. Champante's second daughter, and in the 21st year of her age. On returning on the day of the fatal catastrophe from Chelsea (where she had been visiting) by the stage, she ran to her father who sat writing at his desk, to communicate something to him. He being busy settling some accounts, desired her rather hastily to withdraw; which check had such an effect upon her, that she ran out of the house, having told the maid-servant she would destroy herself. She went out when it rained very heavy. The maid imagined she had gone to Mr. Whitrow's house, which was just opposite; instead of which she turned round George-street into the Minories, where

she took a coach, and drove as above stated. The coroner returned a verdict that the young lady "was deranged in her mind, and drowned herself in a fit of insanity," which verdict was signed by the jury. She is described as being "of the first order of fine forms," her skin of the purest white, her cheeks of a lovely vermillion tint, her hair auburn;—in short, as possessing every feminine grace and attraction. She wore a white muslin gown, chip hat with a pink silk handkerchief tied over it, a red coral neck-lace with gold locket, and pink coloured silk hose.

15th. The first regiment of the Tower-hamlets militia had a grand field-day at Blackheath; and in the course of the firing exercise, one man unfortunately loaded his piece five times; four times it had missed fire, but on the fifth attempt at a discharge, it burst. The fragments of the musquet flew off in every direction; and the unhappy man, most desperately wounded, was conveyed to the hospital in an artillery waggon, where he soon after died, notwithstanding every medical assistance. Seven others of the corps, all severely wounded, were carried to the hospital.

16th. Two sons of a gentleman of Warfield this day returning in a gig from spending part of their vacation in the neighbourhood of Sunning-hill, the horse suddenly took fright, and having run away for about the space of three hundred yards, owing to the incapacity of the driver, turned upon a post, and dashed the carriage in a thousand pieces. The youngest son, a promising boy of eleven years of age, was killed upon the spot, and his brother, aged fourteen, after lingering in excruciating tortures, a mangled



mangled and truly pitiable object, expired on the evening of the third day after the accident.

His Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex arrived in London from Lisbon; he landed from Portsmouth on Tuesday, whence he set out on the following day for town. In the afternoon he paid his respects to his royal parents at Windsor.

18th. At the assizes for the county of Somerset, Mr. John Southerton, attorney at law, of Wellington, the well known prosecutor of penal actions against the clergy and others as a common informer, was himself found guilty, upon an information filed against him in the court of king's bench, for having written threatening letters to a number of respectable druggists in Birmingham, for the purpose of extorting money from them, on a charge of having sold patent medicines without stamps.

19th. By advices from Germany, received this day, it is announced that Francis the II<sup>nd</sup>. emperor of Germany, had assumed on the 11th, by a formal instrument, the rank and title of hereditary emperor of Austria.

As five young men were passing through London-bridge, the boat upset, and two of them were unfortunately drowned.

On the same day a young man was unfortunately drowned at Wandsworth.

21st. A scan-boat belonging to Gorron, near Mevagizzy, was forced on the rock, when two men jumped on shore, and were saved; but five sailors who remained in the boat were drowned, in sight of many spectators, one of whom, in his eagerness to be of service, fell over the cliff, and was killed.

Three waggoners were killed last week, in the co. of Dorset, by negligent conduct. Two fell from the shafts on which they were riding, and the third, by removing the blind halter from the head of one of the horses, occasioned it to take fright and run over him.

25th. Never was before witnessed such a concourse of people as were assembled at the race-ground at York, on this day, drawn together by a match rode by Mrs. Thornton, the wife of colonel Thornton, of Thornville Royal, well known to the sporting world, against Mr. Flint, for 500 guineas each, p. p. 1,000 guineas bye—four miles. The spectators were estimated at 100,000 at least; nearly ten times the number that were present at Knaves-mire when Bay Malton ran; or when Eclipse went over the course, leaving the two best horses of the day a mile and a half behind!

About four o'clock Mrs. Thornton appeared upon the ground, full of spirits, her horse led by colonel Thornton, and followed by Mr. Baker and Mr. H. Boynton. Afterwards came her antagonist. They started about ten minutes past four o'clock. The lady took the lead for upwards of three miles, in a most capital style. Her horse however was perceived to have much the shorter stroke of the two; when within a mile of being home, Mr. Flint pushed forward and got the lead, which he kept. Mrs. Thornton used every exertion, but finding it impossible to win the race, out of humanity to her horse, she drew up in a sportsman-like style, when within about two distances. The race was run in nine minutes and 59 seconds.

That Mrs. Thornton did not consider



sider herself treated, in this novel species of contest, with sufficient gallantry and complaisance by her uncourteous competitor, may be concluded from the following letter to the editor of "the York Herald," which appeared a few days after the race, and dated from Thornville Royal.

Mr. Editor:—Having read in your paper, that Mr. Flint paid me every attention that could be shewn on the occasion of the race, I request you will submit the following elements of politeness to the gentlemen of the turf, for them to sanction or reject, upon any future match of this kind taking place.

*Element I.* Mr. Baker, who offered kindly to ride round with me, on account of the dangerous accident I met with on the Wednesday before, from my saddle turning round, was *positively* and *peremptorily* refused this permission.

*Element II.* At the starting-post the most distant species of common courtesy was studiously avoided; and I received a sort of word of command from Mr. Flint, as thus—"Keep that side, ma'am." For a morning's ride this might be *complimentary*; but it was here depriving me of the *whip-hand*. I did not expect Mr. Flint to shake hands with me; that I understand being the common prelude to boxing.

*Element III.* When my horse broke down in the terrible way he did, all the course must have witnessed the very handsome manner in which Mr. Flint *brought me in*, i. e. *left me out*, by distancing me as much as he possibly could.

If these should be received as precedents, the "art of riding against ladies" will be most completely "*made easy*."

After all this, I CHALLENGE Mr. Flint to ride the same match in all its terms, over the same course, next year; his horse, Brown Thornville, against any one he may choose to select out of three horses I shall hunt this season.

ALICIA THORNTON.

28th. This morning, about two o'clock, a fire was discovered in the back premises of Mr. Metcalfe, cabinet-maker, in Primrose-street, Bishopsgate. As soon as the alarm was given, the drums of the 6th loyal London beat to arms; and a number of the corps attending, the property of the sufferers was preserved from the depredations of the ill-disposed. The fire was not got under till the whole of the stock of timber, mahogany, finished goods, &c. at Mr. Metcalf's were destroyed; and the interior part of the house, together with the stock and furniture at the Fox and Grapes public-house, and part of that in the next house, were very much injured. The tools, benches, and whole working apparatus of 15 men were totally consumed.

About four the same morning, a fire broke out at the Fleur-de-lis public-house in Blossom-street, Norton Falgate, which raged with great fury until that and the adjoining house were wholly destroyed, and a third much damaged. The fire is supposed to have arisen from a spark dropping from a candle among some chips and shavings in a closet in the tap-room, which must have smouldered some hours at least before it was discovered. The public-house is completely levelled to the ground, but providentially no lives were lost.

The Gazette of this night announces the capture of the Blonde frigate-



frigate-privateer, belonging to Bordeaux, mounting thirty nine-pounders, with 240 men, by his majesty's ship Loire, Capt. F. L. Maitland, after a chase of twenty-four hours, the last quarter of which was a running action. Six of the Loire's men were wounded, two severely. The Blonde is a very fine ship, sails remarkably well, and in the opinion of Captain Maitland, was well calculated for his majesty's service. She had two men killed, and five badly wounded.

### SEPTEMBER.

1st. It appears by a detailed report of the trial in Ireland of the marquis of Headfort, for crim. con. with Mrs. Massey, that the offence was committed while the reverend husband was performing divine service on the sabbath-day. The ground of defence taken was the general carelessness of the husband, and the lady's open declaration of her attachment to the defendant. The damages obtained by the Rev. Mr. Massey were 10,000*l*.

A new oyster-bed has been discovered in the river Medway; and the lord mayor, attended by his suite, went down the river, for the purpose of claiming the property to the city of London (notwithstanding a counter-claim of the mayor of Rochester). They named the oysters "the native Perrings," in compliment to his lordship. Star-fish were found in vast numbers in clusters on the bed.

Mr. Greathead, the inventor of the life-boat, has been presented with a gold chain and medal for this important and valuable discovery, by the king of Prussia.

7th. A large meteor was observed at Tunbridge-wells, in the east, about 30 degrees above the horizon. When first seen it was about the size of the moon; for an instant it was as light as day. It flew rapidly towards the north, and breaking into several parts, vanished at once. It was visible three or four seconds.

8th. Important dispatches were this day received from India by government and the East India company. The messenger came overland; and brought accounts of the renewal of hostilities in the east. The Mahratta chief, Holkar, who remained neutral during the late contest, has, since the signing the peace with the British government and those powers of his nation with whom we were lately at war, shewn evident marks of dissatisfaction. He had infringed upon the boundaries of the English territory, and war had been declared against him. The accounts left Bombay upon the 17th of May last, on which day General Wellesley set out for Poonah, to take the command of the army. The merchants of Bombay had given, upon the occasion, a very considerable pecuniary aid to government.

A curious reaping machine has been invented by two Americans of the names of Dawson and Coxe. It is adapted to be either moved by men or drawn by horses; it cuts off and collects the heads of wheat, barley, and all other grain-bearing plants, as they grow in the field, without any loss of the grain, and with a wonderful abbreviation of labour.

The following characteristic letter from the hero of the Nile to the lord



lord mayor of London, appeared in the public prints of this day, dated, Victory, August 1, 1804.

*“ My Lord,*

“ This day I am honoured with your lordship’s letter of April 9th, transmitting me the resolutions of the corporation of London, thanking me, as commanding the fleet blockading Toulon.

“ I do assure your lordship, that there is not a man breathing who sets a higher value upon the thanks of his fellow-citizens of London than myself; but I should feel as much ashamed to receive them for a particular service, marked in the resolution, if I felt that I did not come within that line of service, as I should feel hurt at having a great victory passed over without notice.

“ I beg to inform your lordship, that the port of Toulon has never been blockaded by me; quite the reverse: every opportunity has been offered the enemy to put to sea; for it is there that we hope to realize the hopes and expectations of our country; and I trust that they will not be disappointed.

“ Your lordship will judge of my feelings upon seeing that all the junior flag officers of other fleets, and even some of the captains, have received the thanks of the corporation of London, whilst the junior flag officers of the Mediterranean fleet are entirely omitted. I own it has struck me very forcibly; for where the information of the junior flag officers and captains of other fleets was obtained, the same information could have been given of the flag officers of this fleet, and the captains; and it is my duty to state, that more able and zealous flag officers and captains do not grace the British navy, than those I have

the honour and happiness to command.

“ It likewise appears, my lord, a most extraordinary circumstance, that Sir Richard Bickerton should have been, as second in command in the Mediterranean fleets, twice passed over by the corporation of London—once after the Egyptian expedition, when the first and third in command were thanked; and now again!

“ Conscious of high desert, instead of neglect, the rear-admiral resolved to let the matter rest, until he could have an opportunity personally to call upon the lord mayor to account for such an extraordinary omission; but from this second omission I owe it to that excellent officer not to pass it by.

“ I do assure your lordship, that the constant, zealous, and cordial support I have had in my command, from both rear-admiral Sir Richard Bickerton and rear-admiral Campbell, has been such as calls forth all my thanks and approbation. We have shared together the constant attention of being fourteen months at sea, and are ready to share the dangers and glory of a day of battle. Therefore it is impossible that I can ever allow myself to be separated in thanks from such supporters.

“ I have the honour to remain, with the very highest respect, your lordship’s most faithful and obedient servant,

“ NELSON & BRONTE.

*“ To the right hon. the  
lord mayor, &c. &c.”*

As soon as the above letter was made public, Mr. Dixon sent to all the newspapers an explanation, which stated, that the “ vote of thanks” to Admirals Cornwallis and Thornborough, proposed by himself,



self, was amended by Alderman Curtis, with a vote of thanks to Lord Nelson. The worthy alderman, it seems, whose good motives cannot be doubted, did not happen to recollect the names of the officers next in command.

The ancient village of Reculver in Kent (the Regulbium of the Romans), has received serious injury from the high tides of the autumnal equinox. The wind blowing strong from the north-west, and the tide being at the full, the cliff, on which were two houses, gave way, and with the houses was precipitated in ruins on the beach, carrying with it the exterior walls of three adjoining tenements. One of them was an ancient building opposite to the public-house, which was supposed to have been the remains of a monastic edifice. Part of the churchyard has been washed away.

A court-martial was lately held on an officer of high rank for striking a private. His majesty approved of the sentence (a very severe reprimand), and directed "that the judge-advocate's letter should express the wish of his majesty, that the lieutenant-colonel in his zeal for the service, had conducted his command with more temper than in some instances he appears to have done:" as also, "that it should declare his majesty's high disapprobation of striking a soldier at any time, but more especially when under arms; although the blow, as in the case adduced in the evidence, be inflicted without cruelty, and without any material hurt.

This evening one of the park-keepers discovered a woman floating in the Serpentine river; he drew her to the bank, but she was lifeless. The body was owned yesterday, and

the deceased proves to have been an elderly widow, who resided at Brompton, and who has left a large family.

12th. The heat of this afternoon was excessive. The thermometer, in the shade, stood as high as 80 degrees of Fahrenheit's scale, and the streets were nearly as clear of pedestrians as at twelve the preceding night.

14th. A melancholy accident happened at the lock, known by the name of the Rye-house lock, near Huddesdon, on the river Lea. As the lock-keeper's daughter, an amiable young woman, was returning from a message, across the lock, her foot slipped, and she was precipitated into the pool, and drowned.

15th. Alderman Metcalf was elected Mayor of New Woodstock, for the 9th time. He served that office exactly 50 years ago, and is considered to be still fully adequate to its duties.

There is a curious room in Hurstmonceaux castle, of which the dimensions, which were very lofty and spacious, are still traccable, and from which the "Drummer, or the Haunted House," had its origin. The furniture and wood-work of this apartment has been carried away to the modern house in the park, built by Mr. Hare, known by the name of the Leveret.

—— Ferur omnia Jupiter Argos,  
Transtulit, et nemo hic habitat nisi  
nocte coactus.

At Burlington, a person of the name of Crosbie, an inhabitant of Graystock in Cumberland, went, amongst many others, to an entertainment given by the Duke of Northumberland, where he ate and drank so immoderately, that he was no longer able to sustain it; and, after

lin-



lingering for some time, notwithstanding every medical assistance, was at last relieved from his excruciating agonies by the friendly interposition of death!

Mr. Raines, of Hull, returning from Hesle in a gig, with his wife, and two children, it caught with a stage coach near Anlaby, by which it was overturned; when the youngest child, a girl about 7 months old, was killed in the arms of its mother, by the coach wheel passing over it, which also went over Mr. R. and the other child under him, but without doing them material injury.

16th. A young whale, about 50 feet in length, was driven upon Trinity Sand, in the mouth of the Humber. It has been taken into Grimsby, having been purchased by the captain of the *Bernie* greenlandman.

18th. This morning, a butcher in Whitechapel, for a wager of 17 guineas, being all he had, engaged to go 60 miles in 12 hours, on foot. He started from Whitechapel turnpike, walked 30 miles and back again to the starting place. He performed the journey in 3 quarters of an hour less than the time allowed: several hundreds of pounds were depending on the event.

A striking instance of remorse of conscience, which exemplifies the avenging hand of God against murder, has just added to the many similar impressive lessons, in the voluntary surrender of a woman, who this day appeared before a magistrate of the hundred of Longtree in Gloucestershire, and confessed, that 8 years ago she had murdered her bastard child, by cutting its throat and throwing it into a brook. She declared, that such was the intolerable misery of her mind till she had divulged the dreadful secret, that

she was inevitably compelled to consign herself over to the sentence of the law, to answer for the horrid deed which embittered every moment of her existence.

20th. At a general court of the proprietors of bank stock, a resolution was agreed on to grant the holders of bank stock a bonus of 5 per cent. on the stock they hold; and the court also agreed to pay the property tax in addition, which together makes the bonus 5l. 5s. per cent. It was at the same time carried unanimously, that the salary of the bank directors should be raised from 150l. per annum to 300l.

Vipers have been unusually numerous in the corn fields of Sussex, during the present harvest. A few days since, a young woman received a bite from one of those reptiles, on the ankle, while labouring in a barley field near Beeding; and notwithstanding surgical assistance was obtained, soon after the accident, she died on the second day.

Mr. Thomas Allen, of Eddentine, in the parish of Colwall, Herefordshire, who had thrown together a large quantity of furze and fern in the corner of a field, to rot for manure, during the late warm weather, killed 15 or 16 old snakes near the spot. This circumstance led him to suspect that there were many more sheltered in the mixture, which induced him to remove it, when, to his great astonishment, he discovered a number of young ones, and a great quantity of eggs, and by a vigilant exertion he killed 150 young snakes!

21st. The following melancholy event took place:—James Warre, esq. and family, who were engaged in a tour through the country, took their departure from Ross, in Here-



fordshire, on the above date, in one of the pleasure boats in an excursion down the Wye, and had proceeded as far as Coldwell, the usual place of stopping to take some refreshment.

After dinner, the two sons expressed a wish to bathe, which was not objected to by their father, as both could swim: before they had been long in the water, the eldest, a fine youth of 17, called aloud for help, when one of the boatmen instantly plunged in to his assistance, and becoming entangled together, they both sunk to the bottom, in deep water. The waterman, disengaging himself, rose to the surface, and being much exhausted, with difficulty reached the shore, but every effort to save Warre proved ineffectual, and he was drowned in the presence of his disconsolate parents!

At Gateshead a young woman died in consequence of taking poison. She had always declined giving any account of herself; but it appears she was seduced from her parents, who reside at Grantham, by a person belonging to one of the stage-coaches travelling south, who kept her at Gateshead. Coroner's verdict.—*Lunacy.*

27th. His grace the duke of Portland, as visitor to Pembroke College, Oxford, has given in his final decision as to the vacant Guernsey and Jersey fellowships. After having maturely weighed and considered the pretensions of the two islands, and examined the statutes relative to the foundations of the fellowships, and their order of succession, he has decided that the turn of nomination belonged to Jersey; but as by the

express tenor of the statutes, the three fellowships could not be held by three gentlemen of one island, and Messrs. Hue and Dupré, both Jersey men, occupied the other two. The vacant fellowship of Pembroke is to be filled up by a native of Guernsey.

This morning, as W. Ash, T. Ash (father and son), W. Arnold, and J. Fowler, shipwrights, were at work in the magazine of the Belle-rophon, lying in dock at Portsmouth, a candle, (the place being secluded from light) communicated itself to some loose powder, and they were in an instant rendered the most shocking spectacles by the effect of the explosion.

29th. A grand naval *fête* was given to their majesties on board the yachts at Weymouth, attended by more than 260 of the nobility. After dinner, a Dutch fair was held, and several of the principal performers from the London theatres performed parts in an interlude composed for the occasion.

A common-hall was held for the election of a lord-mayor; previous to which, the aldermen attended at the church of St. Lawrence Jewry, where an appropriate sermon was preached by the lord-mayor's chaplain. The following aldermen were announced as eligible: Peter Perchard, esq. James Shaw, esq. Charles Flower, esq. and Sir Wm. Leighton, knt. The shew of hands was greatly in favour of aldermen Perchard and Flower: on which the friends of alderman Shaw demanded a poll.

DIED.—At Philadelphia, at the house of Samuel Wheeler, esq. in the 100th year of her age, Ruth Wood, a native of that place. She remembered



bered the city when the high forest trees stood in Walnut-street, from Fourth-street to the river.

## OCTOBER.

1st. This afternoon, about four o'clock, a man in an outrageous paroxysm of insanity, went into the Goat public-house, near Vauxhall, and entering a room, he there gave himself several wounds with a small knife, he next sallied forth in a frightful bloody condition, and entered the bar, where he found a young woman, a servant of the house, alone, whom he instantly stabbed twice in the throat, and knocked down; on her attempting to rise, he plunged the knife into her shoulder. On quitting the bar, he seized an old man in the tap-room and struck him several times, but the knife falling from his hand, the poor man escaped without any material injury; going out of the door to depart, he made an attempt to stab the landlady, and struck a person in conversation with her; but they both providentially escaped. One Joyce, in attempting to secure the maniac, was stabbed by him in the shoulder and compelled to quit his hold; the disordered man, still at liberty, ranged about the road, endeavouring to wound every person that came in his way, till at length he was secured by stratagem. His name is M'Kay, a surgeon's-mate in the navy. He was sent to St. Thomas's Hospital, with little hopes of his recovery.

2d. Dorchester barracks were nearly destroyed by fire, in consequence of some of the German Le-

gion falling asleep, while smoking their pipes.

Two gentlemen shot a badger in a hedge-bottom, in the neighbourhood of Sex's-Hill, Leicestershire; it weighed upwards of 40lb. and was remarkably fat: the skin was so thick and loose as to resist many of the shot, and was found only indented, and they were obliged to fire three times before it was destroyed.

3d. Advices from lord Keith, of this date, brought the unpleasant intelligence of the total failure of a project (to be executed under his lordship's direction) for destroying the Boulogne flotilla. This undertaking, commonly known by the appellation of the CATAMARAN expedition, was to have been effected by navigating certain vessels, filled with combustibles, beneath or level with the surface of the water, into the midst of the enemy's craft, and there exploded. Great expectations were raised in consequence of its being known that the minister and the first lord of the Admiralty had fully approved, and had the utmost confidence in the success of the expedition; but it is difficult to determine whether the STONE project of the last year, or the CATAMARAN of the present, has been most unsuccessful, or produced most disappointment to the public\*.

The French papers state that sir James Crawford, who had leave to drink the waters of Aix la Chapelle, for two months, having broken his parole, that privilege has been taken from all British prisoners. Their confinement at Verdun is consequently much more strict than it used to be: they are very narrowly

\* Vide Lord Keith's Letter in the Appendix to the Chronicle.



watched, and a gens d'armes is placed in the apartments of some of those who are of the greatest rank.

Sir J. Crawford has, however, publicly disavowed having, by his return to England, forfeited his honour.—He observes, that, “*when he quitted France, he was bound by no tie whatever to remain there.*”—He had remained, till a considerable office, reserved a twelvemonth for his acceptance, was given away to another; and till the life of his lady was endangered by her affliction.

A bricklayer and his man were employed, some days ago, to repair the villa of captain Duncan, of Leesom-row, near Fulham; and as they proceeded to strip off the old tiles, they found a large silver cup, containing 700 guineas, the coinage of George the first, a great number of antique rings and valuable trinkets, of which the honest bricklayer and his servant immediately apprized their employer.

This morning, at three o'clock, a fire took place in one of the old wooden houses in Union-street, Westminster, leading to Palace-yard. The house was inhabited by Mrs. Storr, hatter, and family, which consisted of herself, two sons, two female servants, and a woman lodger named Freeman, aged near 80 years. It originated from a rush-light which had fallen against the wainscot in the room of the old woman, and there being no assistance at hand, the house was speedily in flames. The sons conveyed away their mother, but the unfortunate old woman and the two girls were left surrounded by the devouring element. The woman was burnt to death, and the girls dropt from the attic story into the street, by which they were much injured. One

of them died two days afterwards in the hospital. The fire burnt backwards, and consumed the house of Mr. Godfree, upholsterer, in Palace-yard. The Westminster volunteers attended, and were of great service in preventing depredations.

5th. Margery Wood was fully committed to Shepton-Mallet bridge-well for the murder of her infant. She was a most deplorable looking object, about 45 years of age, but her looks bespoke her much older. Her confession was ample, circumstantial, and most pitiable, and the agonies of her mind, since the perpetration of the horrid deed, must have been truly acute and deplorable. She carried the little innocent, naked, with no other covering for it but her apron, through the streets of Bath, for a month after her delivery, and at last took the diabolical resolution of cutting its throat, and throwing it in the river! some minutes before it sunk, it held up one of its little hands, apparently praying for the protection of its unnatural mother; who, at that moment, (she says) would have given worlds to preserve it; it sunk, and left her a prey to the ceaseless tortures of a guilty conscience; tortures which may be conceived, in her dreadful case, but cannot be expressed.

At the Surry sessions, in Horse-monger-lane, Robert Howell was found guilty, and sentenced to transportation for seven years, for stealing 7l. 14s. and a quantity of wearing apparel, from Francis Cooke, a poor old blind sailor!

William Davis was indicted for violently assaulting Sarah Sadler, in the parish of Bermondsey. The prisoner was a poor unfortunate barber, whom the counsel compared to a monkey, or one of the miserable



looking inhabitants of St. Jago. He thought that Miss Sadler was in love with him, and, on his part, to shew his respect for her, whenever they met, he *tumbled, touzled, and rumpled* her so much, that she appeared as if she had been drawn through a hedge, and her muslin torn by the briars. For this aggression, the prosecution was commenced by the father of the girl, the issue of which was, that the jury found the poor harber guilty; but the court, in consideration of a defect in his intellects, and of the resplendent charms, (though relentless heart) of the fair lady, discharged him on his giving surety to keep his hands off in future.

A hare was this day shot in Surry, by the game-keeper of J. Judson, esq. which, on opening, was found to contain four young ones, all alive; he wrapped them up carefully, and brought them home to his wife, who has succeeded in rearing three of them perfectly well, being all stout and strong, and likely to live.

8th. This afternoon, two young men belonging to the Inflexible, captain Bayley, now lying in the Downs, went into a field about a quarter of a mile from Deal, to decide an affair of honour. At the first fire, one of them was mortally wounded in the head, and died in about half an hour after. His adversary ha made his escape, but the two sconds are committed to gaol. Th deceased's name is Sawyer, captan's clerk of the Inflexible.

A farmer, at Hampton, for a wager of 5 guineas, rode his poney, a beast nder 14 hands high, 90 miles, on the western road, in 12 hours and a half. The rider weighs

at least 14 stone, and the beast performed this extraordinary feat in three quarters of an hour less than the time allowed. A number of sporting gentlemen were present on this occasion, and were deeply taken in by the performance of this extraordinary little creature.

9th. This day, Mr. common serjeant informed the livery, that the sheriffs declared the votes given for the several candidates for the office of lord mayor were: for Mr. alderman Perchard, 1781; Shaw, 1652; Flower, 687; and that the choice of the livery had fallen on Mr. Perchard and Mr. Shaw. The sheriffs then proceeded to the court of aldermen to make the return; and in half an hour, came back, attended by the lord mayor, with Mr. Perchard on his left hand as lord mayor elect, followed by several aldermen. After the usual ceremonies, the recorder declared, that the election of lord mayor and alderman had fallen on Peter Perchard, esq. alderman and goldsmith, which was received with the greatest applause.

13th. A singular accident happened at the new church, Dagenham, Essex. The society of Cumberland youths were invited to open the new peal of bells, which they performed in the morning, by ringing 7008 changes of Oxford treble-bob-royal, in four hours and forty-nine minutes; but, in the evening, Mr. Channon, master of the society, wished to oblige the inhabitants of the village with another peal, when, unfortunately, his leg got entangled in the rope, which drew him up to the next loft, and falling thence on his head, he was killed on the spot, the upper part of the skull being beat in so, that the brains oozed out through the cavities.



14th. Ann Barker, 33 years of age, and well dressed, was found this morning in the New River, at Islington, drowned. The surgeon called in, declared her past all hopes of recovery.

15th. Mrs. Hayes, about eighty years of age, in Pall-Mall court, retired to her chamber about ten o'clock, her usual hour of rest: her chamber was on the attic story for the benefit of the air.—About 11 o'clock, the servants heard a most dreadful crash, and a groan. On running out, they found their mistress in her night-gown, fastened (by the spikes having entered her thighs two inches above the knees) to the railing, her back broke, and her skull fractured in two places. On being carried into the house she expired.

It appears that she had for some months been in a state of childhood, and it is supposed that something, as she slept, alarming her, she opened the window and threw herself out.

16th. Claudius Stephen Hunter, esq. was sworn into office as alderman of Bassishaw ward, vice Robert Clarke, esq. resigned.

A singular escape from the most impending danger, happened to James Crow, esq. of Lakenham, Norfolk. As he drove himself through Catton, in his one horse carriage, he passed under a tree at that time felling; the tree fell upon the horse in the chaise, and instantaneously killed it, without Mr. Crow's receiving, any, the slightest injury!

17th. This morning between 7 and 8 o'clock, a young lady genteelly dressed, threw herself into a canal near Liverpool, and was unfortunately drowned. The body has

not been owned. A handkerchief found upon her had the initials E. J.

A Roman sepulchre has lately been discovered at Ashby-Puerorum in Lincolnshire. It was found by a labourer who was cutting a ditch, and consists of a stone chest, which lay three feet below the surface of the earth. The chest is of free-stone, of the kind found in abundance on Lincoln heath. The urn is made of strong glass, well manufactured, but of a greenish hue. The glass is perfect in all respects, and the surface is as smooth as if just taken out of the fire. This receptacle of the ashes was nearly filled with small pieces of bone, many of which from the effects of ignition, were white through their whole substance. Among the fragments was discovered a small lacrymatory.

18th. This evening an atrocious robbery was committed on a female, as amiable, as good, and as valuable, as any society can boast. At about a quarter past seven the right hon. Dowager Lady Dacre was taking her usual solitary walk near her house at Lee, between Lewisham and Eltham in Kent; when a ruffian came up near the church, presented a pistol, and, with horrid imprecations, demanded her watch. She told him, if he would take the pistol away, she would give it him. As soon as he got the watch, he put the pistol again to her ladyship's breast, and demanded her purse. This she also gave: it contained six guineas, with which he departed. Ever since the death of the late Lord Dacre, his amiable widow has made it an invariable practice to visit his tomb at a certain hour in the evening. No company, no engagement, no inclemency of weather, neither storms nor hurricanes, have ever prevented



prevented her from executing this pious office. It was on one of these occasions, that the sacrilegious wretch took the opportunity of perpetrating this crime.

A gentleman writes from Virginia, that they had been for 12 days clouded with a dark smoke; and that, on the day he wrote, the Clinch mountain had sunk for many miles to the depth of 50 feet, after which clouds of smoke issued therefrom; so that the inhabitants at the distance of 20 miles from the place, were not able to discover an object at 20 feet distance. This, it is supposed, was occasioned by the burning of the stone coal which is in that mountain.

20th. A coroner's inquest was held at the ship tavern, Milbank, on the body of Susannah Humphries, a young lady who fell out of a boat, and was drowned, at Chelsea reach. She was in company on the preceding day with Mrs. Sutler of Lambeth, and her son, Mr. Sutler, with whom she was on the point of marriage. An inquest was also held on the body of Elizabeth Woodcock, who was burned to death the day before in a garret, No. 4, Lascelles' place, Broad-sreet, Bloomsbury; an accident supposed to be occasioned by lifting of a saucepan from the fire. The verdicts were, in both cases—Accidental death.

22d. About 8 at night, a most dreadful fire broke out in the stables of the Spotted Dog public house, in Chelmsford. A party of Hanoverians, about 120 in number, marched into the town about 2 o'clock the same day, and were, for convenience, lodged in the house and stables upon the premises. Fatigued with their march, they retired to rest at an early hour, seventy of

them in particular, in a large stable at the above public house, without any other fastening to the door than a latch. In the evening, an alarm of fire was given, the drums beat to arms, and the premises where the 70 men lodged, among whom were some women, were discovered to be in flames; possibly unacquainted with the use of a latch, the Hanoverians were some time before they could open the door, which, after a short time, was effected from without, and they (as was at first supposed) all made their escape, but not without many of them being most dreadfully scorched, and their clothes in flames. Every mind was perfectly rejoiced, that providence had saved, as they supposed, the lives of those who were just before the inhabitants of the buildings; but little was it suspected, that 12 poor unfortunate fellow creatures were left struggling under the ruins. The fire had subsided about twelve o'clock; but next morning, on removing the rubbish, it was discovered that 12 men had perished! Their mutilated remains were dragged out, in a state too dreadful to describe. A number of horses belonging to the royal waggon train were in the stables, all of which were removed, but two, and they were burnt to death.—One other unfortunate Hanoverian died the next morning from the injury he received. Every soul must have perished in the flames, had not the corporal of the detachment, to whom the alarm of fire had been given, most providentially ran down to the stable, and extricated them from their distressing situation.—Several of the survivors were shockingly burnt. The coroner's jury, which sat upon this melancholy event, af-



ter retiring for a considerable time, brought in a verdict of accidental death.

23d. Advices from Admiral Cornwallis, give the important intelligence of a small squadron of British frigates, under the command of capt. G. Moore, of the *Indefatigable*, having, after a short action, captured 3 Spanish treasure ships, and blown up one, off cape St. Mary's. Independently of 3,200,000 dollars, the captured vessels abound in the most precious merchandize. This is the first act of hostilities with Spain, and must doubtless be followed by a war with that power. A most melancholy circumstance took place in consequence of the explosion of the *Mercedes*, one of the Spanish squadron. In it was embarked a native of Spain, who was returning from America with his whole family, consisting of his lady, 4 daughters, and 5 sons. The daughters were beautiful and amiable women, the sons grown up to manhood. With such a family, and a large fortune, the gradual savings of 25 years' industry, did this unhappy man embark for his native country. A short time before the action began, he, with one of his sons, went on board the largest of the ships, and in a few minutes became the spectator of his wife, his daughters, 4 of his sons, and all his treasure, surrounded with flames, and sinking in the abyss of the ocean. This victim of almost unheard-of calamity, arrived at Plymouth, with the only remains of so many blessings, in capt. Moore's cabin, who was unceasing in his endeavours to administer all in his power towards the alleviation of his sufferings.\*

25th. Hyde Park exhibited a triumphant display of the military resources of this great capital of the empire, and confirmed the hopes which were formed last year, of the zeal, activity, and discipline of its brave and loyal voluntary defenders.

Soon after 9 the following regiments made their appearance in the park, and took their ground opposite Grosvenor gate:—the hon. artillery company, lieut. col. Le Mesurier; with the company of yagers, commanded by capt. Bessell, were on the right, two field pieces were attached to the regiment; the 4th loyal London, lieut. col. Price; the 7th ditto, major Pratt; the 8th ditto, col. Canning; the 5th ditto, col. Smith; the 2d ditto, ditto.

The regiments marched into line by companies, and having taken open order, awaited the arrival of the reviewing general. The earl of Harrington attended about half past 10, and was received with the usual honours; the troops presented arms, and the officers saluted, while the different bands played, and the drums beat. Gen. the earl of Harrington then passed in front and rear of the brigade, and afterwards placed himself opposite the centre. The light companies and yagers were sent out and skirmished, while the line advanced and fired several volleys. After this the light troops were called in by the bugles, and the whole commenced firing by companies, from the centre to the flanks. Each regiment formed close column in rear of the grenadiers, and marched in the same order to the centre battalion, and then performed the principal of the 19 manœuvres, particularly the change of position and

\* For capt. Moore's account of the action vide the Appendix to the Chronicle.



forming new fronts, executing every movement with the utmost precision and exactness; above all they merited every praise for the manner in which they charged. These evolutions occupied them till near two o'clock, when the line wheeled backwards into columns upon the left, passed the general in review, and quitted the ground in quick time. Every regiment mustered extremely well, and the whole amounted to near 3000. While they were retiring, the three regiments of the hon. the East India company marched in thro' the gate at the end of Oxford-road, and occupied their ground. These, amounting to nearly 3000, were joined by the 3d loyal London, lieutenant-col. Kensington, who mustered 580. This formidable brigade marched by companies into line, with 6 field pieces in the centre. The earl of Harrington reviewed them as he had done the former brigade, and having taken his station, attended by his aids-de-camp, generals Grosvenor and Burrard, lord Petersham, col. Jenkinson, col. Gaitskill, and several officers of volunteer corps, the light troops were ordered forward as before, and the line advanced. Nothing could be more steady than their march in ordinary time; not a file was out of his dressing, and the whole preserved the utmost regularity and order. They were ordered to commence independent firing, which was so rapid and well kept up, that the brigade was in a few minutes involved in smoke. The artillery men loaded and fired thrice in a minute. The brigade then performed all those manœuvres, which the former had gone through. It was near dusk when they passed the reviewing general, and marched towards the city. Upon the whole,

such an army as appeared in the field, in the course of the day, must be not only a theme of exultation to the inhabitants of the first city in the world, but to the people in general of the only free country in Europe. There were thousands of spectators, and among them many persons of distinction. It was upon the whole a most splendid scene, and exceeded every thing of the kind since the grand review before his majesty.

A singular discovery was lately made at Orchardliegh house, Somersetshire. The servants having frequently observed a large Muscovy duck take wing from the lake below the house, and hover round the church which stands on an island in the water, were led by curiosity to watch its retreat, and, by a strict search, discovered it to be in the roof of the church, directly under the only bell it contains, in which the bird now comfortably sits upon 17 eggs; its only retreat being thro' a small aperture near the roof.

A young lady possessed of 4000*l*. lately eloped from her father's house in the neighbourhood of Gray's inn, with a young Hibernian, a painter and glazier, residing in the vicinage of Soho. The parties met at the late Croydon fair, for the first time, and, on the morning following, the lady eloped. The father, after much anxious search, discovered her retreat; but she refused to return home, and has since given her hand to the painter.

The court of directors of the East India company, have come to a resolution to allow the passengers, who were belonging to the navy on board the Bombay Castle, capt. Hamilton; and the Earl Camden, capt. Dance, for their services in the action with Linois, the same gratuity as those allowed



allowed to officers in similar situations on board the company's ships.

Mellersh, a butcher of Newgate market, dropped a bank note for 100l. some time ago, at a settling house in Smithfield. The note was traced to one Murray, a butcher, of Plumstead, in Kent; who has since been compelled to restore it, with all the costs of an action instituted for its recovery. Murray was present when the note was dropped in Smithfield.

Mr. B. Knight undertook for a wager of considerable amount, to walk from Cardiff to Brecon, and back, a distance of 86 miles, in 40 hours, which he performed with great ease in 33.

27th. Henry Perfect, alias the Rev. Mr. Paul, alias the Rev. Mr. Bennet, was indicted at the Middlesex quarter sessions, for obtaining, at different times, 12l. 15s. by false pretences, from the earl of Clarendon. It appeared from his lordship's testimony, that in the character of a clergyman, the prisoner had written to him, to implore assistance for a distressed lady, named Grant, residing at Harlow in Essex, who was represented as the daughter of a gentleman in the West Indies, newly married to a proud young Scotchman, who had deserted her. Several other letters, signed by Mrs. Smith, came to his lordship's hands. The prisoner wrote in three different hands, and carried on his plan of fraud for a considerable time, until at last the whole (with many other impositions of a similar nature, to a most extensive amount), was discovered; and at the prisoner's lodgings, when taken up, copies of the different letters, with the answers to them, were found. The jury pronounced a verdict of guilty, and the

prisoner was sentenced to 7 years transportation.

Three gentlemen of Manchester, shooting at Colne, near Burnley, were for two days accompanied by a man 82 years of age, who carried a basket containing their provisions with great apparent ease to himself, though it is supposed that he must, at an average, have walked 25 miles a day. He told them that at the age of 76 he walked thence to London in 3 days, which was 55 miles a day, stopped 4 days, and was 3 more in returning to his native place. He said he had several lads between 50 and 60. He frequently goes to Preston and back in a day, which is 46 miles.—Nor did he think his exertions extraordinary, as he informed the same gentleman, that he remembered, a grandson, his father and grandfather, residing in the neighbourhood of Colne, the youngest of whom was upwards of eighty years old!

28th. As the wife of John Brew, a watchman, in Lemon-street, White-chapel, was reading the bible at the fire side, a spark flew from it, and set her clothes in a blaze. She called to her husband, who is *nearly 90 years old*, and very deaf, for assistance, but before he could give it she was so miserably burnt, that she died the following day.

29th. The anniversary festival of that excellent and humane institution, the society for the relief of the widows and orphans of medical men, was held at the London tavern, and very numerous attended. Sir Wm. Blizard, one of the vice presidents, was called to the chair, and favoured the society with his company to a late hour; during which many loyal and patriotic toasts were given, and the company entertained by songs



songs and glees from the principal performers at the theatres. One toast excited particular attention. It was given by the president with his usual warmth of sentiment and feeling, and excited a burst of applause from the company. "The health of that medical character, who, at the risk of his own life, withstood the orders of Bonaparte, to destroy the sick soldiers in Egypt." Another of the vice presidents added, "That Desgenetts had formerly visited this country, and, in addition to his native goodness of heart, had here imbibed the independent spirit of a Briton." It must be pleasing to every friend of humanity, and to the medical profession in particular, to learn, from the statements laid before the meeting on that day, that since the institution was first set on foot, about 16 years ago, the property of the society has increased to 13,000*l.* 3 per cent. consols; and that 1200*l.*'s have been distributed out of the interest of the stock to widows and orphans of deceased members, most of whom were unfortunately not in a situation to make a proper provision for their relatives.

30th. This morning, an excise officer, named Littlejohn, was found dead in a vat of strong beer, in a state of fermentation, at the brew-house of Mr. Thornton at Horsham. It came out, in evidence, before the coroner's jury, on a view of the body, that the deceased went to the brewhouse, on Monday night, to make his accustomed survey; and that in leaning over the vessel, the azotic gas, arising from beer in such a state, might suffocate him, and cause him to fall into the liquor; they therefore returned a verdict of accidental death. The vessel con-

taining about 16 barrels of beer, was by Mr. Thornton's direction, thrown into the common sewer.

31st. This day three bullocks were killed by lightning at Temple Bodmin. The flash struck a tree, which stood in a hedge, and shivered it from the top to the bottom, divided the hedge into two parts, made a deep furrow to the place where the bullocks stood, and killed them upon the spot, without leaving the slightest appearance of a wound.

A distressing event happened at Newington, in Surry. John Ricketts, the sexton, was employed digging a grave for the remains of a lady in the Kent-road, and the coffin was just entering the church-yard, preceded by the minister, when the whole mass of earth on each side of the grave fell in, and covered the unfortunate delver in a depth of six feet, just as he was getting out with his pick-axe and shovel. Within five minutes after the accident happened, a number of persons ran to assist the poor man, and began to remove the earth; their endeavours were however much retarded by the concourse of spectators, who rushed to the brink of the grave, and nearly an hour elapsed before they discovered the body, which being taken out, means were used by a professional gentleman to restore animation; but every effort proved ineffectual, and the body was borne away lifeless on a shutter, amidst the cries and complaints of a disconsolate wife and five children, who were witnesses of the affecting scene.

This day a violent storm of thunder and lightning pervaded the greatest part of Cornwall. A violent gust of wind passed through a part of the parish of Kenwin, which overturned



turned mows of corn, a furze-rick, apple trees and whatever else stood in its way: and in the neighbourhood of Penzance many windows were broken by hail stones of an enormous size.

**DIED.**—5th. At the age of 104 years, Mrs. Lovelin, relict of the late William Lovelin.

6th. Mr. Thomas Whittingham, of Hillingdon, at the very advanced age of 104. He retained all his faculties to the very last hour, as well as he ever did at any other period of his life, and could walk a distance of two or three miles with perfect ease. He was born in the reign of king William, and had a most perfect recollection of the person of Q. Anne, of whom he often spoke. In the rebellion of fifteen he was employed in conveying troops and baggage from Uxbridge to London.

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## NOVEMBER.

1st. Monsieur, brother to Louis XVIII. accompanied by his suite, returned to Yarmouth, from Sweden, whither he had gone to meet his royal brother, between whom and him a most affecting interview took place at Calmar on the 7th of last month.

Advices were received by government of a most extraordinary and atrocious violation of the law of nations, in the seizing and carrying off Sir George Rumbold, the British chargé d'affaires, to the Hans Towns, and the states of the circle of Lower Saxony, on the night of the 25th ultimo, by a detachment of French troops. The particulars are as follow:—On the night of the 25th of October, a detachment of French troops, consisting of 250 men, land-

ed from three boats, on the Hamburgh territory. They had embarked at Harburgh, a small town on the left bank of the Elbe, in the electorate of Hanover, and about a mile distant from the city of Hamburgh. They landed between the cities of Hamburgh and Altona. A part of the detachment to the amount of 80 men, proceeded under the conduct of two guides to Grindel, where Sir George had resided for some time. Grindel is a village composed of a small number of country houses, not far removed from the Hamburgh gate, which is called the Dammthor, a few hundred paces only distant. The detachment having arrived at Grindel, commenced its operations by surrounding the house of the English minister at about one in the morning. Sir George Rumbold hearing a knock at the door, jumped out of bed to see what was the matter, and on looking out of the window, saw the house surrounded with soldiers, who told him they had dispatches for him. But on his refusing them admission, they instantly broke open the doors, rushed into every apartment, and pillaged the house of whatever was portable. They then seized Sir George, and conducted him in a carriage to the banks of the Elbe, across which river he was transported a close prisoner to Harburgh: thence he was carried closely guarded to Hanover; from which city he was removed to Paris, and confined there in the Temple!!!

The news from Gibraltar brought by dispatches received this day is of a most calamitous nature: it states that a malignant and pestilential fever had broken out in the garrison of that important place about the middle of September, and still continued



nued to rage, though with somewhat abated violence. The following extract from a respectable medical character on the rock, gives a circumstantial detail of its ravages: it is dated Gibraltar, 8th of October, 1804.

“ I had the pleasure, on the 21st ult. of relating to you the favourable opinion of our medical committee on the nature of the fever that had broke out in our garrison; since that period it has had much reason to alter its opinion: a great and alarming mortality has taken place, owing, in the first place, to sickness and filth, increased by want of sufficient medical attendance, nourishment and nurses. The numbers that have fallen to its violence within this fortnight are surprising: our reduced population does not now consist of (inhabitants and civilians) more than 3,000 souls. On Monday last 114 were buried, and all the week averaged nearly 90 per day! The number yesterday was reduced to 57, and this day I am hopeful it will not exceed 40, so that we mend apace, and expect the first heavy rains (hourly looked for) will relieve us from its ravages altogether. This mortality, from the causes before recited, you will easily conceive to have taken place principally among the poor. Of British merchants, very few have fallen, and those only in situations extremely prejudicial to health. The Jews have however died in numbers; and where the fever has broken out in a dirty ill-aired house, it has generally proved fatal to all its inhabitants. Many people have deserted the garrison from fear, and the death of many is ascribed to the same cause, particularly among the women and Jews. Among the British,

a committee of five has been chosen to assist the government in applying the most likely measures towards the promotion of the public health; relieving the distressed, burying the dead, &c. and it is vested with the fullest powers. The members are, Messrs. Ross, Smith, Sweetland, Allardyce, and myself.”

2nd. A fire broke out in the extensive water corn-mills of Mr. Pickering, at Frodsham-bridge, Cheshire, which entirely consumed the same. The damage done is very considerable; many thousand measures of corn having been destroyed. Among the principal sufferers are Messrs. Chadwicke, Brereton and Leadbeater; the former of whom had upwards of 3,000 measures of corn upon the premises. These mills are the property of Sir Peter Warburton, bart.

5th. By intelligence received this day from the West Indies, we learn that a tremendous hurricane had lately taken place in the windward islands: it blew from the 4th to the 6th of September, inclusive, without intermission. At St. Kitts its fury was most severely felt. It spread likewise to Antigua, St. Bartholomew, St. Thomas's and Dominica. The losses at the different islands among the shipping are thus particularized:—St. Kitts 120; Antigua 29; St. Bartholomew 50; Dominica 1; St. Thomas's 44;—total, 274 ships, many of which are Americans. Every vessel in the roads of St. Pierre and Martinique were driven on shore, and, with the exception of five, were totally lost. At Jamaica it was experienced on the 29th of August, when the Pique frigate was completely dismasted, and two American vessels entirely lost.



The effects of these hurricanes have not, however, been confined to the West Indies only. It appears by New York papers, dated September 30, that the losses sustained at Charleston, South Carolina, amounted to one million of dollars. In the beginning of September there occurred at Savannah a more dreadful hurricane than ever was remembered there; it continued to rage during the whole of the night of the 8th of September; and next morning when the inhabitants ventured out of their houses, they beheld all the trees in and about the city lying prostrate on the ground, the tops of chimnies, and several houses blown down. The wharfs, from one end of the city to the other, were torn up; and almost every store near them, with their contents, were destroyed. Every vessel in the harbour which was not totally lost, was thrown upon the wharfs. A man and two children were killed by the falling of houses. In Hutchinson's island, and other rice plantations near the place, all the buildings were swept away in the general destruction, and many overseers, and negroes with their families, amounting to nearly 100, were lost. At a place called the Bluff, damage to the amount of 100,000 dollars was sustained. The planters on Skemaway and Wilmington islands have also suffered considerably.

The same mails bring the intelligence of Dessalines, the black chief of St. Domingo, having been proclaimed emperor of Hayti, that being the Indian name of Hispaniola.

The young gentlemen of Eton college had their annual rejoicings this night, with fire-works, &c. A young nobleman put a lighted squib into a

school-fellow's coat pocket, about nine years old, which set fire to his clothes, and burned his side in so shocking a manner that he died in two days. His relations and friends, who have to lament his loss, reside at Petersburg. The young nobleman has absented himself from college, in consequence of his distress of mind at this unfortunate circumstance.

6th. The coachman of Dr. Wilson, driving a cart from Benfield to London, had not proceeded above three miles before he fell from one of his horses on which he was riding, and, the wheel going over him, was killed upon the spot.

8th. The admirable gilt lion's head letter-box, which was formerly at Button's coffee-house, and in which the valuable original manuscript copy of the Guardian was received, was yesterday knocked down at the Shakespears-tavern, Covent-garden, to Mr. Richardson, for 17l. 10s.

9th. Lord mayor's day was observed with great display of civic splendour. About one o'clock the old and new lord mayors, aldermen, and sheriffs, proceeded in procession to Blackfriar's bridge, where the city barge conveyed them to Westminster. They were attended by the city companies in their barges. The lord mayor was sworn into office before the barons of the exchequer, and, having saluted the different courts, returned to the barge, and landed at Blackfriars. Mr. Pitt followed the procession at some distance along Cheapside, when a party of the populace took out the horses from his carriage, and drew it to Guildhall. The hall was brilliantly illuminated. At each end was fixed a large glass chandelier; and in the

centre



centre was hung a great number of variegated lamps, which were so arranged as to assume the form of a balloon. About six o'clock the company sat down to dinner. At the Lord Mayor's table were, the Lord Chancellor, the Earls of Harrington and Camden, the Lords Melville, Grantley, Leslie, Mulgrave, and Castlereagh, Mr. Pitt, the Hanoverian and Turkish Ambassadors, several of the Judges, Sir John Colpoys, Admiral Peyton, Sir John Nichol, and some foreign officers, &c. &c. The ladies retired, soon after nine, to the common council room, where the crowd was very great. The ball was opened by a minuet between Alderman Hunter and Miss Le Mesurier. Country dances followed, and continued for several hours.

12th. This day the long-expected interview between the sovereign and the heir apparent took place at one o'clock at Kew palace. The queen and princesses were present. The meeting of those two personages, after a long interval, was marked by every emotion of kindness and conciliation on the one part, and of the most profound filial respect and veneration on the other.

13th. This day witnessed another violation of the law of nations by order of Buonaparte. Mr. Wagstaffe, the British messenger, was robbed of his dispatches, money, cloaths, &c. On the 6th he had set out for Petersburg, with dispatches for Lord G. L. Gower; and on the 11th, he took a carriage at Husum, with intent to proceed through Berlin on his destination. Arriving at Nohrdoff, he proceeded to Lubec in company with a Hanoverian messenger; at which place they were joined by a Mecklenburgh merchant

going to Schwerin. The three carriages proceeded together for Schwerin, in safety, until they arrived between Rhena and Schwerin, in the forest within two German miles of the latter city. Here the two messengers and postilions were alarmed by the appearance of a horseman in the uniform of an officer of French light horse, who rode up with an insolent air, looked in at the window of each carriage, and, having made his observations, drew up; instantly seven men, well mounted, rushed from the wood and joined him. They had the uniform and appearance of French cavalry, and were armed with carbines and sabres. The men presented their pieces at Mr. Wagstaffe and his companions, threatening that, if the least resistance were made, they would blow out their brains. They then dragged the parties into a wood, about a quarter of a mile from the road side. Here they proceeded to tie the two messengers, the Mecklenburgh merchant, and the postilions, to the trees, and left them, threatening to shoot the first who attempted to disengage himself. At length Mr. W. untied himself, and released his companions; when, on reaching their carriages, they found that the banditti had robbed them of every thing.—Mr. W. then returned to Husum, and reached London on Sunday.—This outrage took place upon the territory of the Duke of Mecklenburgh Schwerin, within two German miles of his capital.

The persons who robbed Mr. Wagstaffe are discovered to be the commandant of Ratzeburgh, and seven French soldiers.

14th. This morning about half past ten o'clock, his majesty arrived at the queen's house from Windsor; when



when, the arrangements having been made for the disposal of the two vacant red ribbons, Major-General's Moore and Ludlow were introduced, and with the usual forms, were elected knights of the bath. After which his majesty received the recorder's report in council, when Prentice and Webb for horse-stealing, and J. Lloyd, for uttering a forged bank note, were ordered for execution. Mr. Astlet, with other convicts, were respited during pleasure.

This day came on at Holyrood-house, the election of one of the sixteen peers of Scotland, vacant by the death of the Marquis of Tweeddale. The Earls of Kellie and Lauderdale were the candidates: the former was elected.

The workmen at Messrs. Lloyds forge, near Burton-upon-Trent, having had the misfortune to break the large hammer anvil steady, were about to blow up that part which is fixed in the ground; and as Samuel Bamford (though repeatedly warned of his danger) was driving iron wedges to further the operation, a spark communicated to the gun-powder, which exploded, blew off his head, and otherwise mangled his body in a shocking manner.

15th. The following melancholy accident happened at Southburne, near Great Driffield:—three or four warreners having been their rounds in the rabbit-warrens adjoining, on their return deposited their loaded pieces in the house of one of the party. Shortly afterwards one of the guns was taken up by a boy of eleven years of age, who levelled it at the servant girl, aged fifteen, and shot her through the head. She died in great agonies.

16th. Part of Mr. Hazledine's iron foundery, Coleham, Cumber-

land, was discovered to be on fire this morning, which had been burning for some time. The roof soon after fell in. It was got under between three and four o'clock. The night was fortunately calm; and a quantity of salt, added to the water in the engines, was observed to have very great efficacy in extinguishing the fire. The damage is estimated at near 1500l.

One of the Leeds coaches broke down near Sheffield, when one of the passengers (the housekeeper of Edward Abney, esq. of King's Newton, near Derby) was crushed to death by the coach.

William Chivers, a collier, was killed at the Rock Coal-work, near Nettlebridge, by a chain of enormous length, and upwards of a ton weight, having broke by the force of the fire-engine, and fallen upon him. Almost every bone in his body was broken, just as if he had suffered on the rack. Part of the chain was so entangled round his neck, that it became necessary to cut through the links with chissels. This poor fellow's life had been a series of deplorable accidents. When a youth, his eye was struck out by a stick in a scuffle. His body was disabled seven years ago by a quantity of rubbish falling on him. He narrowly escaped being killed by the falling of a piece of timber three weeks ago. Since then he escaped death by a great piece of coal falling near him.

The Earl of Carlisle has presented to the dean and chapter of York, for the embellishment of the minster, a window of beautiful painted glass, purchased during the late troubles in France from the church of St. Nicholas, at Rouen. The subject is the visitation of the Virgin.



Virgin Mary; the figures as large as life, admirably drawn, and always considered to have been designed either by Sebastian de Piombino, or Michael Angelo.

John Harris, a private in the royal waggon train, quartered at the White Hart at Moulsham, in Chelmsford, picked up a pocket-book in the inn yard, containing bank notes to the amount of 94l. which he instantly deposited with the landlord of the house, telling him to deliver it to the owner when enquired for. About three hours after, a rich old farmer, who puts up at that house, missed his book and notes, and upon enquiry of the landlord, had it, with the property, safely delivered to him; when he generously gave the soldier, who has a wife and four children, a one pound note as a reward for his honesty!

18th. To the great surprise of the public, Sir George Rumbold (late minister at Hamburgh, and whose atrocious seizure in his functions we have already mentioned in its place,\*) arrived in London from France.—It appears, that on his arrival at Paris he was immediately carried to the Temple, and conveyed to a miserable apartment, where he was treated with much rudeness. The keepers having directions to keep out of the way all *instruments of destruction*, it was with much difficulty he could prevail upon them to lend him a knife to cut up a fowl which he had for supper. He was then conveyed to a wretched flock bed, with dirty sheets and blankets; and in this situation he remained till the following evening, when he was waited upon by an officer of the police, who

informed him that there was no charge against him personally; that the French government were satisfied with the possession of all his papers, which they were resolved to keep; and that he must leave Paris at a late hour that evening.—At the hour appointed for his departure, he was put into a coach, and, without the least idea of his destination, was conveyed to Cherbourg, where he arrived on the 16th, and was immediately sent on board a French cutter, which sailed with a flag of truce for England. The cutter soon fell in with the Niobe frigate, which received Sir George, and conveyed him to Portsmouth. Not a doubt exists, but that his prompt and most unexpected deliverance was owing to the immediate and spirited demand made by Prussia in his behalf: his papers however have all been detained.

This day the Romney of 50 guns, a fine ship, left Yarmouth with bullocks for the Texel fleet, and carried out letters for the officers; on the following morning at nine, she was wrecked on the South Haak Sand, next the Texel, and on the 20th, most of the officers and crew quitted her on rafts and in the boats. They were made prisoners by the boats of the Dutch fleet, and the ship soon after went to pieces. This unfortunate accident originated in the Romney mistaking three American ships, wrecked the night before on the Haak Sands, for part of our Texel fleet at anchor. A tribute of gratitude is due to the admiral, officers and crew of the Dutch men of war in the Texel, who sent out five launches with a flag of truce, to the wreck; at the hazard of their lives,

\* Vide page 428.



they approached the Romney, and by their humane exertions, the lives of 300 British seamen were saved. Captain Colville of the Romney, and all his officers, have since arrived at Yarmouth. They were discharged upon their parole, by the Dutch admiral Kilkert, who behaved to them in the most humane manner.

The following instance of intrepid humanity in a British naval officer at Plymouth, among many other similar occurrences, deserves to be recorded:—Benjamin Nelson, a seaman of the Colossus of 74 guns, lying in Cawsand Bay, had been on shore on liberty, and coming aboard much intoxicated, fell out of the boat alongside the ship. Lieutenant Lothian, walking near the gangway, saw the accident, pulled off his coat, and with great intrepidity jumped from the starboard main-chains into the water: after swimming a little time, he caught Nelson by the hair, but in struggling to bring him to the boat, Nelson being a powerful man, sunk, dragging the lieutenant with him:—lieut. Lothian, by dint of superior swimming, soon rose again, grasping him firmly by the hair; they were then taken on board the ship's cutter, but on taking Nelson to the lower-gun deck, although every means were taken to restore his life, he breathed his last, more owing to suffocation from his drunkenness, than from his immersion in the water. Lieutenant Lothian was some time before he recovered from the effects which the fatigue and anxiety of his humane exertions had occasioned. The coroner's jury returned a verdict of—Accidental death.

A pumpkin of most extraordinary size and weight, and beautifully laced like the finest Cantaloupe ma-

lon, was cut in a garden, this day, at Bathwick, belonging to Mr. Graham, fruiterer, of Bath. It weighs 112lbs. the girt round is two yards, and it measures two yards and a half in length. The seed of this extraordinary production was given to the gardener by a French cook who was at Bath last winter, and who highly extolled its excellence for culinary purposes.

20th. Mrs. Sowerby, the wife of a pawnbroker, in Cannon-Row, Whitechapel, threw herself into the bason in the Green-park. She was taken out alive, and confessed that she had just before drank a quantity of aqua-fortis out of a phial; being carried to Mount-street work-house, she there expired in the evening! She has left three children. The coroner's inquest returned a verdict of—lunacy

A poor woman of Cottingham, Yorkshire, having left a child a few months old, in the cradle, alone, while she went out upon some occasion; and omitting to shut the door, on her return found the child lying on the floor, with both its hands nearly eaten off by a sow, which had found her way into the house.

21st. Lord Eardley, on passing through Windsor, saw a crowd collected; and, on enquiring the cause, found that it proceeded from a poor clergyman's goods being seized for a debt of 47l. which sum his lordship immediately disbursed, and thus relieved the fortunate object of his bounty from irreparable ruin.

24th. This evening, the signal being made at Torbay for the whole fleet to proceed to sea, the ships were standing out of the bay, when the Venerable, captain Hunter, in endeavouring to weather one of the ships



ships near her, missed stays, and went on shore on some rocks, where she beat violently. Signals of distress were immediately hoisted, and guns constantly fired. The crew, consisting of 555 souls, were all saved except eight, by the boats of the *Impetueux* and *Goliah*. The captain and officers remained on board till the last, with scarcely a hope of saving their lives; and when the surf was breaking tremendously over them, this scene of courage and magnanimity is thus described by one of the officers on board:—

“In this state, the officers persuaded their good and still undaunted captain to think of saving his life, and with it their own, as they had resolved, one and all, to share his fate. After some time he consented, on condition that the officers should go first. This point being concluded, the hope of life, long dismissed from our minds, began to revive, when another difficulty arose, which of the officers was to lead the way? The extinction of this new reviving hope was, indeed, dreadful, and the pause had nearly been fatal to us all! At length, one of the junior lieutenants, long known to the crew, and as brave a man as ever trod a quarter-deck, agreed to lead, the rest solemnly promising to follow. One after another we now descended from over the stern, (the only part above water) by single ropes, cold, benumbed, and wet through, and in this condition gained the boats, themselves in perilous attendance beneath. In this manner was it, that the poor old Venerable was abandoned to her fate; and about six o'clock we reached the *Impetueux*, where, it is needless to say, that we were treated with every attention

and kindness, that one ship's officers could shew to another in distress.” The Venerable soon after went to pieces, and next day there was nothing to be seen of her, but her bows; she was a very fine ship, built in 1784, and bore lord Duncan's flag in the ever memorable fight of Camperdown.

A corporal and a private belonging to the 81st regiment of foot, being part of the escort which arrived at Exeter with Mr. Russell's waggon on the Wednesday preceding, laden with treasure, were committed, the former to high-gaol, and the latter to the county bridewell, for breaking open one of the chests upon the road, and stealing thereout a quantity of dollars, which they sold. The serjeant of the party, on their return to Plymouth, observing them to be in possession of cash and bank notes, immediately had them apprehended, when one of them made a full confession of the fact. They are fully committed for trial.

In a parish, not 100 miles from North Elmham, is a person whose various professions and occupations may be arranged as under:—shoemaker; blacksmith; whitesmith; gun-smith; lock-smith; bell-hanger; turner in wood, brass, and iron; teacher of music; constable of the parish; auctioneer and appraiser; dealer in old cloaths; armourer to the Elmham volunteers, and corporal to the same; watch and clock-maker; parish cook; small pox and vaccine inoculator; inspector of weights and balances for the hundred of Launditch; collector and assessor of the king's taxes; sheriff's officer and bailiff; shaver and hairdresser; surveyor of land, and teacher of mensuration; leader of  
the



the choir at church ; quondam justice of the peace ; and heir apparent to the clerkship of the parish.

As a person from Little Hayfield, Derbyshire, was returning home from Manchester, his horse took fright and threw him off ; in a violent rage, he drew a strong stake from the side of a gate, with which he beat the poor animal so unmercifully upon the head, as to occasion instant death ! after stripping it of the saddle and bridle, he then walked home, a distance of seven miles, very properly substituting himself for the poor beast, although punished much too slightly for his barbarity.

25th. On this day, at noon, the pope arrived at Fontainebleau, for the purpose of officiating at the coronation of the new emperor of the French, which took place in the following month. The emperor, who was enjoying the chace, (it was on a Sunday) at the moment of his arrival, being informed of the approach of his holiness, met him at La Croix de Saint Herem. The emperor and the pope alighted, and embraced each other. Six of his majesty's carriages then came up, into one of which the emperor first entered, and placed his holiness upon the right. They arrived at the castle through two lines of troops and the thunder of artillery. Cardinal Caprara, and the great officers of the household, received them at the bottom of the stair-case. The emperor and the pope proceeded together by the gilt stair-case, as far as the place which separated their apartments : his holiness having there quitted the emperor, was conducted by the grand chamberlain, the grand marshal of the palace, and the grand master of the ceremo-

nies, to the apartment prepared for him : having rested some time, his holiness paid a visit to the emperor ; and immediately afterwards to the empress. Her majesty re-conducted the pope as far as the second room of her apartments. The pope having returned to his own apartment, the minister and great officers of the empire were presented to his holiness. At four o'clock the emperor sent notice to the pope that he intended to pay him a visit, and repaired to the closet of his holiness. The same ceremonies were observed as on the visit of the pope to the emperor ; at each they remained alone together, for about half an hour.

29th. A bird of the hawk or eagle kind, was shot at Stockfield-park, near Wetherby, by Mr. Cummins, game-keeper to the countess of Aberdeen, in the grounds near the house, of such enormous size and strength, as to receive the shot of three discharges before it was secured, and it then defended itself so powerfully, as to elude every device Mr. Cummins could exercise to seize it, till he offered the muzzle of his gun, which it seized with such avidity, as to hang in that position whilst he carried it home to the house. At this date it was alive, and measured nine feet four inches between the extremities of the wings ; and its beak, legs, and talons, indicate astonishing strength.

DIED.—5th. At Acton, Middlesex, aged 105, John Thomas, farrier.

22d. At Gloves, near Athunry, Ireland, after a short illness, Mr. Denis Coorobee of Ballendangin, aged 117. He retained his faculties to the last, and until two days previously to his death, he never remembered to have any complaint or sickness



sickness whatever, tooth-ache only excepted. Three weeks before his death, he walked from his house to Galway, and back the same day, which is 26 miles. He could, to the last, read the smallest print without the assistance of glasses, which he never accustomed himself to, with as much ease as a boy of sixteen. It has been acknowledged by the most intelligent men in his own country, that, for his time, he was a most experienced farmer, and possessed the greatest genius for agriculture. It is upwards of 70 years since he first propagated, and brought into general use, that blessing to Ireland, the black potatoe. He was married seven times, the last time he was 93: by all his wives he had forty-eight children, and he could number his posterity as follows:—236 grand children; 944 great grand children; and 25 great great grand children; the oldest of the latter is four years of age; and his own youngest son by the last wife, is in his eighteenth year.

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## DECEMBER.

1st. This evening the public attention was excited to a most extraordinary degree, by the appearance, on the boards of Covent-Garden theatre, of a youth scarcely thirteen, in the arduous and energetic character of Selim in Dr. Browne's tragedy of *Barbarossa*.—On no former occasion has there been a stronger or more ardent desire manifested by all ranks and descriptions of people to gain admittance to the theatre. The extraordinary reputation which had followed Master Betty, or rather, "the young Roscius," (by

which latter appellation he is now more universally designated) throughout a brilliant career of theatrical exertions in the country, was the harbinger of his appearance in the metropolis. That a youth, at so green an age, should perform some of the most difficult characters in the range of the British drama, not with the mere endurance only, but with the vehement applause of crowded audiences, is a circumstance in itself so much above common credulity, that we require the evidence of our own senses to be satisfied of the fact; and it may easily be supposed that the public curiosity on the present occasion would be excited to a degree proportioned to the fame which he had already acquired.

So early as one o'clock in the day many persons had taken their stations near the doors leading to the pit, boxes, and galleries; long before the usual hours of admission.—The multitude stretched out in thick close wedged, impenetrable columns, to the extremity of the Piazzas, in Covent-Garden, and quite across Bow-street. Many who did not mean to attempt getting into the theatre, lined the streets and windows, contemplating, with sentiments of awe and fear, this tremendous accumulation of numbers. The proprietors and managers, well aware of the public anxiety and impatience, had provided a select body of peace officers in the inside of the theatre, and had procured a strong detachment of the guards outside, in case it should be necessary, from the pressure of the crowd and the narrowness of the space, to secure egress for those who might not have gained admission, or who might be taken ill, or otherwise injured, and who could not without such assist-



ance get out, having once got in; and never was precaution more necessary.

In the crowd before the doors, (long before they were opened,) the heat and pressure became almost intolerable,—many persons fainted; and after the doors were opened, many were in danger of suffocation from the weight and force of the numbers from without, who could not be prevailed upon by the representations or shrieks of the sufferers confined within, to disist from attempting to force the passage. The danger now became so great, that the guards were unanimously called for by the terrified persons who were included between the inner and outer doors, and who could not make good their retreat. The soldiers, with the utmost dexterity and good temper, cleared the crowd from without; and lining the entrance, permitted any one to retire, but no one to enter. In the space of a few minutes the two galleries were filled, and so closely wedged, that not one more could get admittance. The pit was two-thirds filled, not from the pit doors and passages, but from the boxes: gentlemen who knew there were no places untaken in the boxes, and who could not get up the pit avenue, paid for admission into the former, and poured from the front boxes into the pit by twenties and thirties at a time: still, even after it was crammed, the gentlemen crowded the front boxes, and being unable to descend for want of room in the pit, remained where they were, nor could be dislodged by those whose right the boxes were—having engaged them, perhaps weeks before. Some ladies, however, were permitted to occupy the front rows. The police officers

vainly attempted to clear the other rows for those who justly claimed them; all their efforts were fruitless; twice were they under the necessity of attempting force, and as often they were overpowered by numbers and beaten back, and the forcible possession was triumphantly maintained. The rush into the other boxes was great, but order was more easily preserved in them, for it was impossible they could descend from them into the pit. The lobbies were as much crammed as any other part of the house; and happy were they who could get a station at the small holes at the back of the boxes, or who could procure a view of the stage as the box doors were occasionally opened. The heat in every part of the house became excessive very soon after it was filled. What air could be given was admitted. The stage curtain was raised two feet from the stage, but the numbers were so great that all the means tried were insufficient. It was observed however with satisfaction, that but few females were exposed to this distressing state in the pit,—they were about twenty, and were humanely placed in such situations near the orchestra as to have the full benefit of the air from the stage. The utmost noise and confusion universally prevailed during the whole of this awful scene.

Master Betty's appearance was to have been preceded by an occasional address.—Mr. Charles Kemble came forward to speak it; but the clamour and uproar which prevailed, rendered all his efforts to be heard or to bespeak attention ineffectual. A principal cause of interruption arose from the people of the gallery, who expecting that Master Betty would himself speak the address, called



called clamorously for him; others wanted Garrick's original prologue to the piece, while many apprehending an apology for the appearance of the young Roscius, were vociferous in deprecating it. After enduring the "pelting of the pitiless storm" for some minutes, Mr. C. Kemble retired, and the play commenced. No sooner, however, had the performers appeared, than the tumult increased, and they in their turn, after having gone through half the first scene, were obliged to yield to the temporary disapprobation of the audience. Mr. C. Kemble again came forward, and gesticulated the address, for to have spoken it would have been labour lost, as the persons nearest the stage could not possibly have heard a line of it: in fine, the play was suffered to proceed, but of the first act little could be heard, as in it the character which the young Roscius represented does not appear. At length, however, the second gave him to an enthusiastic and admiring audience;—an enthusiasm and admiration which met with no abatement to the end of the piece, and has pursued him through the whole of his first season in London.\*

2nd. On this day Bonaparte was crowned by the pope, at Paris, emperor of the French, with the utmost splendour and solemnity. At the same time Madame Bonaparte was inaugurated empress, and both were formally enthroned. And thus vanishes every shade of republicanism in France.†

The value of the new gold coin which has been struck at Paris upon

this occasion is about 18s. On one side is the head of Bonaparte, and round it within the rim the words, "Napoleon, empereur;" on the reverse, in the centre, is a wreath of laurel and oak leaves, and round it a statement of the value, namely, "20 francs;" at the first of the branches appears the date, "year 12;" and on the edge the words, "republique Française."

3d. A new eruption of Vesuvius occurred in the night, which afforded nothing extraordinary till about four in the morning, when, after a loud and dreadful explosion, a flame rose to a considerable height, and was immediately followed by a violent and rapid discharge of lava, which in three hour's time overrun all the former limits. The surprise and terror of the inhabitants, especially those of La Foire del Greco, may easily be imagined: it however providentially slackened, and has ceased to extend itself farther.

From the accounts laid before congress, the American finances appear to improve in an astonishing degree:—The documents prove, that since the commencement of Mr. Jefferson's presidency, the sum exceeding the annual expenditure arising from taxation was greater than the whole of the sum to be paid to France for the cession of Louisiana. The estimate of the expenditure for this year is not more (under the different heads of civil list, miscellaneous services, expences of intercourse with foreign powers, military and naval establishment) than 3,375,435 dollars. It is calculated, that there will be paid, before the

\* For a more particular account of this theatrical prodigy, vide the article "Characters," in this volume.

† Vide Appendix, for an account of the ceremony.



close of the year, 7,450,000 dollars, applicable to the extinction of debts arising out of conventions existing betwixt France, England, and the united states.

The bill for making a farther provision for carrying into effect the treaty of commerce and navigation between the united states and Great Britain was passed in the house of representatives on the 16th of November.

List of banks in the United States of America, with the amount of the respective capitals and the period of their institution.

	Instituted.	Capital.
Bank of North America - - -	1781	1,000,000
— Massachu-		
setts - - - -	1784	400,000
— New York	1791	950,000
— Maryland -	1790	300,000
— Ditto aug-		
mented from		
1795 to 1801 -		85,000
— United States	1791	10,000,000
Providence bank	1791	400,000
Bank of Pensyl-		
vania - - - -	1792	2,000,000
— Albany - -	1792	170,000
— South Caro-		
lina - - - -	1792	675,000
Union bank of		
Boston - - -	1792	1,200,000
Essex bank of		
Salem - - - -	1792	125,000
New Hampshire		
bank - - - -	1792	150,000
Bank of Alexan-		
dria - - - -	1792	500,000
Hartford bank -	1792	100,000
Union bank, New		
London - - -	1792	100,000
Newhaven bank	1792	80,000
Bank of Colum-		
bia - - - -	1793	407,000

Bank of Newberry		
Port - - - -	1795	225,000
— Rhode Is-		
land - - - -	1795	100,000
— Wilmington	1795	110,000
— Baltimore -	1795	1,200,000
Gloucester bank		
Cape Ann - -	1796	60,000
Newark bank -	1796	60,000
Middletown bank	1796	75,000
Manhattan bank	1799	2,000,000
Washington bank		
Westerley - -	1800	50,000
Bank of Bristol,		
R. I. - - - -	1800	80,000
Exchange bank of		
Providence - -	1801	135,000
Farmer's bank of		
Lansingburgh	1801	75,000
State bank of South		
Carolina - - -	1801	800,000
Bank of Kentucky	1802	500,000
Merchants' bank		
Philadelphia -	1803	1,000,000
Merchants' New		
York - - - -		1,000,000
Union bank of		
Maryland, if		
the bank of		
Baltimore does		
not prevent		
them, will have		
a charter for -		3,000,000

Total - - - dollars

28,002,000

5th. Accounts from Madras, received this day, mention a most splendid embassy having been sent from Bushire to the court of Tehran. Mr. Manesty, the company's resident, was the chief of the embassy. His retinue consisted of upwards of 100 horses, 300 baggage mules, and 60 camels, with a multitude of servants and camp-followers. The procession moved in the following order:



der: In the van an elephant; several men on horseback, who administered a constant supply of coffee and hookahs during the march; some troopers, two of them carrying union-jacks; nine led horses, elegantly caparisoned in the Persian fashion; 12 running footmen, two gold sticks, and two silver sticks, mounted; Mr. Manesty; the gentlemen of his suite; a led horse before each; 40 gholams, or Persian guards, dressed in orange-coloured cloaths, and armed with shields, swords, and carbines; and the sepoy guards. The whole made a most splendid spectacle, and attracted the admiration of all the inhabitants of the villages and towns.

14th. This day the King of Spain declared war with the usual ceremonies against the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.\*

John Prinsep, Esq. citizen and skinner, and M. P. for Queenborough, was elected alderman of Lime-street ward, in the room of Sir Watkin Lewis, who succeeds to Bridge-street Without, as father of the city, vice Alderman Harley.

15th. Josiah Boydell, citizen and stationer, was this day elected alderman of Cheap-ward, vice his late uncle, of the same name.

17th. This day at Woolwich as some men were filling a thirteen inch shell, in ramming the shell it burst, and wounded seven, three mortally. One of the three died an hour afterwards, the others in a few days.

18th. This night at 11 o'clock a dreadful fire broke out at a linen-draper's in the market-place at Plymouth, when seven dwelling and

warehouses were burnt to the ground, and several others materially damaged.

21st. Pursuant to notice in "the Gazette," a considerable rise took place this day in the fares of hackney coaches, on account of the high price of oats.

29th. There has not been known, since the memory of man, so great a flight of sea-birds to our coast as in the present season. The number of ducks, teal, widgeon, and other birds of that kind, caught this year, is out of all precedent, and they have been proportionably cheap. It is accounted for by the extraordinary severity with which the winter has set in, in the northern latitudes, which has obliged those birds to take refuge in our more temperate climate.

This day two young men were found dead in a West Indiaman, outward bound, lying off Woolwich; it is supposed that they had drank too much spirits, and fell asleep, when they became frost-bitten.

30th. A lieutenant of the navy, in shooting birds at Fratton, near Portsmouth, as he inadvertently attempted to divide the briars with the butt end of the piece, it being on full cock, the trigger caught to a bramble, and the contents of the gun were discharged through the officer's heart, who expired immediately.

An excellent sermon was preached at Saint Patrick's chapel, Soho-square, for the benefit of the school bearing that name, which is composed of the children of the indigent inhabitants of St. Giles's, when the collection amounted to upwards of 100l.; a circumstance

\* Vide State Papers of this Vol.



highly gratifying, as this institution provides for a number of objects, who might, if not protected, become unworthy members of society.

31st. A fire broke out in a house in Goat-court, Queen-street, Horsley-down. The wife of one Redner, a corn-porter, who resided in the house, went from home a few minutes before the accident happened, leaving a girl about four years old behind her. The flames were soon extinguished, without having done any material injury; but when the firemen burst into the apartment, they discovered the little girl burnt to death, stretched upon the floor, from whence it was concluded, her cloaths had caught fire, and communicated to the room.

The same evening, about eight o'clock, an alarming fire broke out in the stable of Messrs. Travers and Esdaile, in Queen-street, Cheapside. It was discovered by the clerks, who perceived an unusual quantity of smoke issuing through the flooring of the warehouse; immediately over the stables, while in the act of shutting up and securing the doors. Incalculable mischief must have followed, but for the immediate attendance of the fire-engines; and there also being an ample supply of water, in about four hours the fire was got under. When the stable-door was opened, four of the mill-horses and a goat were found suffocated, lying on the ground, two of the horses were lying over each other, and the goat across both. It is supposed to have originated from a candle having been carelessly left in a lanthorn.

DIED.—In his 127th year, Mr. Robert McFarland, farmer, of Donnyghmore, co. Donegal. He could read the smallest print without spec-

tacles, or the use of any glass, till within a few days of his death.

At Laymore, near Ballymena, aged 119, Mr. William Simpson, farmer. Four days before his death, he was walking through his farm in his usual health. He often said, that he was never sick one hour that he remembered; also, that he was only twice drunk in his life. He had the perfect use of his understanding to his death, and remembered the battle of the Boyne.

At Rochford, aged 104, Joseph Robinson, a native of that place. His occupation was that of a husbandman, and till within the last seven years was capable of performing his daily labour. He took great delight in following the hounds, and to a very late period of his life joined in the chase with all the vigour of youth.

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#### BIRTHS in the Year 1804.

Jan. 2nd. At Gantby, co. Lincoln, lady Theodosia Vyner, a daughter.

3d. In Gloucester-place, Portman-square, the wife of capt. Butt, R. N. of a son.

5th. The wife of captain William Henry Maxwell, 3d foot guards, a daughter.

6th. The wife of lieutenant-colonel Dyke, of the coldstream guards, a son.

8th. The lady of sir Thomas Dalrymple Hesketh, of Rufford Hall, co. of Lancaster, bart. a son.

14th. In Upper Grosvenor-street, the wife of col. Roberts, a daughter.

16th. At Redgrave-hall, Norfolk, the wife of rear-admiral Wilson, a daughter.



At her house, in York, the lady of sir Wharton Amcotts, bart. of Kiddlethorpe-park, a daughter.

17th. At Felbrigg, Norfolk, the wife of captain Lukin, R. N. a son.

At Woodbourne, lady Downe, a son.

18th. At Wormersley, co. York, the lady of the hon. Edward Hervey Hawke, lieut.-colonel of the West-Riding yeomanry cavalry, a son.

19th. In Park-street, Grosvenor-square, lady Harriet Lennard, a daughter.

25th. In York-place, Portman-square, the lady of sir Home Popham, a daughter.

At Betton, near Shrewsbury, the hon. Mrs. Hill, a son.

At her lodgings, in Bath-street, Bath, the wife of colonel Monro, a daughter.

At Croydon barracks, Surry, the wife of colonel Hamilton, of the waggon corps, a daughter.

At Ridgeway, near Plympton, Devon, the wife of capt. Pym, R. N. a son and heir.

29th. In Albermarle-street, lady Elizabeth Halliday, a daughter.

*Feb.* 4th. At Rome, lady Cloncurry, a daughter.

Lady Charlotte Duncombe, a son.

At South-Hill park, the lady of the right hon. George Canning, a daughter.

At the earl of Harborough's, the wife of James Tuckington, esq. barrister, a daughter.

In Manchester-square, the wife of lieutenant-colonel Peacocke, a daughter.

In Suffolk-street, Charing-Cross, the wife of colonel Skinner, of the royal engineers, sister-in-law to sir Evan Nepean, bart. a daughter.

At Sunderland, the hon. Mrs. Balders, second daughter of lord Ennismore, a son and heir.

6th. At Blenheim, co. Oxford, lady Frances Spencer, a son.

In Spring-gardens, the wife of Joseph Jekyll, esq. M. P. a son.

7th. At sir John Sinclair's, at Edinburgh, the wife of James Colquhoun, esq. M. P. a son.

8th. At Rochester prebendal-house, the lady of the honourable and Rev. Dr. Marsham, a son.

In Berners-street, the wife of J. Fonblanque, esq. M. P. a daughter.

At Streatham, Surry, lady Paget, a daughter.

12th. At Stoke-Rochford, co. Lincoln, the wife of Edmund Turner, esq. M. P. a daughter.

The wife of capt. Ogilvy, R. N. a son.

24th. In New Norfolk-street, Grosvenor-square, the wife of John Hanmer, esq. M. P. a son.

27th. At his lordship's seat, in Norfolk, lady Petre, a still-born child.

At Creves, in the Isle of Wight, the lady of captain Popham, of 28th foot, a daughter.

*March* 1st. In Grosvenor-place, the wife of lieut.-col. Anstruther, a son and heir.

4th. At Paris, lady Elgin, a son.

11th. At his house in Lincoln's-inn-fields, the hon. Mrs. Spencer Perceval, wife of the attorney-general, a daughter.

18th. The wife of colonel Davis, of Nottingham-place, a daughter.

At Cork, the countess of Cork and Orrery, a daughter.

At Windsor, the wife of captain George Langford, R. N. a son.



21st. At Little-Aston-Hall, co. Stafford, lady Grey, a daughter.

24th. At Dromore-house, in the county of Down, Ireland, the bishop of Dromore's youngest daughter, wife of the hon. and Rev. Pierce Meade, brother of the earl of Clanwilliam, a daughter.

29th. At Tilehurst, near Reading, Berks, the wife of lieut.-col. Taylor, of the 20th light dragoons, a son.

At Littleton, lady Caroline Wood, a son.

At Edinburgh, lady Louisa Orde, a son.

At the house of her father, the late lord Clarina, in Brock-street, Bath, the hon. Mrs. Stack, lady of John Stack, esq. of the county of Kerry, in Ireland, a son and heir.

At Camberwell, Surry, lady Caroline Barham, a son.

In Hereford-street, May-Fair, the lady of W. Dickinson, esq. jun. M. P. a son.

*April* 1st. In Beaumont-street, the wife of gen. Johnstone, a daughter.

At Hartsbourne-place, Herts, the lady of sir Thomas B. Thompson, R. N. a son.

At Armagh, in Ireland, the lady of the hon. and Rev. the lord Primate, a son.

10th. At Dublin, lady Redesdale, a daughter.

At her father's house, in Devonshire-place, the wife of capt. M. H. Scott, R. N. a son.

In Welbeck-street, the lady of sir Thomas Merion Wilson, bart. a son.

11th. In Dublin, the lady of sir Robert Hodson, bart. a son.

At Gordon-lodge, in Scotland,

the lady of col. Gordon Cuming, of Pitbury, a son.

At his lordship's seat, at Pachington, near Coventry, lady Ailesbury, a son.

At Sutton-college, near Winchester, the wife of Robert Ridge, esq. M. P. a son.

At Bath, lady Charlotte Drummond, a son.

At Beaumont-cottage, the lady of the hon. capt. Richard King, a son.

In Hanover-square, the lady of the hon. Henry Lascelles, M. P. for the county of York, a daughter.

12th. In Duke-street, the wife of Benjamin Hobhouse, esq. M. P. a son.

18th. At his lordship's house in Queen-street, May-fair, lady Graves, a son and heir.

19th. The countess of Euston, a son.

21st. In Great Cumberland-street, lady Rous, a son.

The lady of the hon. and Rev. William Capel, a son.

At Edinburgh, the hon. Mrs. captain Hunter, a daughter.

At Godalmin, Surry, the wife of captain S. Ballard, R. N. a daughter.

*May* 1st. At lady Caroline Leigh's, in Sloane-street, the honourable Mrs. Leigh, a daughter.

Hon. Mrs. Maitland, wife of lieut.-col. Maitland, of the 1st footguards, a son.

2nd. At Paddington, viscountess Folkstone, a daughter.

At the earl of Derby's, lady Stanley, a daughter,

In Portland-place, the wife of John Denison, esq. M. P. a son.

In Berkeley-square, the lady of sir



sir George Shee, bart. a daughter.

At her house in Weymouth-street, lady Harriet Gill, a son.

8th. At Richmond, Surry, the honourable Mrs. Smith, a daughter.

9th. At her house in Grosvenor-square, the duchess of Beaufort, a daughter.

10th. Viscountess Morpeth, daughter of the duchess of Devonshire, a daughter.

11th. In the stable-yard, St. James's, the duchess of Bedford, a son

12th. At Moreton, co. Dorset, lady Harriet Frampton, a son.

13th. At Haverfordwest, lady Kensington, a daughter.

At the earl of Mansfield's, in Portland-place, the lady of the hon. and Rev. Mr. Cathcart, a daughter.

20th. At Bishop-Burton, near Beverly, co. York, lady Mulgrave, a daughter.

23d. At Edinburgh, the hon. Mrs. Oliphant Murray, a son.

25th. In North Audley-street, the hon. Mrs. Thomas, a daughter.

30th. In Portugal-street, the lady of the hon. John Dutton, a son and heir.

Lately, in Ely-place, Dublin, the lady of the hon. and Rev. the Dean of Ardagh, a daughter.

At his house, at Shrewsbury, the lady of lieut.-col. Chayter, a daughter.

At Bath, the wife of Broderick Chinnery, esq. son of sir Broderick Chinnery, bart. a son.

June 2nd. In Bruton-street, lady Elizabeth Palk, a son.

5th. In Bedford-square, the wife of James Langham, esq. M. P. a son.

6th. At the cottage, Sunning-hill,

Berks, the lady of the hon. G. Browne, capt. in the Bedfordshire militia, a son.

8th. The empress of Germany, an archduchess.

In St. James's-square, the countess of Bristol, a daughter.

10th. At Chatham, the wife of Montagu Wynyard, esq. of the coldstream regiment of guards, a son.

11th. At Dover, the wife of brigadier-general Manningham, a son.

15th. At Escot, Devon, the lady of sir John Kennaway, bart. a son.

16th. In Devonshire-place, the hon. Mrs. Wingfield Stratford, a daughter, which died soon after its birth.

At Ashford, Kent, the lady of the hon. major-general Forbes, a son.

The lady of the hon. Thomas Kenyon, of Prado, co. Salop, a son and heir.

In Great Ormond-street, the wife of Mr. Serjeant Best, a daughter.

At Whitten, the hon. Mrs. Stephenson, a daughter.

At her father's, the hon. David Anstruther, in Wimpole-street, Mrs. Mitford, a son.

22nd. At Woodford, Essex, the wife of George Smith, esq. M. P. a son.

In Lower Brook-street, Grosvenor-square, the lady of lord Wm. Beauclerk, a daughter.

30th. In Grafton-street, the lady of sir Henry Peyton, bart. a son.

July 2nd. At his house, in Piccadilly, the lady of sir Francis Burdett, bart. a daughter.

4th. At Worthing, Sussex, the wife of major Campbell, of the king's dragoon guards, a son.

The



21st. At Little-Aston-Hall, co. Stafford, lady Grey, a daughter.

24th. At Dromore-house, in the county of Down, Ireland, the bishop of Dromore's youngest daughter, wife of the hon. and Rev. Pierce Meade, brother of the earl of Clanwilliam, a daughter.

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At Bath, lady Charlotte Drummond, a son.

At Beaumont-cottage, the lady of the hon. capt. Richard King, a son.

In Hanover-square, the lady of the hon. Henry Lascelles, M. P. for the county of York, a daughter.

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19th. The countess of Euston, a son.

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At Edinburgh, the hon. Mrs. captain Hunter, a daughter.

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In Portland-place, the wife of John Denison, esq. M. P. a son.

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At her house in Weymouth-street, lady Harriet Gill, a son.

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9th. At her house in Grosvenor-square, the duchess of Beaufort, a daughter.

10th. Viscountess Morpeth, daughter of the duchess of Devonshire, a daughter.

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12th. At Moreton, co. Dorset, lady Harriet Frampton, a son.

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At Whitten, the hon. Mrs. Stephenson, a daughter.

At her father's, the hon. David Anstruther, in Wimpole-street, Mrs. Mitford, a son.

22nd. At Woodford, Essex, the wife of George Smith, esq. M. P. a son.

In Lower Brook-street, Grosvenor-square, the lady of lord Wm. Beauclerk, a daughter.

30th. In Grafton-street, the lady of sir Henry Peyton, bart. a son.

July 2nd. At his house, in Piccadilly, the lady of sir Francis Burdett, bart. a daughter.

4th. At Worthing, Sussex, the wife of major Campbell, of the king's dragoon guards, a son.

The



The wife of Edward Jones Roper, of John-street, Liverpool, 3 children.

The wife of Mr. George Bennett, of the Norwich theatre, 3 children, all likely to live.

6th. At Winchester-house, Chelsea, the lady of the hon. and Rev. Thomas de Grey, a son.

7th. At Amport-house, Hants, the marchioness of Winchester, a son.

11th. In Tilney-street, lady Mary Catherine Myers, a daughter.

At Caswick, near Stamford, co. Lincoln, the lady of sir John Trollope, bart. a daughter.

13th. At Leven, co. York, lady Charlotte Baillie, a son.

17th. In Hereford-street, Mayfair, lady Charlotte Wellesley, a son.

At Arundel-castle, the wife of Henry Howard, esq. M. P. a daughter.

26th. At Horton, near Northampton, the hon. Mrs. Gunning, a son.

30th. At his house, in Cavendish-square, the lady of sir William Langham, a daughter.

The lady of sir Alexander Kinloch, bart. of Gilmerton, in Scotland, a daughter.

At Stow-hall Norfolk, the hon. Mrs. Nares, a daughter.

At Wolford-lodge, Exeter, the wife of lieutenant-general Simcoe, a daughter.

Aug. 1st. At Clifton, near Bristol, the wife of Capt. Ross, R. N. a daughter.

14th. At Little Holland House, Kensington, Lady Charlotte Wingfield, a daughter.

At Liverpool, the wife of Lieut. Colonel Hugh Baillie, a daughter.

16th. At Millmount, in Ross-

shire, the wife of Colonel Robert Mackenzie, a daughter.

21st. In Lower Brook-street, Grosvenor-square, Lady Henry Stuart, a son.

At Brighthelmstone, the wife of R. Dallas, Esq. M. P. a daughter.

At Cardross, in Scotland, the hon. Mrs. Erskine, a son.

25th. At his lordship's house in Stretton-street, the lady of Lord Pelham, a son.

In Welbeck-street, Cavendish-square, the wife of Colonel Clinton, a son.

At Maryfield, near Limerick, the lady of the hon. George Massy, a daughter.

Mrs. James, of Magherafelt, in the north of Ireland, two sons and a daughter.

At Edinburgh, Mrs. Betty, of Hopton-Wafer, (mother of the celebrated young Roscius,) a daughter.

Lady Emily Wellesley, of New Burlington-street, a son.

At Frome, Somerset, the wife of Capt. O'Connor, R. N. a daughter.

At Liverpool, the wife of Lieut. Col Grimshaw, of the Preston volunteers, a son.

At Lidney-park, co. Gloucester, the hon. Mrs. Bathurst, a son.

In Gardener's-place, the lady of the hon. Lieut.-Col. Crieghton, a son.

Sept. 1. In Grafton-street, the lady of Sir Richard Sullivan, bart. a son.

At Berwick upon Tweed, the wife of Colonel M'Lean, a son.

2nd. At Broom, Kent, the lady of Sir Henry Oxenden, bart. a daughter.

In Pall Mall, the lady of Sir Frederick Eden, bart. a son.

At Goodnestone, Kent, the lady of Sir Brook Bridges, bart. a son.

4th. In Charlotte-street, Edinburgh



burgh, the lady of Sir John Sinclair, bart. M. P. a son.

5th. At Ivy-cottage, Fulham, the lady of Sir R. Barclay, bart. M. P. a son.

At Rome, the lady of the hon. Edward Plunkett, a son.

10th. At Ewell, Surry, the lady of Sir George Glynn, bart. a son.

In Grosvenor-square, the wife of Major-Gen. Calvert, a daughter.

11th. The wife of Colonel Curzon, of the Oxford volunteers, a daughter.

12th. At Guernsey, Lady Tho. Saumarez, a son.

At Milton, Oxford, the honourable Mrs. Ryder, a son.

In Bedford-square, the lady of Lieutenant-colonel Griffiths, 1st regiment foot guards, a son.

16th. Lady Grant, of Monymusk, in Scotland, a daughter.

17th. In Merrion-square, Dublin, the lady of Major Ormsby, a daughter.

At Middleton-hall, co. Carmarthen, the lady of Sir Wm. Paxton, bart. M. P. a son.

At Oxford, the lady of Sir Digby Mackworth, bart. a son.

At Southampton, the wife of Lieutenant-colonel Hutchinson, of the 83d foot, a daughter.

19th. At Harewood, county of Hereford, the lady of sir Hungerford Hoskyns, bart. a son and heir.

21st. In Great Cumberland-place, the lady of Admiral Sir H. Parker, a still-born son.

22nd. In Hans-place, the wife of Admiral Campbell, of the Portuguese navy, a daughter.

26th. At his house in York-street, the lady of the honourable Edward J. Turnour, a son.

27th. At Kimbleton Castle, the Duchess of Manchester, a daughter.

28th. At Boughton-place, the lady of the earl of Southampton, a son and heir.

Oct. 2. In Charles-street, Berkeley-square, lady Margaret Walpole, a daughter.

3d. The lady of sir Thomas Pilkington, bart. of Chiviot, near Wakefield, a daughter.

5th. In Upper Grosvenor-street, the countess of Albemarle, a son.

6th. At lord Ankerville's, in St. Andrew's-square, Edinburgh, the wife of David Ross, esq. a son.

7th. The wife of capt. Paterson, R. N. a daughter.

8th. At Ards, co. Donegal, the seat of Alexander Stewart, esq. lady Mary Stewart, a daughter.

11th. At Kenward, Kent, the hon. lady Shaw, a son.

At Ochtertyre, in Scotland, lady Mary Murray, a son.

15th. At Powerscourt-house, Dublin, the viscountess Powerscourt, a daughter.

28th. At Roxton, co. Bedford, the wife of colonel Onslow, a daughter.

29th. Lady Elizabeth Talbot, wife of the dean of Exeter, a daughter.

At Brunswick, princess William of Brunswick, a prince.

Lately. At Jewing-house, near Welwyn, Herts, the wife of George Galway Mills, esq. M. P. a son.

In Hanover-square, the lady of sir David Wedderburn, bart. a son.

Nov. At Bristol, the wife of capt. Beecher, R. N. a daughter.

3d. Lady Mainwaring, of Overpeover, in Cheshire, a son and heir.

5th. At Herdmanston, in Scotland, lady Sinclair, a daughter.

At Charlton, in Kent, the seat of her father, the earl of Suffolk, viscountess



Ireland, by special licence, Thomas Turner, esq. to Miss Blake, daughter of sir John Blake, bart. of Menlogh.

26th. At St. Lawrence, Kent. John Wheatley, esq. captain in the Nottinghamshire militia, to the only daughter of the late, and sister to the present, sir John Riggs Miller.

*April 3d.* Captain George Martin, R. N. to Harriet, youngest dau. of the late Capt. Bentinck, R. N.

7th. At St. George's, Hanover-square, capt. Thomas Wolley, R. N. to Miss Franklyn, of Lansdown crescent, Bart.

12th. At St. George's, Hanover-square, Charles Godfrey, Esq. of the royal artillery, to Miss A. M. Thurlow, third daughter of the late bishop of Durham, and niece to lord Thurlow.

20th. Hon. col. Stuart, son of the earl of Galloway, to Miss Douglass, daughter of the hon. John D. and grand-daughter of lord Harewood.

24th. Capt. Charles Fielding, R. N. nephew to the earl of Winchelsea, to lady Elizabeth-Theresa Talbot, relict of the late William Davenport T. esq. of Lacock-abbey, Wilts, and daughter of the late Henry earl of Ilchester.

*May 1st.* In Buckinghamshire, Louis Montgaillard, esq. a French emigrant, to Miss Arabella Norman, a young lady of exquisite beauty, with a fortune of 30,000l.

At Bristol, rev. George Thorold, of Rauceby, son of sir John T. bart. of Syston-park, co. Lincoln, to the only daughter of Benjamin Baugh, esq. of Portland-place.

5th. Bartholomew Jefferey, esq. of Throgmorton-street, to Miss Molesworth, daughter of the late

Richard M. esq. and niece to lord viscount Molesworth.

12th. At Milton, near Gravesend, capt. Barlo Wilcken, of the king's German legion, to the baroness Dorette de Bue.

16th. At St. George's, Hanover-square, by the bishop of Bath and Wells, the hon. lieut.-col. De Grey, eldest son of lord Walsingham, to the eldest daughter of Paul Cobb Methuen, esq. of Corsham-house, Wilts.

23d. At the earl of Westmoreland's, in Berkeley-square, lord Villiers, son of the earl of Jersey, to lady Sarah Fane, eldest daughter of the earl of Westmoreland.

25th. At the lord advocate's in Scotland, Thomas Kirkpatrick, esq. eldest son of sir James K. bart. to Miss Jane Sharpe, daughter of James Sharpe, esq. of Hoddum.

26th. At the earl of Fortescue's, in Grosvenor-square, lord King, to lady Hester Fortescue, eldest daughter of the earl F.

29th. At Ashford, sir William D'Arley, capt. in the Cambridgeshire militia, to Julia Frances, youngest daughter of the late Thomas Hallett Hodges, esq. of Hampstead, Kent.

*June 1st.* Capt. William Hotham, R. N. to Miss Jeynes, daughter of sir Edward J. of Gloucester, and sister to the lady of admiral Thornborough.

By special licence, at lord Yarborough's, in Arlington-street, William Tenant, esq. of Aston-hall, co. Stafford, to the hon. Charlotte Pelham, fourth daughter of lord Yarborough.

At Troap-house, in Scotland, John Burnett, Esq. of Countess-Wells, to Miss Penelope Hayes, daughter of sir Harry Brown H.



2nd. Major Fran. Hastings Doyle, to the eldest daughter of sir William Milner, bart. of Nun-Apleton, co. York.

4th. At Knutsford, in Cheshire, the hon. William-George Monckton, eldest son of lord viscount Galway, to Miss Catherine-Elizabeth Handfield, daughter of the late capt. George H. and niece to the present sir William Smyth, bart. of Hill-hall, Essex.

5th. At Tiverton, sir John Duntze, bart. to Miss Dorothea Carew, daughter of Sir Thomas C. of Tiverton castle, Devon.

13th. Captain Tobin, R. N. to Mrs. Duff, of Richmond, co. York, widow of the late major D. of the 26th foot.

14th. At Bury, Mr. Richard Walford, merchant, of Watling-street, London, to Miss Berry, sister of Sir Edward B.

At Greenwich, capt. Downman, of the royal artillery, son of col. D. of the same corps, to Lucy, third daughter of William Holmes, esq. of Westcombe-park, Black-heath, co. Kent.

At Speen, Berks, capt. Charles Pelly, R. N. of Upton, Essex, to Mary, youngest daughter of the late Francis Brownsword Bullock, esq.

Liet.-col. John Byng, of the 29th foot, and youngest brother of Geo. B. esq. M. P. for Middlesex, to Mary, eldest daughter of Peter Mackenzie, esq. of Twickenham.

Lieut. Charles Bowen, R. N. to Miss Hardy, of Charlotte-street, Portland-place.

19th. At Carlsruhe, the hereditary prince of Hesse-Darmstadt, to the princess Wilhelmina Louisa of Baden.

20th. By special licence, at lord

Westmoreland's house in Berkeley-square, by the bishop of Cloyne, lord Boringdon, to lady Augusta Fane, second daughter of the earl of Westmoreland.

23d. At East Sheen, Surry, John Harrison, esq. of Mansion-house-street, banker, to Miss Kay, niece of sir Brook Watson, bart.

July 3d. Major Mitchell, of the 26th foot, to lady Harriet Somerset, daughter of the late duke of Beaufort.

4th. At Bathwick church, near Bath, James Stephens, esq. of Camerton-house, to the widow of Hugh Boyd, esq. M. P. for the county of Antrim, and niece to visc. Gosford.

5th. At Edinburgh, lieut.-colonel Nicholson, aid-de-camp to gen. Lake, commander in chief in India, to Mary, eldest daughter of the late John Russel, esq. clerk to the signet.

At Edinburgh, the earl of Roden to Juliana-Anne, youngest daughter of John Orde, esq. of Weetwood, co. Northumberland.

7th. At St. Lawrence, near Ramsgate, Major Miller, of the royal regiment of horse-guards blue, to Miss Frances Every, youngest sister of sir Henry E. bart. of Eggington-house, co. Derby.

9th. Rev. Francis Lee, of duke-street, Portland-place, to Miss Ball, sister of Edward Hughes B. esq. successor of the late admiral sir Edward Hughes.

At lord Castlereagh's house, in Upper Brook-street, by special licence, lord viscount Hinchinbrooke, son of the Earl of Sandwich, to lady Louisa Corry, niece to lord Castlereagh.

12th. This evening, at the house of lady Perth, in Grosvenor-square,  
G g 2 by



by special licence, the right honourable the earl of Moira, to the countess of Loudon. The ceremony was performed by the bishop of London; the prince of Wales gave the bride's hand; and the nuptials were attended by a brilliant circle of the nobility, their friends. After the ceremony the noble earl and countess set off for the seat of lord Keith, at Hampton-Court, where, and at Donington in Leicestershire, the happy couple passed the time which the noble lord could be spared from his duty as commander in chief in Scotland. The countess accompanied him on his return to Edinburgh.

17th. James Lake, esq. eldest son of sir James Winter L. bart. to Miss Maria Turner, daughter of Samuel T. esq. of Upper Wimpole-street.

19th. By special licence, at the earl of Tankerville's, in Portman-square, by the archbishop of Tuam, the rev. William Beresford, to lady Anna Bennett.

*August 2nd.* At Titchfield, rear-admiral Purvis, to Mrs. William Dickson, only daughter and heiress of the late sir Archibald D. bart.

3d. At Bath, Anthony Chearnley, esq. of Salter-bridge, co. Waterford, to Miss Isabella Newcombe, daughter of the late primate of all Ireland.

4th. At Stapleton, Captain baron Schmeimen, of the king's German heavy dragoons, to Miss Sophia Elton, of Stapleton-house.

8th. By special licence at St. George's, Hanover-square, the hon. col. Charles Stewart, son of the earl of Londonderry, to Lady Catherine Bligh, sister to the earl of Darnley.

11th. At Dawlish, Devon, sir

John Hawkins, bart. of Kelston, co. Somerset, to the eldest daughter of William Surtees, esq. of Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

13th. At Fawsley-park, co. Northampton, the seat of sir John Knightley, bart. his nephew, John Kington, esq. eldest son of the M. P. for Lymington, to Miss Barrett, late of Bath.

18th. Mr. Weichsell, of the Opera-house, brother to Mrs. Billington, to Miss Rovedino, belonging to the same theatre.

20th. At St. George's, Hanover-square, William Levison Gower, esq. son of the late admiral Levison G. to the only daughter of the late sir John Gresham, bart. of Titsey-place, Surry.

21. At St. James's, Piccadilly, sir William Pole, bart. of Shute, Devon, to Sophia-Anne, only daughter of G. Templer, esq. of Mapwicke, co. Somerset.

At Fulham, Middlesex, by special licence, lord viscount Ranelagh, to Miss Stephens, daughter of sir Philip S. bart. The ceremony was performed by the bishop of London.

Hon. Mr. Scott, eldest son of the lord chancellor, to the only daughter of sir Matthew White Ridley, bart. of Portland-place.

23d. By special licence, at Grove, co. Nottingham, the hon. Charles Herbert Pierrepont, eldest son of viscount Newark, and M. P. for the county, to the eldest daughter of A. H. Eyre, also M. P. for that county.

31st. John Richardson, esq. of the Middle Temple, to Miss Harriet Hudson, second daughter of sir Charles Grave H. bart. of Wanlip, co. Leicester.

*Sept. 5th.* By special licence, at Bran-



Brandenburgh-house, the right hon. Edward Broome, to the eldest daughter of the hon. col. Francis Downman.

6th. By special licence, at the earl's house, in Park-lane, Hylton Joliffe, esq. M. P. for the borough of Petersfield, to lady Elizabeth Rose Shirley, daughter of earl Ferrers.

14th. Rev. Philip Egerton, M. A. rector of the upper mediety of Malpas, co. Chester, to the youngest daughter of the late Josias Dupré, esq. of Wilton park, Bucks.

15th. At Canterbury cathedral, John Need, esq. of Sherwood-hall, co. Nottingham, and lieutenant-colonel of the Nottinghamshire militia, to the youngest daughter of the rev. Dr. Welfitt, prebendary of Canterbury.

19th. Mr. Ashford, of Castle Cary, co. Somerset, to Miss Arabella Bechinal, youngest daughter of the late captain B. of the royal navy, and sister to the duchess of Roxburgh.

29th. At Downton, Sir Edward Smith, bart. of Newland-park, co. York, to Miss Susan Dewkins, youngest daughter of Henry Dewkins, esq. of Standlynch, Wilts.

October 1st. Rev. Dr. Pett, arch-deacon of Oxford, to Miss Andrews, of Butler's Marston, co. Warwick.

The earl of Clonmell, to lady C. Greville, daughter of the earl of Warwick.

At Gretna-green, Mr. Curwen, son of John Christian C. esq. M. P. for Carlisle, to Miss Jane Stanley, his cousin.

Captain A. W. Schomberg, R. N. second son of the late sir Alexander S. to Anne, youngest daughter of rear-admiral Smith, of Poolton, in Cheshire.

4th. Lieutenant-colonel Mackinnon, of the Coldstream regiment of guards, to the youngest daughter of the late sir John Call, bart.

8th. William Lloyd, esq. of Aston, co. Salop, to the eldest daughter of captain Eliab Harvey, R. N. and M. P. for the county of Essex.

13th. Francis Wheeler Hood, esq. nephew to lord H. to Miss Caroline Hammond, daughter of sir Andrew Snape H. bart.

15th. Edward Jerningham, esq. son of Sir William J. bart. to Miss Middleton, daughter of Nathaniel M. esq. of Town-hill, Hants.

27th. At the Abbey-church, Bath, Lieut.-col. Smith, of the 83d foot, to Miss Cantelo, of that city.

Nov. 1st. By special licence, captain sir Edward Hamilton, of the royal navy, to Miss Macnamara, daughter of John M. esq. of Baker-street, Portman-square.

2nd. By special licence, the hon. Charles Bagnal Agar, brother to lord viscount Clifden, to Miss Hunt, of Llannydrock, co. Cornwall.

At East Dean, Sussex, Harris Biggs Wither, esq. captain of the north Hants militia, to the only daughter of lieutenant-colonel Frith, of the same regiment.

4th. William Everett, esq. son of Thomas Everett, M. P. for Luggershall, to Miss Ellis, of Palatine house, Stoke Newington.

At Edinburgh, lieutenant-colonel Charles Pye, of the third (or king's own) regiment of dragoons, to Miss Catherine Douglass, sister to the late colonel Archibald D. of Rouhall.

5th. At Clifton, colonel Alexander Kid, of the engineers, Bengal



establishment, to the widow of Edward Hay, esq. of Bengal.

6th. Honourable Herbert Gardner, son of admiral Lord G. to the youngest daughter of the late John Cornwall, esq. of Henden-house, Middlesex.

10th. At Bath, Dr. George Hazelton, physician to the duke of Kent's household, to Miss Frances Du Puy, of Taunton.

19th. Captain F. Cockburn, son of the late sir James Cockburn, bart. to Miss Sandys, daughter of the late Rev. Richard Sandys, and grand daughter of the late, and niece of the present, earl of Tankerville.

At Dublin, brigadier-general Payne, to the hon. Miss Quin, daughter of lord Adair.

At Bath, Wm. Hoare Hume esq. M. P. for the county of Wicklow, to the only daughter of the late Samuel Dick, esq. of Dublin.

20th. At St. James's, Piccadilly, the Russian general Sablonkoff, to Miss Angerstein.

His excellency count St. Martin de Front, many years ambassador from Sardinia to this court, to lady Fleetwood, widow of the late sir Thomas Fleetwood, bart.

22nd. At Dalkeith-house, in Scotland, lord Montagu, to the eldest daughter of lord Douglas, of Douglas.

24th. At St. James's, Piccadilly, the hon. Berkeley Paget, youngest son of the earl of Uxbridge, to Miss Grimstone, daughter of the hon. William Bucknall, and niece to lord viscount Grimstone.

At Jersey, captain John le Gros, R. N. to the widow of the late George Lempriere, esq. and sister to the duke de Bouillon.

25th. At St. George's, Hanover-square, Mr. Courtenay, eldest son

of the late bishop of Exeter, to the hon. lady Henrietta Leslie, daughter of the countess of Rothes.

28th. At Totnes, co. Devon, major G. P. Adams, of the queen's dragoon-guards, second son of Wm. Adams, esq. M. P. to Miss Elizabeth Lovelace.

29th. At Carlton-hall, co. Nottingham, John Sargent, esq. eldest son of John Sargent, esq. M. P. for Bodmin, Cornwall, to the only daughter of Abel Smith, esq. and niece to lord Carrington.

Dec. 3d. At Tunbridge, Kent, James Eldridge West, esq. of Postern-park, to the only daughter of sir William Ashburnham, bart. of Broomham, Sussex.

4th. At Winchester, Lynch Cotton, esq. captain in the 15th light-dragoons, and second son of sir Robert Salisbury Cotton, bart. to the eldest daughter of John Robins, esq.

5th. At the viscountess Duncan's, major Fergusson, of the Ayrshire militia, to the hon. Henrietta Duncan, daughter of the late adm. lord viscount Duncan.

6th. At the Abbey-church, in Shrewsbury, Roger Kynaston, esq. of the Grove, Essex, to Georgiana, third daughter of sir Charles Oakeley, bart.

18th. James Cornwallis, esq. only son of the bishop of Lichfield, and M. P. for Eye, Suffolk, to the eldest daughter of Francis Dickins, esq. M. P. for Northamptonshire.

At Charles-church, Plymouth, the Rev. Thomas Hawker, curate thereof, to Miss Vincent, niece of admiral Nicholas Vincent.

At Canterbury, colonel Mackenzie, of the 52d foot, to Miss Andrews, of Hythe, Kent.

20th. At Oxford, Richard Spooner,



ner, esq. of Glindon-house, co. Warwick, banker at Birmingham, and fifth son of Isaac Spooner, esq. of Elmdon, to Miss Charlotte Wetherel, one of the six daughters of the dean of Hereford, and master of university college, Oxford, with a fortune of 10,000*l*.

By special licence, John Broadley, esq. of the borough of Southwark, to Miss Letitia Bloxam, daughter of sir Matthew Bloxam, knt.

22*d*. At St. George's Hanover-square, captain Winthorp, of the Ardent man of war, to Miss Farbrace, of Dover. Also, captain Warner, aid-du-camp to the earl of Harrington, to the eldest daughter of colonel Shipley.

Captain Foy, of the royal artillery, to the hon. Sophia Courtenay, sister of lord viscount Courtenay, of Powderham-castle.

At Roberton, co. Pembroke, Owen Phillips, esq. lieutenant-col. commandant of the royal Pembroke fuzileers, to the eldest daughter of Henry Scourfield, esq. of Roberton-hall.

At Dungannon-park, Tyrone, Ireland, the hon. Charles Knox, son of lord viscount Northland, brother to the bishop of Derry, and M. P. for the university of Dublin, to Mrs. Fletcher, daughter of Robert Bent, esq. late M. P. for Aylesbury.

James Talbot, esq. late secretary of the embassy to Paris, to Anne Sarah, youngest daughter of Samuel Rodbard, esq. of Evercrich, co. Somerset.

## PROMOTIONS *in the Year 1804.*

*Jan.* 3*d*. Hon. Cropley Ashley, appointed clerk of the deliveries of the ordnance of the united kingdoms

of Great Britain and Ireland, *vice* Hunt.

7*th*. To be brigadier-generals in the army serving in the Windward and Leeward Caribbee Island station: Col. Crofton Vandeleur of the 46*th* foot, col. W. C. Hughes of the 87*th* ditto.

Capt. Henry Samuel Eyre, of the 12*th* battalion of reserve, to be major in the army.

Brevet-maj. James Murray Grant, on half pay of the 3*d* foot guards, and major James Brace, on half pay of Goreham's late provincial corps, to be assistant barrack masters general, with the rank of major, so long as they shall continue in that department.

Lieut.-col. Willoughby Gordon, assistant quarter-master-general in the Southern district, to be deputy barrack-master-general to the forces, *vice* M. G. Hewgill, resigned.

Col. John Delves Broughton, on half pay of the 106*th* foot; lieut.-col. sir R. T. Wilson, knt. on half pay of Hompesch's mounted riflemen; major Aubrey, on half pay; Charles Miller, esq. late lieutenant-colonel of the 1*st* West India regiment; Thomas Probyn, late lieut.-col. of the 18*th* foot; John Storey, late lieutenant-col. of the 21*st* foot; the whole with the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the army so long as they are so employed, to be inspecting field officers of yeomanry and volunteer corps.

10*th*. Right hon. John earl of St. Vincent, &c. sir Philip Stephens, and sir Thomas Trowbridge, barts. James Adams, John Markham, and Wm. Lemon, esqrs. and sir Harry Burrard Neale, bart. appointed commissioners for executing the office of lord high admiral of the united kingdom of Great-Britain.



13th. Charles Price, esq. of Spring Grove, Richmond, Surry, created a baronet.

Samuel Lysons, esq. of the Inner Temple, appointed keeper of the rolls and records of the courts of Chancery in the Tower of London, *vice* Astle, deceased.

20th. Sir Evan Nepean, baronet, sworn of his majesty's most honourable privy council.

21st. Lieut.-colonel John James Barlow, of the 61st foot, to be deputy-inspector-general of the recruiting-service, and second in command at the army depôt in the Isle of Wight, *vice* Farquhar, deceased.

Major Henry E. Bunbury, assistant quarter-master-general, to have the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the army, *vice* Gordon, appointed barrack-master-general.

Captain Henry Darling, from the 68th foot, to be a permanent assistant in the quarter-master-general's department, with the rank of major in the army, *vice* Bunbury.

Colonel Walter Cliffe, on half pay of the 9th foot; Colonel S. P. De l'Hoste, on half pay of the late 104th foot; lieut.-colonel James Hare, on the half pay of the 28th light dragoons; major John Cooke, on ditto; Nat. Webb, esq. late major of the 3d battalion of reserve; lieutenant-colonel George Armstrong, on half pay of the late independent companies; Benjamin Williamson, esq. late lieutenant-colonel of the Caithness Highlanders; lieutenant-col. James Robertson, on half pay of the 15th foot; lieutenant-colonel Erskine Fraser, on half pay of the 109th foot; George Callender, esq. late lieutenant-col. of the rifle corps; C. Machelie, esq. late major of the 15th foot; Andrew Corbet, esq. late lieutenant-colonel of the royal

horse guards; W. W. Maxwell, esq. late lieutenant-colonel of the 32d foot; and Major Hugh Maxwell, to be inspecting field officers of yeomanry and volunteer corps, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the army, so long as they shall hold those appointments.

Major Edward B. Frederick, assistant barrack-master-general, to be principal assistant barrack-master-general, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the army, so long as he shall hold such appointment.

George Dennis, esq. late lieutenant-colonel of the 43d foot, to be an assistant-barrack-master-general, with the rank of major in the army, so long as he shall hold such appointment.

24th. Lieutenant-general William Myers, appointed commander of his majesty's forces serving in the Windward and Leeward Caribbee Station, *vice* Grinfield, deceased.

25th. Major-general John Stuart, appointed lieutenant-governor of his majesty's island of Grenada.

28th. Hugh Horton, esq. late major of the 85th foot, to be an inspecting field officer of yeomanry and volunteer corps, with temporary rank of lieutenant-colonel.

31st. Rev. Robert Holmes, D. D. appointed dean of the cathedral church of Winchester, *vice* Ogle, deceased.

Rev. Wm. Howley, M. A. to be a canon of the cathedral church of Christ, in the university of Oxford, *vice* Holmes, resigned.

Rev. Henry Lewis Hobart, M. A. to be prebendary of the metropolitan church of Canterbury, *vice* Storer, deceased.

Mr. Robert Jameson, appointed regius professor of natural history, and keeper of the museum of natural



ral curiosities in the university of Edinburgh, *vice* Walker, deceased.

*Feb.* 4th. Right hon. Henry Welbore, viscount and baron Clifden, of Gowran, co. Kilkenny, Ireland, and baron Mendip, of Mendip, co. Somerset (son and heir of James, late viscount and baron Clifden aforesaid, and grandson of Henry Agar, of Gowran, esq. by Anne his wife, sister of the late right hon. Welbore baron Mendip, deceased) to assume the surname, and bear the arms, of *Ellis*, only.

7th. To be inspecting field-officers of yeomanry and volunteer corps: Lieutenant-col. Thomas Bradford, on half pay of the late Nottingham fencibles; lieutenant-colonel Hugh Baillie, of the late Surrey rangers. To be ditto, with the rank of lieutenant-colonels in the army so long only as they shall continue to be employed: P. J. Taylor, esq. late lieutenant-colonel of the 26th light dragoons; John Sladden, esq. late lieutenant-colonel of the 86th foot; John Gordon, esq. late major of the 38th foot.

8th. Right hon. Nathaniel Bond, in the absence of the right hon. Charles earl of Liverpool, to be president of the committee of privy council appointed for the consideration of all matters relating to trade and foreign plantations.

11th. Thomas Dodd, esq. captain in the royal artillery, to be secretary to the governor of the garrison of Gibraltar, *vice* Raleigh, resigned.

*March* 3d. Richard Brinsley Sheridan, esq. appointed (by the prince of Wales) receiver-general of the duchy of Cornwall, *vice* lord Eliot, deceased.

Rev. James Hunter, minister of Denino, elected professor of logic

and rhetoric in the university of St. Andrew, in Scotland, *vice* Barron, deceased.

Rev. James Knollis, M.A. appointed historical and classical professor in the royal military college at Great Marlow, Bucks.

William Bolland, esq. admitted and sworn one of the four common pleaders of the city of London, *vice* Knowlys, elected common-serjeant, *vice* Silvester, recorder.

Robert Smirke, esq. elected keeper of the royal academy, *vice* Wilton, deceased.

Rev. H. Wintour, to a prebendal stall in St. Paul's cathedral.

Rev. William Coxe, M.A. rector of Bemerton, elected a canon residentiary of Salisbury cathedral, *vice* Cotton, deceased; and the Rev. John Guard, installed prebendary of Slape in that cathedral.

Rev. Robert Gray, M.A. rector of Craike, co. York, collated to a prebendal stall in Durham cathedral.

The Rev. W. L. Bowles, to a prebendal stall in Salisbury cathedral, and the Rev. Charles Elkins, M.A. son of the dean of Salisbury, elected a canon residentiary of that cathedral, all *vice* Ogle, deceased.

Rev. Mr. Pitchford, to be a minor canon of Durham cathedral.

*April* 23d. Sir Richard Onslow, bart. Sir Robert Kingsmill, bart. Sir Hyde Parker, knt. Benjamin Caldwell, esq. Hon. William Cornwallis, admirals of the blue, to be admirals of the white.

Thomas Mackenzie, esq. sir Roger Curtis, bart. sir Henry Harvey, K. B. Robert Man, esq. Christopher Holmes Everitt Calmady, esq. John Bourmaster, esq. sir George Young, knt. John Henry, esq. Richard Rodney Bligh, esq. Alexander Græme, esq. G. Keppel, esq.



esq. vice-admirals of the red, to be admirals of the blue.

Isaac Prescott, esq. John Bazely, esq. Thomas Spry, esq. Sir John Orde, bart. William Young, esq. James Gambier, esq. Sir Andrew Mitchell, K. B. Charles Chamberlayne, esq. Peter Rainier, esq. vice-admirals of the white; and Christopher Parker, esq. Philip Patton, esq. Sir Charles Morice Pole, bart. vice-admirals of the blue, to be vice-admirals of the red.

John Brown, esq. John Leigh Douglas, esq. William Swiney, esq. Charles Edmund Nugent, esq. Cha. Powell Hamilton, esq. Edmund Dod, esq. right hon. Horatio Viscount Nelson, K. B. Sir Charles Cotton, bart. vice-admirals of the blue; and John Thomas, esq. James Brine, esq. John Pakenham, esq. Sir Erasmus Gower, knt. John Holloway, esq. rear-admirals of the red, to be vice-admirals of the white.

George Wilson, esq. Sir Charles Henry Knowles, bart. hon. Thomas Pakenham, Robert Deans, esq. Cuthbert Collingwood, esq. James Hawkins Whitshead, esq. Arthur Kempe, esq. Smith Child, esq. right hon. Charles Lord Lecale, Thomas Taylor, esq. Sir John Thomas Duckworth, K. B. Sir Robert Calder, bart. rear-admirals of the red, to be vice-admirals of the blue.

James Richard Dacres, esq. hon. George Cranfield Berkeley, Thomas West, esq. James Douglas, esq. Peter Aplin, esq. Henry Savage, esq. Bartholomew Samuel Rowley, esq. Sir Richard Bikerton, bart. George Bowen, esq. Robert Montague, esq. John Fergusson, esq. Edward Edwards, esq. Sir John Borlase Warren, bart. and K. B. Edward Tyrrel Smith, esq. Sir Thomas Graves, K. B. Thomas Macnamara Russell, esq. Sylverius

Moriarty, esq. Sir Henry Trollope, knt. rear-admirals of the white; and hon. Henry Edwin Stanhope, and Robert Macdouall, esq. rear-admirals of the blue, to be rear-admirals of the red.

Billy Douglas, esq. John Wickey, esq. John Inglis, esq. John Fish, esq. John Knight, esq. Edward Thornbrough, esq. James Kempthorne, esq. Sampson Edwards, esq. Geo. Campbell, esq. Henry Cromwell, esq. Arthur Phillip, esq. sir William George Fairfax, knt. sir James Saumarez, bart. and K. B. rear-admirals of the blue, to be rear-admirals of the white.

Captains Thomas Drury, esq. Albemarle Bertie, esq. right hon. Wm. earl of Northesk, James Vashon, esq. sir William Henry Douglas, bart. Thomas Wells, esq. sir Edw. Pellew, bart. Isaac Coffin, esq. to be rear-admirals of the white.

Captains John Aylmer, esq. Sam. Osborn, esq. Richard Boger, esq. Jonathan Faulknor, esq. John Child Purvis, esq. Theophilus Jones, esq. William Domett, esq. Wm. Wolseley, esq. John Manley, esq. George Murray, esq. John Sutton, esq. Robert Murray, esq. hon. Alex. Forrester Cochrane, sir Thomas Troubridge, bart. K. F. John Markham, esq. Henry D'Esterre Darby, esq. Edward Bowater, esq. George Palmer, esq. Wm. O'Brien Drury, esq. William Essington, esq. sir Thomas Lewis, K. F. and K. M. T. to be rear-admirals of the blue.

George Martin, esq. sir Richard John Strachan, bart. and sir William Sidney Smith, knt. appointed colonels of his majesty's marine forces, *vice* sir Edward Pellew, bart. Wm. Domett, esq. and sir Thomas Troubridge, bart. appointed flag officers of his majesty's fleet.

May 3. Charles Cameron, esq. appointed



appointed captain-general and governor in chief of the Bahama islands, took the oaths appointed to be taken by the governors of his majesty's plantations.

8th. Rt. hon. sir James Mansfield, knt. appointed lord chief justice of his majesty's court of common pleas, *vice* lord Alvanley, deceased, sworn of his majesty's most honourable privy council.

12th. Right hon. William Pitt, appointed chancellor and under-treasurer of his majesty's exchequer.—Right hon. Edward baron Clive, created baron Powis, of Powis Castle, co. Montgomery, baron Herbert, of Cherbury, co. Salop, viscount Clive, of Ludlow, co. Salop, and earl of Powis, co. Montgomery.

William Honyman, of Armadale and Greenway, co. Orkney and Linlithgow, esq.; Alexander Penrose Cumming Gordon, of Altyr and Gordonston, co. Elgin, esq.; Richard Joseph Sullivan, of Thames Ditton, co. Surrey, esq.; Henry Mainwaring Mainwaring, of Over Peover, co. Chester, esq.; William Middleton, of Crowfield-hall, co. Suffolk, esq.; David Maxwell, of Cantoness, co. Dumfries, esq.; Drummond Smith, of Tring park, co. Herts, esq. with remainder to Charles Smith, of Sutton, co. Essex, esq.; William Fettes, of Whamprey, co. Dumfries, esq.; John Benn Walsh, of Ormathwaite, co. Cumberland, and of Warfield, co. Berks, esq.; and John Lethbridge, of Westaway-house, and Winkley-court, co. Devon, and of Sandhill park, co. Somerset, esq.; created baronets.

14th. Right hon. George earl of Winchelsea and Nottingham, groom of the stole to his majesty, and the right hon. George Thynne, com-

monly called Lord George Thynne, comptroller of his majesty's household, sworn of his majesty's most honourable privy council.—Right hon. Dudley lord Harrowby; and the right hon. John Jefferies earl Camden; sworn two of his majesty's principal secretaries of state.

Rev. Francis Swan, rector of St. Peter's, Lincoln, to a prebendal stall in that cathedral, *vice* Bromfield, deceased.

Rev. Cæsar Morgan, to a prebendal stall in Ely cathedral, *vice* Gooch, deceased.

Rev. J. Ellis, to the Barnby-on-the-moor prebend, in York cathedral, *vice* Carey, resigned.

15th. Right hon. William Pitt, George Percy, esq. commonly called lord Louvaine, James Edward Harris, esq. commonly called viscount Fitz-Harris, the right hon. Charles Long, and the hon. Henry Wellesley, appointed commissioners for executing the office of treasurer of his majesty's exchequer.

Right hon. Henry viscount Melville, sir Philip Stephens, bart. James Gambier, esq. vice-admiral of the red, sir Harry Neale, bart. sir John Colpoys, K. B. and admiral of the blue, Philip Patten, esq. vice-admiral of the red, and William Dickinson, jun. esq. appointed commissioners for executing the office of high-admiral of the united kingdom of Great-Britain and Ireland.

15th. Dr. Samuel Foart Simmons, sworn and admitted physician extraordinary to the king.

19th. Isaac Coffin, of the Magdelaine Islands, in the Gulph of St. Lawrence, British North America, esq. rear-admiral of the white, created a baronet.

Right hon. Wm. Dundas, appointed his majesty's secretary at war.

Joseph



Joseph Frederick Walleth Des Banes, esq. appointed lieut.-gov. of the island of Prince Edward, in America.

26th. Right hon. Robert Stewart, commonly called viscount Castlereagh; his grace William Henry Cavendish, duke of Portland, K. G. president of his majesty's council; the right hon. Robert Banks, baron Hawkesbury; the right hon. John Jeffries, earl Camden, K. G.; the right hon. Dudley, baron Harrowby, his majesty's three principal secretaries of state; the right hon. Wm. Pitt, chancellor of his majesty's exchequer; the right hon. Sylvester, baron Glenbervie (of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland); the right hon. Thomas Wallace; and Richard French, esq. commonly called viscount Dunlo; appointed his majesty's commissioners for the management of the affairs of India.

Right hon. George Canning, appointed treasurer of his majesty's navy.

Right hon. Arthur Paget, his majesty's envoy-extraordinary and minister-plenipotentiary at the court of Vienna, appointed one of the knight companions of the most honourable order of the Bath.

29th. Right Rev. Dr. Nathaniel Alexander, bishop of Clonfert, and Kilmacduagh, translated to the bishopric of Killaloe and Kilfenora, *vice* right Rev. Dr. Charles Lindsay, translated to the bishopric of Kildare.

June 5th. Charles Arbuthnot, esq. appointed his majesty's ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the Sublime Ottoman Porte; Benjamin Garlike, esq. envoy-extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the court of Copenhagen; Charles Stuart, esq. secre-

tary of embassy to the court of St. Petersburg; Edward Thornton, esq. secretary of legation to the court of Berlin; Augustus Foster, esq. secretary of legation to the United States of America; and Frederick Lindeman, esq. consul at Embden.

6th. Right hon. Henry lord Mulgrave, sworn of his majesty's most honourable privy council.

Right hon. George earl of Dartmouth, appointed (on the 14th of May) lord chamberlain of his majesty's household, took the usual oaths thereupon this day; as did the right hon. George earl of Winchelsea and Nottingham, on being appointed (May 10) groom of the stole to his majesty.

Right hon. Henry lord Mulgrave, sworn chancellor of the duchy and county palatine of Lancaster.

His grace James duke of Monmouth, and, in his absence, the right hon. George Rose, appointed this day, president of the committee of council, appointed for the consideration of all matters relating to trade and foreign plantations.

Right hon. Edward earl of Powis, appointed lord-lieutenant of the counties of Salop and Montgomery, took the usual oaths thereupon; as did the right hon. George Talbot, lord Dynevor, on being appointed lord-lieutenant of the county of Carmarthen.

23d. David Rae, of Eskgrove, co. Mid-Lothian, esq.; colonel sir William Clarke, of Crosses Greenhouse, in the city of Cork; Henry Harvey Aston Bruce, of Down-hill, co. Londonderry, clerk; John Lees, of Blackrock, co. Dublin, esq.; Samuel O'Malley, of Rosehill, co. Mayo, esq.; and William Myers, esq. commander of his majesty's



his majesty's forces in the Leeward Islands; created baronets of the united kingdom, with remainder to their lawful heirs-male.

John Silvester, esq. recorder of London, elected steward of the borough of Southwark, *vice* Fanshaw, deceased.

Rev. J. Palmer, B. D. classical tutor of St. John's college, elected professor of Arabic in the university of Cambridge, and the Rev. Browne Grisdale, appointed chancellor of Carlisle, both *vice* Carlyle, deceased.

Rev. John White, to be a prebendary of Winchester, and to hold the prebend of Yatminster-Prima, in Dorsetshire, *vice* Hume, deceased.

Rev. Canon Coxe, to the archdeaconry of Wilts, *vice* Rev. W. Douglas, M. A. who is to be precentor of Winchester cathedral.

27th. Right hon. William Drummond, and right hon. Charles Arbuthnot, sworn of his majesty's most honourable privy council.

July 3d. Rev. Dr. Christopher Butson, dean of Waterford, promoted to the united bishoprics of Clonfert and Kilmacduagh, *vice* right Rev. Dr. Nathaniel Alexander, translated to the bishopric of Killaloe and Kilfenora.

11th. Right hon. John Thynne, commonly called lord John Thynne, vice-chamberlain of his majesty's household, sworn of his majesty's most honourable privy council.

Right hon. George Rose, and right hon. lord Charles Henry Somerset, appointed paymaster-general of his majesty's forces.

13th. James duke of Montrose, and lord Charles Spencer, appointed postmaster-general.

Hon. Cecil Jenkinson, appointed

his majesty's secretary of legation to the court of Vienna.

19th. Right hon. Granville Leveson Gower, commonly called lord Granville Leveson Gower, sworn of his majesty's most hon. privy council.

Right hon. Granville Leveson Gower, commonly called lord Granville Leveson Gower, appointed ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the court of St. Petersburg.

21st. Francis Seymour, marquis of Hertford, appointed master of the horse to his majesty.

28th. Charles Bishop, esq. appointed his majesty's procurator in all causes and matters maritime, foreign, civil, and ecclesiastical, *vice* Heseltine, deceased.

Rev. Mr. Dawbeny, to the archdeaconry of Sarum, *vice* Whitworth, deceased.

Rev. Phineas Pett, principal of St. Mary's-hall, Oxford, appointed archdeacon of Carlisle, *vice* Paley, resigned.

Rev. Edward Rogers, to a prebendal stall in Salisbury cathedral.

Aug. 1st. Right hon. John Foster, right hon. sir Evan Nepean, bart. chief secretary to the lord lieutenant of Ireland, or the chief secretary to the lord lieutenant for the time being, or, in the absence of the chief secretary, the under secretary for the time being for the civil department of the said chief secretary's office, the right hon. Lodge lord Frankfort, the right hon. John Loftus Loftus, commonly called lord viscount Loftus, and the right hon. Maurice Fitzgerald, appointed commissioners for executing the office of treasurer of his majesty's exchequer in Ireland.

The right hon. John Foster, appointed



pointed chancellor of the court of exchequer in Ireland.

Sept. 1st. Gerard Lake, esq. general and commander of his majesty's forced in the East Indies, created baron Lake, of Delhi and Laswary, and of Aston Clinton, co. Buckingham.

Major-general the hon. Arthur Wellesley, created a knight of the Bath.

8th. Rev. W. Long, LL.B. appointed a prebendary of the free-chapel of St. George, in the castle of Windsor, *vice* Wilson, deceased.

21st. John Leard, esq. appointed consul at Ragusa.

29th. His royal highness the duke of Sussex, sworn of his majesty's most hon. privy council.

Oct. 2nd. Robert Peat, D. D. rector of Ashley cum Silverley, and vicar of Kirtling, co. Cambridge, permitted to accept and wear, in his own country, the ensigns of the order of St. Stanislaus, conferred upon him Nov. 21, 1790, (by his then description of Robert Peat, esq.) by Stanislaus Augustus, late king of Poland.

13th. Sir Robert Ainslie, of Great Torrington, co. Lincoln, knt. late his majesty's ambassador at the Ottoman Porte, created a baronet of the united kingdom, with remainder to Robert Sharp Ainslie, of Market Stainton, in the said county of Lincoln, esq. nephew of the said Sir Robert Ainslie, and son of general George Ainslie, deceased.

William Burroughs, esq. late advocate-general of Bengal, created a baronet of the united kingdom.

Rev. J. Jackman, of Catherine-hall, Cambridge, and alternate morning-preacher at Percy chapel, appointed one of the domestic chaplains to the Prince of Wales.

Rev. Thomas Wickham, vicar of Kirburton, co. York, Beaminster, Secunda prebend, in Salisbury cathedral, *vice* Gilpin, deceased.

Rev. Dr. Ridley, of Whippingham, in the Isle of Wight, to a prebendal stall in Gloucester cathedral; and Rev. Wm. Long, to a canonry of Windsor; all *vice* Wilson, deceased.

Rev. John Williams, M. A. to a canonry in St. David's cathedral, *vice* Davies, deceased.

Rev. Thomas Methold, rector of Stonham, Suffolk, to a prebendal stall in Norwich cathedral, *vice* Potter, deceased.

Rev. Robert Moore, second son of the archbishop of Canterbury, to a prebendal stall in Canterbury cathedral, *vice* Benson, deceased.

### DEATHS in the Year 1804.

Jan. 2nd. At Hyde-Park Corner, lady Andrews, relict of the late Sir Joseph Andrews, and daughter of col. Dalrymple.

3d. At Bath, sir William Mansell, bart. of Ishoed, in Carmarthenshire.

At Lullingstone-castle, Kent, in her 71st year, Dame Philadelphia Payne Dyke, wife of sir John Dixon Dyke, bart. She was the only daughter and heiress of the late George Horne, esq. of London.

At the Rookery, Woodford, Essex, the wife of Peter Godfrey, esq. and youngest daughter of the late sir Joshua Rowley, bart.

4th. Aged 84, Mrs. Charlotte Lennox, a lady of considerable genius, and who has long been distinguished for her literary merit. She may boast the honor of having been the *protégée* of Dr. Samuel Johnson, and



and the friend of Mrs. Yates. She published, so early as 1752, "The Female Quixote," and "Memoirs of Harriet Stuart." In the former of these novels, the character of Arabella is the counter part of Don Quixote; and the work was very favourably received. In the following year she published "Shakspeare illustrated," in two volumes 12mo; to which she soon afterwards added a third. This work consists of the novels and histories on which the plays of Shakspeare are founded, collected and translated from the original authors; to which are added critical notes, intended to prove that Shakspeare has generally spoilt every story on which his plays are founded, by torturing them into low contrivances, absurd intrigues, and improbable incidents. In 1756, Mrs. Lennox published "The memoirs of the Countess of Berci," taken from the French, 2 volumes, 12mo; and "Sully's memoirs, translated," 3 volumes, 4to. which have since been frequently reprinted in 8vo. and are executed with great ability. In 1758 she produced "Philander, a dramatic pastoral," and "Henrietta," a novel of considerable merit, 2 volumes, 12mo; and, in 1760, with the assistance of the earl of Cork and Orrery, and Dr Samuel Johnson, she published a translation of "Father Brumoy's Greek theatre," 3 vols. 4to; the merit of which varies very materially in different parts of the work. Two years after, she published "Sophia," a novel, 2 volumes, 12mo, which is inferior to her earlier performances; and then, after an interval of 7 years, she brought out at Covent-garden theatre, "The Sisters," a comedy, taken from her novel of Henrietta, which was con-

demned on the first night of its appearance. In 1773 she furnished Drury-lane theatre with a comedy, intituled "Old city manners;" and has only written, we believe, since that time, "Euphemia," a novel, 1790, 4 volumes, 12mo; a performance which by no means deviates from the line of credit which she has always traced. Her father was a field officer, lieutenant-governor of New York, who sent her over at 15 to a wealthy aunt, who desired to have her, but who, unfortunately, on the arrival of her niece, was out of her senses, and never recovered them; immediately after which the father died, and the daughter from that time supported herself by her literary talents, which she always employed usefully. Her latter days have been clouded by penury and sickness,—calamities at her time of life peculiarly distressing. These, however, were in a considerable degree alleviated by the kindness of some friends, who revered alike her literary and her moral character.

6th. At Rushbrook-hall, near Bury, Charles Sydney Davers, esq. (eldest son of Sir C. Davers, bart.) late captain of the Active frigate. His death was occasioned by the effects of the yellow fever, caught on the Leeward Island station during the last war.

7th. At the palace at Wells, in his 75th year, the Rev. John Gooch, D.D. prebendary of Ely, and rector of Ditton and Willingham, co. Cambridge; the former in the bishop of Ely's gift, the latter in that of the ardeacon of Ely. He was son of Dr T. G. formerly bishop of Ely, and master of Caius college; and admitted B. A. 1749, M. A. 1759, D. D. 1765. He was also father of Mrs. Beadon, the lady of



of the present bishop of Bath and Wells.

8th. At her house in Clarges-street, Berkeley-square, in her 74th year, lady Anne Capel, sister to the late and aunt to the present earl of Essex, who comes into the possession of Russell farm, near Watford, with most of her ladyship's property, to the amount of 4000*l.* per annum. The farm came into the Essex family from the late Earl of Essex's mother, she being daughter of the Duke of Bedford, and was settled, in right of the mother, upon his lordship's two sisters during their life-time. Hampton-court, in Herefordshire, came to his lordship in right of his mother, who, was daughter of sir C. H. Williams and grand-daughter of lord Coningsby.

10th. At Kingston-upon-Thames, Surrey, in her 12th year, after a long illness, Miss Gabrielle-Martha Johnston, fourth daughter of major-general Johnston, in the service of the East India company.

At Whitehall, the hon. Miss F. Pelham, last surviving daughter of the right hon. Henry Pelham, brother of the old duke of Newcastle, and sister to the late lady Sondes. Mr. P. was prime minister to his late majesty. Miss P. died very rich; her seat and estate at Esher, in Surrey, go to her nephew, lord Sondes; an estate in Essex, to her nephew, the hon. Henry Watson; and a very considerable personal fortune to her nephew, the hon. George Watson. She had, deservedly, the character of a truly virtuous, humane, and extensively charitable woman.

11th. At the Hot Wells, Bristol, Charlotte viscountess Bolingbroke.

In Audley-square, in his 79th year, sir Francis Sykes, bart. M. P. for Wallingford.

12th. In Saville-row, after an illness of many months, aged 70, her grace Mary-Anne duchess of Ancaster, youngest daughter of the late major Layard, and aunt to the late dean of Bristol, who died last year. She had by the duke one daughter, born in 1771, married to lord Milsington, and died about 1800. Her dissolution is universally lamented, especially by those who felt that, as a wife, a mother, a relation, or a friend, her conduct was most exemplary.

17th. At Rosehall, in Scotland, Archibald Douglas, esq. colonel of the late Angushire fencibles.

At Pentonville, in his 34th year, Mr. Mark Anthony Reyroux, a native of Switzerland; whose irreparable loss to his friends will be to them a source of painful and sincere regret. He was a man of uncommon talents and profound learning; and in his moral conduct, and in all the various relations of social life, an exemplary character. It is in contemplation to give the world an ample account of this excellent man, in authentic memoirs of his life and character.

In Duke-street, Grosvenor square, aged 49, after a few hours illness of an obstruction occasioned by indigestion, in consequence of coming to town in wet cloaths, Charlotte Countess-dowager of Talbot, born March 15, 1754, youngest daughter of Wills first Marquis of Downshire, by the lady Margaretta Fitzgerald, sister of the late and aunt of the present Duke of Leinster. Her ladyship was sister to the late Marquis of Downshire and the Marchioness of Salisbury; and has left the present



sent earl Talbot, and his brother, the hon. Mr. Talbot, her only children. She had come to town on the 15th, from her tasteful villa in Cooper's lane, leading from Potter's-bar to Northaw, for the express purpose of chusing an elegant dress for the queen's birth-day. Her excellent sense, distinguished accomplishments, and amiable and condescending manners, were such as must ensure lasting respect; and her death will occasion general regret. Her remains were interred with those of the late earl in the family vault at Ingestree, near Lichfield, in Staffordshire. The mournful procession was followed by the carriages of the noble family to whom her ladyship was related, and those of her more intimate and particular friends, and numerous acquaintance.

19th. At Pest, in Hungary, aged 69, the Austrian general Kray, who was opposed to gen. Moreau during the greater part of the last campaign in Germany.

At his house in Cleveland-row, aged 75, Robert Drummond, esq. banker, at Charing-cross.

20th. Suddenly, at Tenby, the hon. Mrs. Acland, relict of the late Rev. Thomas Acland, of Broad Cliff, Devon, and sister to the present viscount Hereford.

21st. Found lying dead, face downwards, in the ditch of a field not far from his own house, with his throat cut, Mr. W. Pavie, surgeon, of Brentwood, Essex. In the morning he went out on horseback, as usual, to visit his patients; called upon Mr. Bush, of Soutweald, dressed his foot, and afterwards set off on the road to West Ham, apparently in as good health and sound mind as usual. About 11 o'clock

in the evening of the same day, John Fairweather, of Brentwood, seeing Mr Pavie's horse run through the town without his master, took it home; from which time no tidings whatever could be heard of the unfortunate man. The rivers were dragged, and the most diligent search made to no effect, until the morning of the 24th, when the body was discovered by Mr John Dew, postmaster of Brentwood, lying in a ditch, in a field adjoining Brookstreet hill, on the high road leading from London to Brentwood, near the 16th mile-stone. The deceased was lying at his length at the bottom of the ditch, in which a slight current of water was running, but which did not touch his neck; his hat and all his cloaths were on. Mr Dew immediately gave notice to the neighbourhood, that he had found the deceased, and the body was taken out of the ditch. Upon examination, it was found that the deceased's throat was cut very deep; his cloaths were very wet, and only a small quantity of blood upon the lappel of his coat, none even appeared upon the right hand or arm, nor had the wound much blood about it: a large quantity of clotted blood was, however, discovered within 10 rods of the gate, in the same field, which leads into the road; which no doubt came from the wounds of the deceased. But what appeared most extraordinary, there was a distance of near 300 yards from the ditch where the deceased was found to the spot where the blood lay, and no marks could be distinguished sufficient to warrant the supposition that the deceased ran or walked that distance, after such a considerable loss of blood. The deceased's cloaths were



not torn, nor could any instrument be found, notwithstanding the strictest search was made. A surgeon of Brentwood examined the body of the deceased, and found the left jugular and windpipe both divided; there appeared to be three cuts upon the neck, two of them three inches in depth and three in length, but on no other parts of the body were any marks of violence. The evidence given by Mr. Finch, baker, of Brentwood, before the coroner's jury, would almost lead us to doubt, at the time spoken of, the sanity of the deceased. Mr. Finch was in company with Mr. Pavie on the Thursday and Friday evenings previous to his death, and observed something unusual in his manner, such as being very harsh and cross, and did not take that notice of him which he was accustomed to do. Mr. Finch also saw the deceased the morning previous to his death, when the deceased did not take any notice of him until he spoke to him, which was very different from his former conduct. The jury, after spending a considerable time in consultation, re-turned a verdict of wilful murder, against some person or persons unknown. In the pockets of the deceased was a pocket-book, containing a 2l. and six 1l. notes, a guinea, and two cases of instruments.

26th. At Paris, the Chevalier D'Azzara, late Spanish ambassador at Rome, and afterwards at Paris.

29th. At Aberdeen, in her 85th year, Mrs Rebecca Ogilvie, widow of the honourable John Forbes, of Pitsligo.

Lately at Munich, in Bavaria, Count Haslang, very many years ambassador from thence to the court

of London; knight of the illustrious order of St. George, and lord high chamberlain of that electorate.

Feb. 1st. At his seat in Cornwall, in his 77th year, Edward Craggs, Lord Eliot, Baron Eliot, of St. Germain's, so created Jan. 30th 1784. His lordship in 1789, by the king's permission, took the name and arms of Craggs. He married, 1756, Catherine, sole daughter and heiress of Edward Ellison, esq. by whom he had four sons; two of whom dying young, he is succeeded by the third, the hon. John Eliot, M. P. (with his brother, the hon. William E.) for the borough of Liskeard, co. Cornwall. His lordship was receiver-general (for the prince of Wales) of the duchy of Cornwall, in which he is succeeded by R. B. Sheridan, esq.

2nd. At Wallacetown, Ayr, aged 110 years and 10 months, Jean George, who was born at Edinbro'; never had any illness; retained her faculties to the last, and died without a struggle. She attended the late earl of Eglintoun in his infancy, and has enjoyed a pension from that noble family ever since. In her 47th year she had a son, now 64 years old.

3rd. In New King-street, Bath, aged 86, Mrs. Anne Catherine Beach, only surviving sister of Thomas B. esq. deceased, formerly attorney-general and chief justice of Jamaica.

At his house at Thorpe Lee, Surry, aged 85, Sir Edward Blackett, bart. of Matson, co. Northumberland.

In consequence of the rupture of a blood vessel, the Rev. Henry Cox Mason, M. A. rector of St. Mary, Bermondsey, chaplain to Lord Onslow,



low, founder of the deaf and dumb school, a celebrated and popular preacher, and author of several judicious, well-written, and well-delivered sermons. He has left a widow and a numerous family ill provided for.

6th. This morning, about nine o'clock, captain Fitzgerald, of the marines, came to the Northumberland coffee-house, where he was well known and occasionally lodged, to ask for a bed. On being shewn to his chamber, he desired he might not be disturbed till six in the evening, stating that he had been up the whole of the preceding night. When the waiter went to call him at the appointed time, he found the captain, though yet warm, quite dead. A neighbouring surgeon was instantly sent for by the master of the house, who opened an artery, but without effect. The coroner's jury, after a very minute investigation of the circumstances, pronounced a verdict of "Died by the visitation of God." He had dined on the 5th at the Northumberland coffee-house, in company with a friend, in apparent health and spirits. He was a native of Ireland, and is supposed to have been about 33 years of age.

9th. At her house in Somerset-street, aged 76, after an illness of near three years continuance, which she bore with unexampled fortitude, the hon. Mrs. Rothe, widow of the late count R. lieutenant-general and colonel proprietor of the Irish regiment of his name, in the service of his most Christian majesty. She was the only daughter of Lucius Cary, fifth lord viscount Faulkland, by his second wife Laura Dillon, sister to Henry, eleventh viscount

Dillon, and to the present archbishop of Narbonne.

11th. At Ballenecanlig, near Dingle, in Ireland, the wife of rear-admiral Moriarty.

In his 79th year, the reverend Joshua Smith, of Holt, Norfolk, many years rector of that parish, and vicar of Gorleston, Suffolk. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Dr. Henry Briggs, who was 26 years rector, and chaplain to George II. and died in 1741, and was succeeded by another of both his names; on whose death, in 1750, Mr. Smith was presented by his wife.

13th. Miss O'Hara was seized with a fit in Drury-lane theatre at nine o'clock of Saturday the 11th. She was taken to Carpmeal's house, in Bow-street, where every attention was paid to her. Two medical men, Messrs. Rivers and Hunt, were called, whose aid however was without effect: she expired this morning about four o'clock. She was a beautiful, accomplished woman, and had scarcely attained her 22nd year.

15th. At West Woodhay-house, co. Berks, lady Sloper, relict of sir Robert Sloper, K. B. and youngest daughter of the late lord chief justice Willes.

At Grantham, co. Lincoln, much lamented, on account of her benevolence to the poor, Mrs. L. C. Cust, only remaining sister of the late Sir John C. bart. speaker of the house of commons, and aunt to lady Brownlow.

16th. At Dover, John Smith, esq. elder brother to the general, who, when captain in the guards, and aid-du-camp to the late lord Sackville, by his valour and ability twice saved



the present duke of Brunswick from being killed or taken by the French. This gentleman, who was alike distinguished for benevolence and for an high sense of honour, to which he sacrificed his fortune, commenced his military career with uncommon promise; but, displeased at the manner in which he conceived his friend, the commander of the British forces at Minden, had been treated on that occasion, he gave up his commission in disgust, six weeks before the death of George the Second. To the feelings resulting from the exercise of benignity, Mr. Smith added the happiness to witness the high estimation in which society held the family with which he had enriched it. Sir Sidney Smith being his second son, the paternal property devolves on colonel Smith, of Walmer. Mr. Spencer Smith, who so ably conducted our interests at Constantinople, and who is now our minister at Stuttgart, is the youngest son. During many of the latter years of his life, Mr. S. resided in apartments excavated in the cliff, at no great distance from Dover Castle.

At Brighthelmstone, aged about 50, in consequence of her muslin-dress catching fire, in her bed-chamber, in the evening of Sunday the 12th, lady Warren, widow of sir George W. sister to the countess of Liverpool, aunt to the duchess of Dorset, and mother-in-law to viscountess Bulkeley. It appears, that had her ladyship given timely alarm to the servants, her life would most probably have been preserved; but so little apprehensive was she that it was in danger from the accident of her apron catching fire, she did not conceive it necessary even to ring the bell. The butler was first alarmed

by her screams, and on his entering the room, finding her ladyship in flames from head to foot, he caught her by the arm, and attempted to wind the curtains around her; but being linen, they immediately caught fire, and the whole side of the room was soon in a blaze. The servant at last succeeded in extinguishing the flames, by rolling her ladyship in the carpet; but before this was accomplished, her arms, neck, and bosom, were burnt in the most dreadful manner. The man's right arm and both his hands were much burnt, and both his eye-brows were scorched. Lord and lady Bulkeley reached Brighton in sufficient time to attend the last moments of their much-lamented relative. When formerly a maid of honour, her name was Bishopp. She was a very amiable woman; and her husband, sir George Warren, has not been dead quite two years. Though possessed of an income of 11,000*l.* a year, he left her only with her jointure, which was short of a 1000*l.* a year. The liberality and opulence of her family enabled her, however, to maintain her usual splendour. It is singular that the deceased lady and her husband exhibited allegations against each other in Doctor's Commons, and afterwards renewed all their conjugal endearments, and lived together till the death of sir George. Her ladyship was buried at Fareham, Hants, which has been the burial-place of the Bishopp family for many years.

18th. At his house at Chelsea, after a long illness, Mr. Topper, nearly 50 years footman to his majesty, and the person who prevented Margaret Nicholson from hurting his majesty when she made an attempt on his life at St. James's garden



garden-gate, 1786, and for which, though repeatedly solicited, he refused to accept any reward.

21st. At Kirchberg, after a very short illness, both at the same hour, Frederick Everard, the reigning prince of Hohenloe, and the princess his consort, born a countess of Castel Remling. The former had reached his 67th, and the latter her 69th year.

22nd. At Montrose, Miss Ramsay, sister to sir Alexander Ramsay Irvine, bart. of Balmain.

23d. At her house at Richmond, Surrey, sincerely regretted, Mrs. Mary Ellis, relict of James E. esq. of North-street, Westminster.

At his seat of Tothill, near Plymouth, aged 70, beloved, admired, and revered by all ranks of people, John Culme, esq. He was, strictly and impartially speaking, a venerable old English gentleman; hospitable and hearty in his house; with his family, friends, and acquaintance, open, friendly, cheerful, and sociable; to his domestics and dependents a good master.

At his lordship's house in Grosvenor-place, Anne, countess of Upper Ossory, daughter of the late lord Ravensworth, and first married to the present duke of Grafton, from whom she was divorced, and afterwards married to the earl of Upper Ossory. By the duke her ladyship had lord Euston and other children. She had likewise two daughters by the earl of Upper Ossory. The errors of this lady's youth were, according to the best of her endeavours, atoned for by a subsequent exemplary conduct. Her remains were interred in the family-vault in Bedfordshire.

At Kilmurry, near Thomas-town, in Ireland, aged 98, the countess-

dowager of Carrick, sister to the earl of Shannon, and mother of the present earl of Carrick.— She was married to the late earl of Carrick, 1745, and he died 1774.

25th. At Grenier's hotel, in Albemarle-street, Ralph Dutton, esq. brother to lord Sherborne.

26th. At his house at Hyde-park corner, the wife of Drummond Smith, esq. Her death was occasioned by grief for the death of her sister, which brought on a violent fever. Lady Cunliffe is inconsolable for the very recent loss of her two daughters.

At Elberfeld, in Germany, in her 25th year, and far advanced in pregnancy, lady Sykes, wife of sir Francis William S. bart. of Basildon-park, Berks, niece to the duchess dowager of Chandos, grand-daughter to the late, and niece to the present, lord Heniker. Through her amiable disposition, and motherly care of an infant son afflicted with the scarlet fever, her ladyship fell a victim, to the great grief of her family, relatives, and numerous friends.

March 1st. At Dresden, in her 34th year, the princess Maximilian of Saxony, born princess of Parma.

2nd. At Exeter, aged 100, Mrs. Mackenzie, mother of lieutenant-colonel M.

4th. At Springhall, in Scotland, aged 84, sir William Maxwell, bart.

6th. At Bath, Archibald Swinton, brother to the late lord Swinton, one of the judges of the court of session in Scotland.

At Brussels, aged 69, marquis Goswin de Fierlaut, counsellor of state to the emperor, formerly president of the privy council in Brabant, and knight of the imperial order of St. Stephen.



7th. At Elberfeld, in Germany, of a scarlet fever, which he caught by attending on his lady, who died Feb. 27, sir Francis William Sykes, bart. leaving four infant children. Their remains have been brought to London, and thence conveyed to Basildon park, Berks, where they were interred in the family vault. Sir William's father died on the 12th of January last.

At Clifton, John Clootwik, esq. formerly a governor in the Dutch East India Company's service, and brother-in-law to lord viscount Molesworth. His remains were deposited in the Abbey-church at Bath, near those of his wife.

In London, John Whitehead, M. D. an eminent physician; a celebrated preacher among the people called methodists; and author of a Life of the late reverend John Wesley.

8th. The relict of Thomas Charter, esq. of Lynchfield, near Taunton, and sister to sir Charles Warre Malet, bart. of Willbury-house, Wilts.

9th. At her house in Hill-street, after a long illness of the bursting a blood-vessel in her head. Mrs. Blackwood, relict of Shovel B. esq. maternal grandson of sir Cloudesley Shovel, to whom she was married in 1767, and daughter of William, youngest brother of sir Stephen Theodore Janssen, bart. lord mayor, chamberlain, and representative in parliament of the city of London, who died in 1777. Mr. J. died 1768, having purchased of the Bingley family the manor of Cheshunt nunnery, which he left to this his daughter by his first wife; his daughter by the second was married 1778 to Lionel Damer, third son of the late earl of Dorchester, of Came-

house, Dorsetshire, and only surviving brother of the present earl, to whom Cheshunt Nunnery goes by her will; her house in town to Augustus Pechell, esq. a relation, and receiver-general of the customs; and a valuable collection of about 50 pictures at Cheshunt, made by her husband, to her nephew, W. R. Cartwright, esq. of Aynho, knight of the shire for the county of Northampton, on his paying 2,000l. to his two sisters.

10th. At Brighthelmstone, after a long and painful illness, in his 15th year, Henry Pomeroy, only son of lord viscount Harberton.

In his 29th year, Thomas Pitt, lord Camelford, only son of Thomas the first lord Camelford, baron of Boscunoc in Cornwall (so created Jan. 5, 1784), and late a lieutenant in the royal navy. He was born Feb. 25, 1775; and succeeded to his father's title and estates in 1793. This very high-spirited young nobleman, we are sorry to state, fell a victim to his own impetuosity, by a fatal shot, in one of those rencontres which the modern system of manners seems unfortunately to encourage; leaving a fatal example of the ill effects ensuing from that mistaken sense of honour which impels its votaries to acts never enough to be condemned, and which has deprived the world of many of its greatest ornaments. Lord Camelford was not only inclined to the more enlightened pursuits of literature, but his chymical researches, and his talents as a seaman, were worthy of the highest admiration. "Before the fatal meeting, I have been told" (says the rev. William Cockburne, in his "Authentic Account" of his lordship's death), "that several overtures were made to lord Camelford."



ford to produce a reconciliation, but they were rejected with some obduracy. The fact was, his lordship had an idea that his antagonist (capt. Best) was the best shot in England, and he was therefore extremely fearful lest his reputation should suffer, if he made any concession, however slight, to such a person. This was the probable cause of the violent language which he is reported to have used, and the principal cause of the lamented meeting. After he fell, he is said to have expressed on the spot, what he afterwards strongly expressed to me, that he forgave his antagonist; and to the man who was called by his second to his support, he repeated several times that he was himself the sole aggressor. A messenger came to me about 8 o'clock in the morning of the 7th, to inform me of the sad issue of the contest, and of the spot where his lordship was left. After sending a short account to the marquis of Buckingham, and an express to lord Grenville, I hastened towards the place, and found his lordship already carried into Little Holland-house by the generous man who owns it.\* Mr. Knight the surgeon, and captain Barry, his lordship's most intimate friend, were by his lordship's bed-side, and Mr. Home arriving in a few minutes, we cut off his cloaths; the wound was examined by the surgeons, and immediately pronounced to be mortal. His lordship continued in agonies of pain during the first day; towards the evening it pleased God to moderate his torture; by the help of laudanum he got some sleep during the night, and awoke in the morning much relieved. His hopes revived considerably during the second day, and he conversed with some cheer-

fulness. The surgeons, however, who were unremitting in their attentions, would never give his friends the slightest hopes. He lingered, free from acute pain, till the evening of Saturday the 10th, when, about half past eight, he expired without a pang. Thus died Thomas lord Camelford, in the prime and full vigour of life. He was a man whose real character was to the world but little known; his imperfections and his follies were often brought before the public; but the counterbalancing virtues were but seldom heard of. Though too violent to those whom he imagined to have wronged him; yet, to his acquaintance, he was mild, affable, and courteous; a stern adversary, but the kindest and most generous of friends. Slow and cautious in determining upon any important step, and, while deliberating, most attentive to the advice of others, and easily brought over to their opinion: when, however, his resolutions were once taken, it was almost impossible to turn him from his purpose. That warmth of disposition which prompted him, so unhappily, to great improprieties, prompted him also to the most lively efforts of active benevolence. From the many prisons in this metropolis, from the various receptacles of human misery, he received unnumbered petitions; and no petition ever came in vain. He was often the dupe of the designing and crafty suppliant; but he was more often the reliever of real sorrow, and the soother of unmerited woe. Constantly would he make use of that influence which rank and fortune gave him with the government, to interfere in behalf of those malefactors whose crimes had subjected them to punishment, but in whose

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\* Mr. Ottie.



cases appeared circumstances of alleviation.”—“Before lord Camelford left his lodgings on Tuesday night, the 6th instant,” continues Mr. Cockburne, “he inserted the following paper in his will. It was written, indeed, in a moment of perturbation, and is not, therefore, as elegant and perspicuous as his writings usually were, but it strongly marks, in my opinion, the nobleness of his disposition. ‘There are many other matters which, at another time, I might be inclined to mention; but I will say nothing more at present than that, in the present contest, I am fully and entirely the aggressor, as well in the spirit as the letter of the word; should I therefore lose my life in a contest of my own seeking, I most solemnly forbid any of my friends or relations, let them be of whatsoever description they may, from instituting any vexatious proceedings against my antagonist; and should, notwithstanding the above declaration on my part, the law of the land be put in force against him, I desire that this part of my will may be made known to the king, in order that his royal heart may be moved to extend his mercy towards him.’ The principal part of his lordship’s fortune he has bequeathed to his sister, lady Grenville, to be entirely at her own disposal. Her ladyship is also appointed sole executrix. His servants, though not mentioned in his will, he recommended in a very particular manner to lord Grenville. He has left several sums to be devoted to benevolent purposes. Lady Grenville (who is inconsolable) went twice to see her much-loved brother; but on account of the weak state of her

health, the surgeons thought such a meeting might be attended with serious if not fatal consequences; and her good sense getting the better of even her feelings, she acquiesced in their determination, and returned to Dropmore. Her lord scarcely ever quitted the house till his noble friend and relative died. On the 12th, the coroner held an inquest, at the White Hart, near Holland-house, Kensington; and after hearing the evidence of some of lord Holland’s servants (the only persons who were within hearing or sight of this melancholy transaction), and the report of the surgeon, the jury returned a verdict of “Wilful murder against a person or persons unknown.” Mr. Simon Nicholson, who opened the body, stated, that he found the fifth rib broken, the right lobe of the lungs pierced through, and the ball lodged in the canal of the spinal marrow, having penetrated through the sixth vertebræ of the back. He also found on the right side of the chest the quantity of six quarts of blood, or rather more, had lodged; this pressed on the lungs, and consequently prevented them from exercising their ordinary operations. In his opinion, this circumstance was the immediate cause of his death. The body was then removed from Little Holland-house to Camelford-house, in Park-lane. On the 16th, the shop of Mr. Dawes, undertaker in Dean-street, Soho, was surrounded for several hours by the populace, anxious to see lord Camelford’s exterior coffin. The covering of it is a beautiful crimson velvet, with double rows of silver nails on the lid; besides a multitude of eschutcheons and silver ornaments, a baron’s coronet is placed at the head;



at the feet a smaller one; and between both a square silver plate, with the arms of Camelford engraved upon it, and the following inscription:

The Right Honourable  
Thomas Lord Camelford,  
died March 10th, 1804,  
aged 29.

The sides of the coffin are superbly adorned with silver cherubim, coronets, handles, and a variety of ornaments: at 5 o'clock it was carried to Camelford house, where the body, shrouded in white satin, and laid in a leaden coffin, was placed within it, preparatory to its being deposited, on the 17th, in a vault of St. Anne's church, Soho, there to remain till it can be conveyed to Berne, in Switzerland, agreeably to his lordship's desire. The day previous to his death, his lordship wrote, with his own hand, a codicil to his will; in which, in the most particular manner, he described the place where he wished his body to be buried, and assigned his reasons for this apparently extraordinary request. He prefaces his wish by stating, that persons in general have a strong attachment to the country which gave them birth, and on their death-bed usually desire their remains may be conveyed to their native land, however great the distance, to be interred. Altho' it may appear singular, his desire is the very reverse of this; and he begs that his dying request may be fulfilled. "I wish my body (says he) to be removed as soon as may be convenient to a country far distant!—to a spot not near the haunts of men; but where the surrounding scenery may smile upon my remains." It is situated on the borders of the lake of St. Lampierre, in the canton of

Berne; and three trees stand in the particular spot. The centre tree he desires may be taken up, and his body being there deposited, immediately replaced." "Let no monument or stone be placed over my grave." At the foot of this tree, his lordship adds, he formerly passed many solitary hours, contemplating the mutability of human affairs. As a compensation to the proprietors of the spot described, he has left 1,000*l*. In another part of his will he desires his relations will not go into mourning for him.

14th. Miss Frances Stackpole Turner, eldest daughter of Sir Gregory Page Turner, bart.

17th. At Bath, after a lingering illness, James Hare, esq. M. P. for Knaresborough. He married, 1774, the only daughter of the late sir Abraham Hume, bart. sister of the present baronet, by whom he had one daughter. This gentleman, son of an apothecary at Winchester, so celebrated for convivial wit, was one of the most accomplished men in our days. At Eton began, and at Oxford continued, that intimacy which matured into indissoluble friendship, and lasted to the close of his life, between him and that knot of eminent men who are thought to be the nearest the heart of Mr. Fox, whose patronage at Eton he repaid by assisting him in his idle hours. A higher idea cannot well be formed of the expectations excited by Mr. H.'s academical exercises than was conveyed by Mr. Fox; who, when, on receiving the praises which his first display in parliament justly called forth, replied, "Wait till you hear Hare." In all the graces of conversation; in vivacity, in boundless wit, in social elocution, gaiety of mind, happiness of allusion



sion and combination; in the brightest conversations of an imagination fraught with the treasures of ingenuity, erudition, classical discrimination, and sound judgment, Hare was almost unrivalled; yet, in public speaking, he totally disappointed the ideas which his school-companions entertained and diffused of him in early life.—Mr. Hare visited Paris on the conclusion of the late war, and returned home in an ill state of health, which terminated his life.

At Ellingham, co. Northumberland, aged 71, Edward Haggerston, esq. uncle to sir Carnaby Haggerston, bart.

18th. At Totness, Devon, rear-admiral Epworth. He was an officer in the late admiral Keppel's ship at the taking of the Havannah, 1760, and was present at many of the naval conquests during that war.

19th. At his house in St. James's-square, in his 64th year, John Duke of Roxburgh, Marquis of Beaumont and Cesford, earl of Roxburgh and Kelso, viscount Broxmouth, baron Kerr of Roxburgh, Cesford, and Caverton, in Scotland, and also baron and earl Kerr of Wakefield, co. York, principal groom of the stole to the king, head lord of his majesty's bed-chamber, K. T. and lord-lieutenant of the county of Roxburgh. His grace was born in April, 1740, and succeeded to his titles and estates on the death of his father, August 20, 1755. He is succeeded in the dukedom of Roxburgh, the earldoms of Roxburgh and Kelso, the viscountcy of Broxmouth, barony of Kerr, &c. by lord Bellenden, who is married to a daughter of Mr. Bicheno, of Windsor, and niece of sir John Smith of Dorsetshire, but has no issue. His grace has left two mai-

den sisters, who were a distinguished part of the beautiful groupe of bridesmaids that attended the nuptial ceremonies of their present majesties. When a young man, he was as remarkable for his personal figure as for his mental accomplishments. While on his travels he was attached to the eldest sister of her present majesty; and there is little doubt but that he would have succeeded in making her his wife, had not the late princess of Wales, at the time, brought about the match between his majesty and the younger sister, our present gracious and good queen. Etiquette then interfered; and it was deemed indecorous that the elder sister should be the subject of the younger. This, operating with some other reasons, broke off the negociation; but both parties evinced the strength of their mutual attachment by devoting their after-lives to celibacy.—When his grace found himself draw near his dissolution, he desired no one might attend his corpse into Scotland but his steward and one old footman, who had faithfully served him a great number of years, and for whom his grace has left a legacy of 60l. per ann. Accordingly, those two persons did attend; and, singular as it may appear, the footman lived long enough to reach the place of their destination, but was a corpse himself before the interment of his master took place.

At his house in Great George-street, Westminster, after a very short illness, the right honourable Richard Pepper Arden, baron Alvanley, of Alvanley, co. Chester, (so created May 22, 1801,) and lord chief justice of the court of common pleas. He was the second son of John Arden, esq. of Arden,  
in



in Cheshire. His christian name of Pepper was given from respect to his mother, who was the heiress of that family in the north riding of Yorkshire. He was educated at the school of Mr. Lawson, in Manchester, and under the immediate tuition of Thyer, the learned and loyal editor of Hudibras. From thence he carried a large stock of knowledge and literature to Trinity college, Cambridge, where he early distinguished himself by his public exercises, and gained the prize for the best declamation in the chapel. He commenced B. A. in 1766, when he was again successful, and was amongst the wranglers in a year conspicuously eminent for young men of abilities, in which his own college shone above the rest: and took the degree of M. A. in 1769. His merits were rewarded by that learned society electing him one of their fellows. In the intervals of his studies in the Middle Temple, he constantly visited his friends in college, whom he delighted by the goodness of his heart, his amiable disposition, and the pleasantry of his manners and conversation. He fixed his residence in Lincoln's Inn, after finishing his studies in the Middle Temple; and it is said that he there lived on the same staircase with the late prime minister, and that they used to associate very much together. His diligence and assiduity soon recommended him to practice in the court of chancery. He had not been many years at the bar, when he contracted a suitable marriage with the daughter of Rich. Wilbraham Bootle, esq. of Cheshire, an opulent member of parliament; and by her he has left five children. The influence of his own and his lady's family brought him early into

the house of commons. He naturally attached himself to his friend Mr. Pitt, upon the great crisis in administration after the American war; and he is said to have then had influence to bring in an addition of six votes into the house to the side upon which he chose to range himself. His practice at the bar had, in the mean time, so increased, as to give him, though no favourite of lord Thurlow in the court of chancery, very considerable respectability in the public estimation as a lawyer. By the zealous friendship of Mr. Pitt, he was promoted to the appointment of master of the rolls, upon the late lord Kenyon's elevation to preside in the court of king's bench. He filled that important office with great credit to himself, and much satisfaction to the public, till the æra of Mr. Pitt's resignation. Among the changes which then ensued, he was advanced to the office of chief justice of the court of common pleas, in the room of lord Eldon, then made lord high chancellor; and was also honoured with a peerage. In the court of common pleas, his arguments and judgments have been such as not a little to exalt the general esteem for his talents and learning as a lawyer. The court has been in his time filled with suitors and with business; and his sentences, even in the most difficult cases, have given an universal satisfaction. In the house of commons he was distinguished for speaking with spirit, wit, and intelligence, rather than with commanding dignity. To his exertions as a speaker in the house of peers, even dignity of manner has not been wanting. He has filled several eminent situations; and in them all has been found more than equal to the duties  
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of the place, and to the expectations of the public. His conduct in private life has been uniformly upright and amiable; and his death is lamented as a loss to his country. He is succeeded by his eldest son, William, now lord Alvanley, an ensign in the Coldstream regiment of guards. His remains were interred, on the 26th, in the Rolls chapel, Chancery-lane. The ceremony was performed by the Rev. John Strachey, D. D.; and the body was deposited in a vault on the right of the communion-table. The coffin was plain, but remarkably neat, covered with fine black cloth, adorned with a number of gilt ornaments, handles, and a plate inscribed,

RICHARD PEPPER ARDEN,

Lord Alvanley,

Lord Chief Justice of the Court of  
Common Pleas,

One of his Majesty's Right Honourable Privy Council,

Died March the 19th, 1804,  
aged 59.

19th. In his 61st year, universally esteemed and lamented, Philip Yorke, esq. of Erthig, co. Denbigh; a gentleman of superior endowments and the most benevolent disposition. His hospitality, friendship, and charity, made the ample fortune he inherited a common benefit; whilst the peculiar mildness and suavity of his manners endeared him to his relatives and to every one who had the honour of his acquaintance. He loved his country, and the constitution of its government, from a conviction of their excellence; and what he loved he was always ready to support, both in his public and private capacity, although constitutional diffidence would not allow him to speak in the house of commons, where he

sat as burgess for Helstone and Grantham. But Mr. Yorke had a cultivated as well as benevolent mind, being well versed in most branches of polite literature; which an accurate and retentive memory enabled him to apply with great advantage. Of late years he turned his attention a good deal to Welsh history and genealogy, in which, from the specimens given in his "Royal Tribes of Wales," 1799, 4to. he appears to have made great progress. This study, rather dry in itself, was, in his hands, enlivened by a variety of authentic and entertaining anecdotes, many of which had escaped preceding historians, as well as genealogical discussions; and his book was adorned with portraits of eminent persons of Wales, well engraved by the late Mr. Bond. He had collected materials for a longer work of the same kind, which it is hoped will hereafter see the light. His taste for natural beauties was very correct; the pleasure grounds of Erthig are a decided proof of it. Of a character so respectable and amiable throughout, one of the most distinguishing traits was his talent for conversation; few equalled him here. Whatever he advanced arose naturally from the occasion; and was expressed in such a happy manner and choice of words as made him the very life and delight of society. As long as affection and gratitude retain their influence, so long will his memory be cherished by those who had an opportunity of knowing his worth. He was admitted fellow-commoner of Benet's college, Cambridge, 1765; created M. A. by mandamus, 1765; elected F. A. S. 1768; married Elizabeth youngest daughter of the late speaker of the house of commons, sir

John



John Cust, by whom he had a son, 1771, a daughter, 1772. She died 1779; and he took to his second wife, 1782, the relict of Owen Meyrick, esq. of Dyffrynales, co. Denbigh.

At his house in Ely-place, Dublin, sir Alexander Schomberg, knt. the eldest captain in the royal navy, his commission being dated in 1757. During this extensive period he had the honour of commanding his majesty's yacht the Dorset, stationed in the port of Dublin. He was an experienced and gallant officer, displayed great bravery at the relief of Quebec, and had a thorough knowledge of naval tactics. His remains were interred in St. Peter's church-yard, Dublin, attended by his two sons, the rev. George Schomberg, and captain Alexander Schomberg, of the royal navy, as the chief mourners; admirals lord Lecale, Hawkins, Whitshed, sir Chichester Fortescue, captains Lambert Brabazon, and Edward O'Brien, were pall-bearers.

At his house in Great George-street, Westminster, general sir William Fawcett, K. B. colonel of the 3d regiment of dragoon guards, and governor of Chelsea college. He was of a very ancient and respectable family; and born at Shipden hall, near Halifax, in Yorkshire, which, for many centuries, had been in the possession of his ancestors, and is now the property and residence of their lineal descendant. His father dying when he was very young, his education was superintended by an uncle, a very worthy clergyman. He was brought up at a free-school in Lancashire, where he was well grounded in classical learning, and became also a remarkable proficient in mathema-

tics. He has very frequently been heard to declare, that, from his earliest youth, he always felt the strongest predilection for the army, which his mother and nearest relations constantly endeavoured to dissuade him from; but, finding all their arguments ineffectual, they either bought, or he had an ensigncy given him, in general Oglethorpe's regiment, then in Georgia; but the war being then going on in Flanders, he gave up his ensigncy, and went there as a volunteer, furnished with letters from the late marquis of Rockingham and Mr. Lascelles (afterwards lord Harewood), to the commander and several others of the officers. This step was at the time far from unusual for young men of spirit, of the first rank and fortune, to take. He entered as a volunteer, but messed with the officers, and was very soon presented with a pair of colours. Some time after he married a lady of good fortune and family, and, at the pressing entreaties of her friends, he most reluctantly resigned his commission; which he had no sooner done, than he felt himself miserable, and his new relations finding that his propensity to a military life was invincible, agreed to his purchasing an ensigncy in the third regiment of guards. Having now obtained the object of his most anxious wishes, he determined to lose no opportunity of qualifying himself for the highest situations in his favourite profession. With this view he paid the most unremitting attention to his duty, and every hour he could command was given up to the study of the French and German languages, in which (by the assistance of his classical learning) he soon became such a proficient as not only to



to understand and write both, grammatically and elegantly, but to speak them fluently. When he was a lieutenant in the guards, he translated from the French, "The Reveries; or, Memoirs upon the Art of War, by Field-marshal Count Saxe," which was published in 4to. in 1757, and dedicated "To the General Officers." He also translated from the German, "Regulations for the Prussian Cavalry," which was also published 1757, and dedicated to major-general the earl of Albemarle, colonel of the king's own regiment of dragoons. And he likewise translated from the German, "Regulations for the Prussian Infantry," to which was added, "The Prussian Tactics," which was published in 1759, and dedicated to lieutenant-general the earl of Rothes, colonel of the third regiment of foot guards. Having attained the situation of adjutant in the guards, his abilities and unremitting attention soon became conspicuous; and, on the late general Elliot's being ordered to Germany in the seven years war, he offered to take him as his aid-de-camp, which he gladly accepted, as it gave him an opportunity of gaining that knowledge which actual service could alone impart. When he served in Germany, his ardour, intrepidity, and attention to all the duties of his situation, were such, that on the death of general Elliot, he had immediately offers both from the late prince Ferdinand, the commander in chief, and the late marquis of Granby, to be appointed aid-de-camp. By the advice of a noble earl now dead (who hinted to him that the German war would not last for ever) he accepted the offer of the latter, after making due ac-

knowledgments for the honour intended him by the former. In this his new situation, his ardour and attention were, if possible, increased, which gained him the friendship of all those attached to lord Granby, particularly of a noble lord (now living, and highly conspicuous both by his rank and talents), who, being fixed upon to bring to England the account of the battle of Warburgh, gave up his appointment to capt. Fawcett; an instance of generous friendship which he always spoke of with the most heartfelt gratitude. On his arrival in England he was introduced by the then great minister to his late majesty king George the second, who received him most graciously, and not the less so, on his giving the whole account in German. Soon after, he was promoted to a company in the guards, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the army, and became military secretary to, and the intimate friend of, lord Granby. His manners were formed with equal strength and softness; and to coolness, intrepidity, and extensive military knowledge, he added all the requisite talents of a man of business, and the most persevering assiduity, without the least ostentation. Notwithstanding the most unassuming modesty, his abilities were now so generally known, that he was fixed upon as the most proper person to manage and support the interests of his country, in settling many of the concerns of the war in Germany; and by that means necessarily became known to the great Frederick (that supereminent judge of merit such as his) from whom he afterwards had the most tempting and dazzling offers, which he declined without hesitation, preferring the service



service of his king and country to every other consideration. The many eminent and honourable situations he has since held are too well known, both in England and Germany, to be here mentioned; and the manner in which he performed the duties of his several offices, will long be gratefully remembered by his country as well as every individual who had business to transact with him. The honors paid to his memory by the most exalted characters in this kingdom are perhaps unparalleled, and bear the most ample testimony to his merits. On Saturday the 31st, at half past one, his body was removed from George-street; the hearse was preceded by the horse of the deceased, bearing his sword, &c. &c. &c. followed by the prince of Wales, dukes of Clarence and Kent, lords Jersey, Chesterfield, and Curzon; generals Fox, Sir A. Clarke, Hulse, Garth, Wynne, Burrard, &c. in four royal carriages and six or seven mourning coaches and four. The procession passed along St James's-street, Piccadilly, and Sloan-street. On reaching the northern gate of the college, the corpse was met by the dukes of York and Cambridge, and a great number of general officers. The pall was supported by 8 generals.

27th. At Brompton-grove, Maria Louisa Françoise D'Esparres La Lusan, comtesse de Polastron. Her remains were deposited in a vault in St. Pancras church-yard, with great funeral pomp, the body being first embalmed, and inclosed in a lead coffin, outside of which was a case magnificently covered with crimson velvet, and ornamented with very great taste and splendour. The funeral was conducted with much elegance and taste, and mov-

ed along in the following order: Two mutes, four priests in their robes, two men bearing an urn (in which the heart of the deceased was inclosed), the body with the pall supported by friends of the deceased, eighteen mourners. Among the latter were several relations of the deceased, who was of the house of Bourbon, and dame du palais to the late unfortunate queen of France. The funeral is of a temporary nature, as the remains of the countess are to be removed to Paris after the war, to be interred in the vault of her ancestors.

28th. At Montreal, the hon. William Pitt Amherst, second son of Lord A.

At his house, at Bath, Charles Lord Dormer. He is succeeded by his son the hon. Charles Dormer.

30th. At her house in Wimpole-street, in an advanced age, Elizabeth, relict of Sir John Peachey, of Westdean, Sussex.

In his 46th year, Sir Clement Brydges Jacob, bart. of Bromley, Kent.

*April 1st.* In Austin-friars, about one o'clock in the afternoon, after a few hours illness, Mrs. Elizabeth Le Mesurier, wife of Havilland Le M. esq. commissary-general to the army late in Egypt and the Mediterranean; leaving to her disconsolate husband, and to six surviving children, the example of amiable manners and of unspotted purity of soul, and the comforts of religious faith.

At the earl of Harborough's, in Leicestershire, Mrs. Monkton, widow of the late hon. Gen. M.

5th. In his 80th year, at Vicar's hill, Boldré, in the New Forest, Hants, to which vicarage he was presented by his pupil, col. Mitford, author of the history of Greece, and



and brother of lord Redesdale, the Reverend William Gilpin, M. A. of Queen's college, Oxford, and also prebendary of Salisbury. He kept for many years a respectable boarding school at Cheam, in Surry, in a house built for the purpose, with rooms 25 feet square, by his predecessor the Reverend Daniel Sanxay. This establishment he resigned to his youngest son William; who yet keeps it. He first attracted notice by his merit as a biographer, beginning, 1753, with the life of his lineal ancestor, the celebrated Bernard Gilpin, commonly called "the northern apostle," rector of Houghton le Spring, co. Durham; a striking instance of the effect of attention and perseverance of an incumbent on the reformation of an extensive parish in the northern wilds. Mr. W. Gilpin was a successful imitator of his example; and there are not wanting instances, in these modern times, where patient waiting in an incumbent and his wife has been followed by the same good consequence in southern parishes; and a conscientious incumbent will never despond. This life was accompanied, 1755, by that of Latimer, and followed by others of John Wicliffe, John Huss, Jerome of Prague, and Zisca, 1765, and archbishop Cranmer, 1784. Upon his retirement into the country, he took a strong propensity to drawing its various scenery. He printed, 1788, two sermons preached at the visitations of the bishop, 1788, and the chancellor of Winchester, 1780. "Lectures on the Church catechism," 1779, 12mo, reprinted 1792. "Exposition of the New Testament," 1790, reprinted in two volumes 8vo. In the same year, 1790, "Observations rela-

tive chiefly to picturesque beauty, made in the year 1776, on several parts of Great Britain, particularly the Highlands of Scotland," 1789; a second edition 1792. "Observations relative chiefly to picturesque beauty, made in the year 1772, on several parts of England, particularly in the mountains and lakes of Cumberland and Westmorland," 1776, 2 volumes 8vo; two succeeding editions: again, 1792, "Remarks on forest scenery," 1791, 2 volumes 8vo. "Essays [three] on picturesque beauty," "Picturesque travel, and the Art of sketching landscape," two editions, 8vo. "Forest scenery," 2 volumes 8vo. 1791 and 1794. "Essay on prints," 4 editions. "Observations on the river Wye, and several parts of South Wales, &c. relative chiefly to picturesque beauty, made in the summer of the years 1770 and 1782," 1793, 8vo. of which two more editions.--- "Picturesque remarks on the western parts of England," 1798, 8vo. "Sermons to a country congregation; and Hints for sermons," 1800, 2 volumes 8vo. a third 1803. "Moral contrasts; or the power of religion exemplified under different characters," 1798, 8vo. "Amusements of clergymen," 1796, 12mo. "Life of John Trueman and Richard Atkins, for the use of servants'-halls, farm-houses, and cottages." "Account of Wm. Baker."

Mr. G. having appropriated a collection of his sketches for the endowment of a parish school at Bol-dré, under the inspection of certain of his friends, of which an account may be seen in the second report of the society for bettering the condition of the poor; they were sold by auction by Mr. Christie, in May,



1802, and produced 1560l. The principal purchasers were, sir Robert Hervey, Ladies Tankerville, Beauchamp Proctor, Lords Ossulston, and De Blaquierè, Messieurs Vansittart, Locke, Legge, Maitland, Davenport, Forbes, Alexander, Rogers, Dr. Monro, and col. Mitford. Independent of representing Nature not as she really appears, but as Mr. G. conceives she ought to appear, to form *picturesque* scenery, his language on these subjects, is justly liable to the strong remonstrance of the author of the "Pursuits of Literature," in his Part IV. p. 225 & seq.

Mr. G.'s brother Sawrey has long been distinguished as a painter of animals. He etched a complete set for his brother's Forest Scenery. Besides these there were in the auction several others. In the removal of the effects after the death of Mr. Blamire, who first published Mr. G.'s picturesque works, the plates from which these animals were taken were irrecoverably lost. To the copy of Mr. G.'s three essays on picturesque beauty, &c. were added the drawings whence the prints were etched, and the remarks given by Sir Joshua Reynolds to Mr. Mason 1776, on the first essay, and Sir Joshua's letter to Mr. G. 1791. To the catalogue were annexed the author's account of the principles on which the drawings are executed.

9th. In Berkeley-square, Lord Viscount Bury, eldest son of the earl of Albemarle. His remains were interred in the family vault near Quid-denham-hall, Norfolk. The coffin was covered with grey cloth; and on the plate was the following inscription:

The Right Hon. Wm. Visc. Bury,  
Died the 9th of April, 1804.  
aged 11.

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At Kilbeggin, in Ireland, of a fever, Robert Pigott, esq. brother to sir George P. bart. of Patshull, co. Stafford, and lieutenant-colonel of 30th foot.

At Geneva, in an advanced age, after a short illness, Mons. Necker, formerly minister of finance, in France. Madame Stael Von Holstein, now residing at Berlin, is his only child, and inherits all her father's property, which is calculated to amount to five millions of livres. Since the death of his wife, in 1796, he regarded life with disgust, and passed regularly every day some hours by the side of the coffin containing Madame Necker. He desired, in his will, that both their bodies should be buried together in a vineyard on his estate.

11th. In Dean-street, Audley-square, Mrs. Hales, sister of sir Philip H. bart.

12th At Dupplin-castle, in Perthshire, after a lingering illness, Robert Auriol Drummond Hay, eighth earl of Kinnoull, viscount Dupplin and baron Hay. He succeeded his father in 1758, having been M. P. for the University of Cambridge in the parliament of 1741, 1747, and 1754, in the two last of which he was chairman of the committee of privileges and elections. In 1741 he was appointed one of the commissioners of the revenue in Ireland; in 1746, one of the commissioners of trade and plantations; in 1754 one of the commissioners of the treasury, and joint paymaster of the forces with the earl of Darlington; in 1757, first lord of trade; and, in 1758, chancellor of the duchy and county palatine of Lancaster, and one of his Majesty's most honourable privy council; in 1759, ambassador to the king of Portugal, at whose court



court he resided only a few months, and returned to England the following year. In 1741 he married Constantia, daughter of John Kerle-Emly, esq. of Whetham, co. Wilts, who died in 1753, without any surviving issue. He was the eldest son of George, seventh earl of Kin-noull, created by queen Anne, 1712, a baron of Great Britain, by the title of lord Hay, baron Hay of Pedwardin, co. Hereford, who, by Abigail, daughter of Robert earl of Oxford, lord treasurer, had three other sons: Robert, archbishop of York, died 1776; John, rector of Epworth, co. Lincoln, deceased; and Edward, consul at Cadiz and Portugal, and ambassador plenipotentiary.

At Malta, after a long and tedious illness, lady Georgiana Stewart, daughter of the earl of Gal-loway.

At the vicarage, aged 45, the rev. Joseph Dacre Carlyle, B. D. vicar of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, chancellor of Carlisle, professor of Arabic in the university of Cambridge, chaplain to the bishop of Durham, and F. R. S. E.; a gentleman of eminent abilities, distinguished learning, taste, and genuine goodness of heart. He was educated at Queen's college, Cambridge; B. A. 1779, M. A. 1783, B. D. 1793; some time fellow of that society, and chosen Arabic professor on the resignation of Dr. Craven, 1795; in which year he also succeeded Dr. Paley as chancellor of the diocese of Carlisle.

His publications are,

“Mauret Allatafet Jemaleddini filii Togri Bardii seu rerum Egyptiacarum Annales ab A. C. 971, usque ad A. 1453. E. codice MS<sup>o</sup> Bibliothecæ Academicæ Cantabrigiæ textum Arabicum primus edidit Latine

vertit notisque illustravit,” 1792.” 4to.

“Specimens of Arabic Poetry, from the earliest Time to the Extinction of the Khalifs; with some Account of the Authors, 1796,” 4to.

“History of Egypt, from an unedited Arabic MS. and accompanied by a critical and elegant Commentary, pronounced a Treasure of appropriate Worth.”

He published a Proposal for printing the Bible in Arabic, in one quarto or two octavo volumes, price about 12s. for the benefit of the Negroes, which work he offered to undertake.

“But though the production of the work of Jemaleddin, in the present neglected state of Arabic literature, was highly meritorious, it is far from being fraught with the most useful matter. Grateful too as the lover of that literature must be for what Mr. C. has actually done, he will probably be inclined to lament the entire omission of that part of the work which relates to the Khalifs of Bagdad. To the Specimens of Arabic Poetry the originals are prefixed, in a beautiful Arabic character; but we are of opinion that Mr. C.'s success in transfusing the spirit of these originals has been such as to increase the reputation of his taste and ingenuity.” New Catalogue of living Authors, I. 419.—He accompanied lord Elgin to Constantinople, as chaplain to the embassy, and for the purpose of obtaining access to the library of the seraglio. Religion, as well as literature, has sustained a severe loss in his death; since it will at least suspend the correct edition of the Arabic Bible, which he had undertaken at the request of a most respectable society, composed of many eminent persons (among whom the bishop of

Durham



Durham is one of the most active), and for which every preparation had been made at Newcastle; and must put an entire stop to his great and favourite project of giving a complete edition of the New Testament in Greek, which was to contain the various readings collected by Mill, Bengelius, Wetstein, Griesbach, and Matthac, but also those of more than thirty Greek manuscripts, which he had collected during his residence and travels in the Turkish empire, together with a new and accurate collation of the Syriac and other ancient versions. With his dissertation on Irood, and observations made during his tour through Lesser Asia, Syria, and Egypt, the public may hope to be gratified. During the short period of his residence at Newcastle his extreme sufferings, from a painful and distressing malady, have prevented his engaging in general intercourse; but a few friends who had the happiness occasionally to visit him, have seen enough of the extent of his acquirements, the vivacity of his conversation, and the ardour of his literary pursuits, to render the unlooked for event of his death a subject of the most sincere regret.

13th. Found burnt to death, at four o'clock in the morning, lady Glanville, of Manchester-street, widow of sir John G. The chair on which she had been sitting was partly consumed; but the fire had not communicated to any other part of the room. It is supposed she sat down in the chair for the purpose of reading, and sleep overpowering her, that the candle had set fire to her cloaths, and produced the fatal effects.

14th. In Portugal-street, Grosvenor-square, the wife of major-general Brownrigg.

In her 21st year, after a very long illness, which afforded no hope of recovery, lady Harriet Fitzroy, seventh daughter of the duke and duchess of Grafton.

17th. At his sister's at Stornton-castle, aged 56, beloved and respected by all ranks of people who knew him, Edward Carver, esq. lieutenant-colonel in the Warwickshire militia. It is but a just tribute to his memory to observe, that the annals of private life have seldom recorded the character of a man more endeared to society by affability of deportment, gentlemanly manners, and universal benevolence. The whole of the military in the neighbourhood, regulars, yeomanry, and volunteers, anxious to testify their respect for his memory, requested to attend his funeral; the offer, however, was handsomely declined by his relatives.

19th. In Hinde-street, Manchester-square, Eleanor viscountess Wenman, relict of the late Philip, seventh viscount Wenman, who died at Bath in 1800, to whom she was married July 7, 1766, fifth daughter of Willoughby earl of Abingdon, and aunt to the present earl. On the 26th, her remains were removed from her house in Hinde-street, for interment, to Thane-park, Oxfordshire, in an elegant coffin covered with velvet, gilt furniture and coronet, with a crucifix. They proceeded along Oxford-street: in the following order:

Six horsemen, two and two.

Plume.

Hearse and six.

Two mourning coaches and six.

Three gentlemen's carriages.

Two gentlemen's chariots.

20th. At the Hot-wells, Bristol, the hon. Mrs. Hobart.

His serene highness the reigning duke



duke of Saxe-Gotha; born Jan. 30, 1745. He forbade, in his will, all ceremony at his burial, except such as is usual for his lowest subjects. He desired to be buried in his English garden, at the feet of the coffins containing the bodies of two of his already deceased children. No speech or sermon to be pronounced, and no monument to be erected over him; but he desires his second son, prince Frederick, to place a tree upon his grave. To this prince he bequeaths his English garden, which is to be open, as formerly, to all visitors. The simple burial ceremony of this sovereign took place on the night of the 25th, according to the wish he expressed in his will. The grave was dug on the island, in the English garden, at the foot of those of his two deceased children. The reigning duchess, with her child on her arm, had, the evening before, strewed flowers round the grave. The midnight-hour struck, when the body entered the garden, carried by the servants of the late duke. The walk to the island was laid with black cloth, with the boat that carried it over. A dark but quiet night favoured this melancholy performance. The ceremony was only interrupted by the sighs and tears of all present, which ran in abundance on the coffin. The grave had been dug by the late duke's courtiers, and was filled by the hands of the members of his highness's family. Prince Frederick planted a tree on the grave. No drums were beat, no sermon was pronounced, no cannons were fired, no bells were tolled.

24th. At his house in Gosport, Thomas Larcom, esq. a captain in the royal navy. The corpse of this

truly valuable officer was followed to the grave by many distinguished naval characters. During 40 years service, the time captain L. has spent on shore was little more than two years.

29th. At his mother's house in Somerset-street, Portman-square, lieutenant-colonel Hunter, of the 3d regiment of foot-guards.

May 1st. At his house in Princes-street, Edinburgh, the lady of the honourable Henry Erskine.

At Dorchester, of a broken heart, sincerely regretted by all who knew her, Mrs. Gordon, wife of the reverend Lockhart G. On the 9th, her remains were interred (at the expence of a few charitably disposed people) in Holy Trinity church-yard, Dorchester. The history of this unfortunate lady affords sufficient matter to rouse, in the sympathetic mind, a spirit of indignation against the cruel authors of her sufferings. Suffice it only to say, that she was a branch of a very respectable and opulent family in Shropshire, and that, by her union (which took place about two years ago, at St. Mary-la-Bonne church, as appears from a copy of a register found in her possession) she incurred the displeasure of all her friends, and was renounced by them for ever; and, notwithstanding her personal attractions, sensibility, and engaging manners, she shortly after arrived at Dorchester, unprotected; where she took an obscure lodging, living in a pitiable state, but supporting the character of a true Christian, till the idea of being thus abandoned, and the shock she received by the sad recent transaction in Oxfordshire,\* preyed so forcibly on her delicate feelings, that she fell  
a victim

\* Vide pages 359 and 372.



a victim to inconsolable grief, in her 21st year.

2nd. At Pembroke-house, in Privy-gardens, Whitehall, aged 51, Henry Cecil, marquis of Exeter, tenth earl of Exeter, baron Burleigh, joint hereditary grand almoner to the king in fee, LL. D. F.R.S. vice president of the society of Antiquaries, and recorder of Stamford, co. Lincoln, which, by his death, loses a most liberal patron. He was son of the hon. Thomas Chambers Cecil (son of Brownlow eighth earl of Exeter) by Charlotte Gonner, who died Jan. 3, 1803, and was born at Brussels in 1754, married 1776, Emma, heiress of Thomas Vernon, esq. of Hanbury, co. Worcester, by whom he had two sons, who died infants, and a daughter, born 1779, married 1797, to John Chaplyn, esq. of Blakney, co. Lincoln. From this lady he was divorced; and married, secondly, 1791, Miss Higgins, who died at Burleigh, Jan. 18, 1797, and, thirdly, Aug. 19, 1800, Elizabeth, duchess-dowager of Hamilton, daughter of sir Peter Burrell, bart. He succeeded his uncle 1793, and is himself succeeded by his eldest son by his second marriage, Brownlow, born July 2, 1795. His lordship was making great improvements at Burleigh, in the splendid collection of pictures which are attached to the house by the will of his lordship's predecessor, which, by its rigid limitations, rendered them unalienable. He was a nobleman whose memory will fade only when the objects of his extensive and active charity cease to exist. His remains were removed from Pembroke-house, Privy-gardens, on the 9th of May, in order to their being deposited in the family vault of his lord-

ship's illustrious progenitor, lord Burleigh, in St. Martin's church at Stamford. After the hearse and six horses followed three mourning-coaches and his lordship's carriage, each drawn by six horses. Upwards of 30 noblemen and gentlemen's carriages joined the procession, which reached Burleigh-house about 9 in the morning of the 12th, where the Stamford Volunteer Infantry joined at 11, the six senior officers of the corps acting as pall-bearers. After the funeral service three volleys were fired by the corps, the last tribute of respect to their deceased noble commandant; and the whole ceremony was awfully grand and impressive. At least 3000 spectators, it is supposed, were in the park.

5th. In Great Pulteney-street, Mrs. Bathurst, relict of Poole Bathurst, esq. of Lidney-park, co. of Gloucester. By her death, Charles Bragge, esq. member of parliament for Bristol, succeeds to very valuable estates, for which he changes his name to Bathurst.

In Great Cumberland-street, the infant son of lord Rous.

8th. In Dover-street, Piccadilly, the hon. Mrs. Priscilla Marsham, of Bloxley-hall, near Maidstone, eldest daughter of the late Robert lord Romney.

At Verdun, in France, the marchioness of Tweeddale.

9th. At Hammersmith, Catherine, fourth daughter of the late sir John Hales, bart. of Mundell, co. Lincoln.

12th. At Stilton, co. Huntingdon, aged 78, the rev. William Whitworth, M. A. archdeacon of Sarum, and rector of Stilton.

17th. At Paddington, in childbed, viscountess Folkeston, only child



of the late earl of Lincoln; married, Oct. 2, 1800, to lord viscount Folkstone, with a fortune of 60,000*l*.

At his lordship's house in Bath, the right hon. Eyre Massey, lord Clarina, general in his majesty's service, marshal of the army in Ireland, colonel of the 27th or Enniskillen regiment, governor of Limerick, and of the royal hospital of Kilmainham. His lordship was younger brother of Hugh lord Massey, of Ireland; was born in 1717; and married, in 1767, Catherine Clements, sister of the earl of Leitrim, by whom he has left issue, 1. William-Nathaniel, a lieutenant-colonel in the army, now lord Clarina; 2. Emily; 3. Catherine. This noble veteran had served his king and country for 70 years, great part of which he was actively employed; and, in consideration of his long and faithful services, his majesty was graciously pleased to confer on him the dignity of a peer. Having been constantly employed in his military profession, he had seen great and arduous service. In 1745 he was wounded at the battle of Culloden; was at the head of the grenadiers who stormed and took the Havana, where he was again wounded; also, at the taking of Martinico. He was one of the last of Gen. Wolfe's companions. His lordship died, as he lived, beloved, honoured, and respected; and is succeeded in his title and estate by his only son, the hon. col. Massey.

At Dnauschingen, aged 33, of apoplexy, Charles Joachim, the reigning prince of Furstenberg. He is succeeded by prince Charles Egon.

At Plymouth, aged 26, capt. Coryndon Boger, of the royal navy,

and commander of the Fowey Sea Fencibles. His death was occasioned by a consumption, the effect of wounds received four years since in the late war. When in the Gypsy schooner, of ten 4-pounders and 36 men, which he commanded in the West Indies, he gallantly brought to action, and after a severe conflict, obliged to strike, a French corvette, of ten 9 and 12-pounders, and 130 men, including troops from Guadalupe, which she carried into Antigua. In this unequal contest he received a dreadful wound in the side, which for some time baffled the skill of the surgeons; though naturally of a delicate constitution, he at length recovered, and returned to his native town, to the house of his father, rear-admiral B. At the breaking out of the present war he was appointed one of the captains of the Sea Fencibles at Fowey; and it is supposed, from his active exertions on that service, his health became again impaired, as he was obliged, for medical advice, to return to Plymouth on leave, but had not been at home many days before death snatched him from those who best knew his worth.

26th. At the house of John Ellis, esq. at Huslingham, near Fulham, after a long and painful illness, which he bore with the utmost fortitude and resignation, in the 43d year of his age, Christopher Parker, esq. vice-admiral of the red, and only son of admiral sir Peter Parker, bart. admiral of the fleet. By his death the public service has lost a most active and valuable officer. In the early part of his life, during the war with America and France, he distinguished himself on several occasions in the West Indies, but particularly at the siege of Omoa, where



where he led the attack against the fort as captain of the *Lowestoff*, in the most gallant and spirited manner. He likewise, in the command of the *Diamond*, engaged the *La Fee*, a French frigate of equal force, and, after a sharp action, compelled her to take refuge under the guns of one of the enemy's batteries at St. Domingo. One trait, amongst many others, deserves recording: having, by orders of lord Rodney, reconnoitred the harbour of Curaçoa, within a short distance of the forts, he observed two of the enemy's cruisers in the offing, a Dutch frigate and an armed schooner, to which he gave chase, and soon brought them to action, but the schooner made off on receiving a few shot. At this time a Dutch line-of-battle-ship, having slipped her cables in the harbour, was in chase of the *Diamond*; capt. Parker, however, continued the action until the enemy had struck her colours; he took out some of the prisoners and did not relinquish his capture until several shot from the Dutch line-of-battle-ship went over the *Diamond*. Lord Rodney expressed great regret that Capt. Parker's account to him should have been so slight as to prevent his stating the circumstances to Government in the high terms it merited. At the commencement of the late war with France he commanded the *Blanche* frigate, on the Windward Island station; and, upon the capture of St. Lucia, was sent home with dispatches by earl St. Vincent. He next served under earl Howe as captain of the *Valiant* in the Channel fleet; afterwards as rear-admiral, he served in the same fleet under sir John Colpoys; and lastly with

the rank of vice-admiral, as second in command to admiral Dickson, in the North Seas, till the conclusion of the war. He received the most flattering marks of approbation and esteem from earl Howe; and the earl of St. Vincent, lord Gardner, admiral Cornwallis, sir John Colpoys (his commanders at different times), will unite their willing testimonial of his desert. His ship was always in the best state of discipline, and for this simple reason, there was no needless severity towards the men, no offensive haughtiness to the officers; he supported the dignity of a commander upon deck; and exhibited the easy manners of a gentleman in the cabin; thus did he conciliate the regard of all; they obeyed with the cheerfulness of affection, and were as anxious for his fame as if each individual partook of it. His whole system evinced a comprehensive mind, and a philosophical knowledge of the kind of men he had to command. His courage was of the best sort, as free from rashness as devoid of fear: when a moral duty was to be performed, there was no labour which he would not undertake, no danger that could appal him. He was the early companion and intimate friend of Lord Nelson. When this great man (the hero of Aboukir and Copenhagen) was receiving the meed of well-earned applause at a royal table, he observed (with the generosity which ever accompanies genuine merit), that his successes were owing to his good fortune, which had placed him in those stations; "for," said he, "there are many other officers who would have done as much under similar circumstances, one I will venture to name—Christopher Parker."



His remains were deposited in a vault of his family at St. Margaret's church, Westminster.

29th. In the castle of Bracke, aged 75, the countess Sophia Clementine de Lippe, abbess of Cap-pel and Lemgo.

In the castle of Wertheim, aged 56, the countess Sophia Carolina de Lowenstein Wertheim; in her youth supposed to be the most beautiful woman in Germany.

Near Bergen-op-zoom, the famous Henry Vander Noot, who acted such a conspicuous part in the Belgic insurrection against the emperor Joseph II.

*June* 2nd. Of a long and deep decline, in her 52nd year, Frances, wife of Charles Chadwick, esq. of New-hall, co. Warwick, and daughter of the late Richard Green, esq. of Leventhorp, in Yorkshire, by Frances his wife, sister of the late sir Henry Cavendish, of Doveridge, bart. She was buried, on the 8th, in the family-vault at Sutton-Coldfield.

At Egremont-house, Piccadilly, (the town residence of his brother-in-law, James Milnes, esq. in his 45th year, Richard Slater Rich, esq. of Fryston, co. York, M. P. in the last three parliaments for the city of York, and provincial grand master of Free Masons for the province of York.

3d. At Wrotham, Kent, after a lingering illness, aged 33, Lady Maria Elizabeth Moore, daughter of James, late earl of Errol, born April 30, 1771, married June 29, 1795, to the rev. George M. eldest son of the archbishop of Canterbury, and rector of Wrotham.

At Dursley, the rev. James Webster, LL.B. archdeacon of Gloucester, rector of Dursley, and vicar of

Stroud, co. Gloucester, and rector of Much Cowarne, in the diocese of Hereford.

4th. In Upper Brook-street, aged 84, Mrs. Ellerker, widow of the late Eaton Mainwaring E. esq. of Risby, co. York, and mother of the late countess of Leicester.

At Capernochin, in Scotland, sir James Kirkpatrick, bart.

6th. At Bath, aged 77, the hon. and reverend Robert Cholmondely, youngest son of George, third earl of Cholmondeley, and great uncle to George James, fourth and present earl: born Nov. 1, 1727; some time an officer in the army; but after the battle of Dettingen, preferring an ecclesiastical to a military life, entered into holy orders, and was presented by the king, as duke of Lancaster, to the united rectories of St. Andrew, St. Nicolas, and St. Mary, Hertford, and to the rectory of Hertingfordbury, besides which, he enjoyed the place of auditor-general of his majesty's revenues in America till the separation of that country from Great Britain. He married Mary, daughter to Woffington the player, by whom he had issue three sons and four daughters, George-James, born Feb. 22, 1752, first commissioner of the excise. Horace, born in 1753, died young; Robert Francis, born 1756; Harriet, born 1758; Jane Elizabeth, born 1758; Mary, born 1761, which three died infants; and Hester Frances, married to sir William Bellingham, of Bellingham-castle, Ireland, born in 1763.

9th. Drowned on the coast of Jamaica, Henry Baker, esq. commander of his majesty's brig the Pelican, of 18 guns, and second surviving son of William Baker, esq. of Bayfordbury, in Hertfordshire,



shire, member in the last and preceding parliaments for that county. This young officer, whose merit had raised him at an early age to the rank he bore in the royal navy, fell a victim to that benevolence of heart and contempt of danger which so strongly characterise the British sailor. The particulars of this disastrous event are detailed in lieutenant Foley's letter to admiral Duckworth; suffice it here to say, that captain B. his first lieutenant Mr. Davis, and four seamen, were unhappily lost by their generous and successful, though to themselves fatal, exertions to save from destruction the crew of a foundering Spanish schooner. Captain B.'s elder brother Edward, then a midshipman on board the *Leviathan*, died at Jamaica of the yellow fever in April 1796. These two young men, in the opinion of their superior officers, promised to become distinguished in their profession; to their family their loss is irreparable; for never did two sons merit or enjoy a greater share of parental affection and solicitude.

At the seat of lord Frederick Campbell, at Croombank, Kent, Anna Margaretta viscountess Curzon, third lady to Asheton Curzon, created baron Curzon of Penn 1794, and viscount Curzon 1802. She was daughter of Amos Meredith, esq. sister to sir William Meredith; and relict of Barlow Trecothick, esq. in whose right she was, in 1770, lady mayoress of London.

17th. At the marquis's house, in Arlington-street, aged 13 months, lord W. L. Gower, youngest son of the marquis of Stafford.

At Prague, the duchess-dowager of Parma, daughter of the celebrated queen of Hungary, Maria-Theresa;

born Feb. 26, 1746; and married to the late duke of Parma July 19th, 1769.

24th. In Harley-street, aged 83, the hon. lady Sarah Salusbury, of Offley-place, Herts, and of Bransbury, co. Middlesex, widow and relict of sir Thomas S. formerly judge of the high court of admiralty, who died October 28, 1777, aged 66, and was buried in Offley chancel, where is a handsome monument by Nollekins, erected by his lady. Under an old oak, of white marble, is a sarcophagus, of black marble; before which are statues of sir John and his first wife. His second resided at Wilsden, where she was lessee of the prebends of Wilsden and Bloomsbury by purchase, 1788, and had a vault in the church.

The Rev. Thomas Collins, B. D. late second master of Winchester-college; rector of Graffham and Coombe; a name for ever dear to his contemporary Wickhamists; well known for his literary attainments, and not less loved and respected for his generosity and noble disinterested spirit, than admired for his fortitude and Christian resignation under the severest trials. Within the short space of about 12 months, the venerable old man had lost no less than three of his descendants; his daughter, Charlotte viscountess Bolingbroke, and two of her children, the hon. George and Mary St. John.—He had fixed his residence in Bath since the death of his daughter.

July 1st. At Park-gate, Mrs. Mainwaring, of the Welsh-row, Nantwich, mother of sir Henry Mainwaring Mainwaring, bart. of Over-Peover, in Cheshire.

3d. On his estate, about six versts from St. Petersburg, count Valerian Suboff. His remains were interred



tered with great ceremony in the cloister of Mergoff. His imperial majesty, who had visited the count in his last illness, attended in person.

At Berwick, aged 75, Mrs. Margaret Purves, daughter of the late sir William P. bart. of Purves-hall.

7th. After a long illness, general Anslie, colonel of the 13th regiment of foot, and lieut.-gov. of the Scilly Islands.

8th. The infant daughter of John Fonblanque, esq. M. P. for Camelford.

In New Cavendish-street, the second son and youngest child of Reginald Pole Carew, esq. M. P. for Fowey.

At Greenock, aged 37, Mrs. Elizabeth Conyers, wife of sir Archibald Campbell, and daughter of the late sir Nicholas Conyers, bart.

10th. At Paris, in his 74th year, François Ambroise Didot, the celebrated French printer, leaving two sons, Pierre and Firmin Didot.—The elegant editions published by order of Louis XVI. for the education of the Dauphin, were the production of Didot's press, as well as the Theatrical Selections by Corneille, the works of Racine, Telemachus, Tasso's Jerusalem, two superb bibles, and a multiplicity of other inestimable works; each of which, on its publication, has evinced fresh beauties, and made nearer approaches to perfection. At the age of 73, Didot read over five times, and carefully corrected, before it was sent to the press, every sheet of the Stereotype edition of Montaigne, printed by his sons.—About 18 months since he projected an alphabetical index of every subject treated upon in Montaigne's

Essays. He had collected all his materials, at which he laboured unceasingly; and perhaps too strict an application to this favourite study accelerated the death of this eminent artist.

At Rothbury, in Northumberland, sir Ernest Gordon, bart. of Park, co. Banff, in North-Britain.

On Ham common, co. Middlesex, Henry Theophilus Metcalf, esq. youngest son of sir Thomas-Theophilus M. bart.

11th. At Liverpool, aged 23, George Dunbar, esq. second son of sir George D. bart. of Mockrum, in North-Britain.

12th. At Clifton, sir Edward Williams, bart. of Llangoed, co. Brecon.

Aged 82, Henry Lee Warner, esq. of Walsingham-abbey, co. Norfolk, one of the most singular characters of his own or any other times. He was a lineal descendant and representative of the eminent and worthy John Warner, formerly bishop of Rochester (whose large estates he possessed, as well as those of sir James Howe, bart. of Berwick, Wilts, and of Henry Lee, esq. of Dane John, in Kent), and who, among other good and great works, built and endowed the college for the benefit of clergymen's widows at Bromley, in Kent, an institution much enlarged since the time of bishop Warner. He was the polite scholar, the complete gentleman, and the sincere friend; and although from a series of ill-health, and a natural love of retirement, he early withdrew from filling those public stations in which, with his ability, fortune, and integrity, he would have made a very distinguished figure, yet in private life he was universally respected for his



his steady adherence to the rules of justice and moderation, and his constant practice of those leading duties of the Christian, humanity and benevolence. In many respects he perpetuated in his family the benevolent qualities of his illustrious ancestor; at the same time his mind was strongly tinged by peculiarities which separated him from a comparison with almost any other human being. His character, as drawn by Mr. Pratt, in his "Gleanings," we shall extract, as we understand it is not exaggerated: "At the abbey here resides a gentleman in the possession of a once finely-wooded domain, of great politeness and urbanity, much reading, of sound understanding, who, nevertheless, has allowed almost every tree, which his domain had to boast, to be *deliberately* cut down and carried away without so much as making any manner of enquiry after the offenders, or entering into any remonstrance as to their past, present, or future depredations, though this went to the loss of twenty thousand pounds!"—"I suppose," says Mr. Pratt, "you would think I *must* be fibbing, were I to inform you that whoever has a mind to it goes into his stable, saddles or harnesses a horse, and rides or plows with him, brings him home at night, or keeps him a week or a fortnight together, without so much as a question being asked by the 'squire; and, what is worse, they not only steal wheat, barley, and other grain, from the field where it is sheaved, to save themselves the trouble of cutting it, but they are wicked enough to cut off the corn-ears, by whole acres, before they are half ripe." It would exceed our limits to go into the *minutiae* of this extra-

ordinary person, who, with all these peculiarities, was rich in a thousand qualities that do honour to the heart of man. Notwithstanding these deep drawbacks upon his property, Mr. Warner died extremely rich. His Walsingham and other estates go to his nephew, and other relations of the same family, in and near Norwich; and, with all his shades of character, in which, however, there was no mixture of vice or immorality, he will long be remembered as a man of very tender feelings, a scholar, and a gentleman. His remains were conveyed in a hearse, from his venerable mansion to the parish church of that town for interment, preceded by a number of his tenants on horseback, and followed by several of the most distinguished gentlemen of the neighbourhood in their carriages, and a great concourse of spectators.

At Grotto-house, Margate, in his 16th year, J. P. Oldfield, a youth of most extraordinary genius. At the age of five years and a half, he had a scarlet fever, which brought on him a paralysis of the lower extremities, and debilitated his body for the rest of his life; but his mind presented the finest display of human perfection. Whatever he read he instantly had by heart; his favourite pursuits were mathematics, philosophy, astronomy, geography, history, and painting, in all of which he had made great proficiency. His favourite authors were Locke and Newton; and his retentive faculties were so strong, that he never forgot a single incident with which he had been once acquainted. He could relate every circumstance of Grecian, Roman, and English history; was master of astronomy, and had pursued it up  
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in all its recent discoveries; had the finest taste for drawing and painting, and would frequently take admirable likenesses of persons which struck him from memory. He wrote a hand like copper-plate; and, at a very early period of his life, had made himself master of arithmetic. He was never known to be out of temper; and, though he suffered an illness of ten years, which terminated in a dropsy and bursting of a blood-vessel upon the lungs, he was never once known to repine or be impatient. His wit was brilliant and refined; and his loss will ever be regretted by those who had the happiness to know him.

At Clifton, aged 70, Mrs. M'Cumming, wife of capt. Bryce M'C. to whom she had been 44 years married. She was twice brought to bed at sea; twice lost every thing by shipwreck; and twice on short allowance of provisions and water. She was born in the great earl of Crawford's family, who fought against the Turks both in the Russian and German armies. She had perfect recollection of lady Jane Douglas calling on the countess of Crawford in Brussels, when on her way to Paris to lay in, and the countess at parting wishing her a happy hour. She was in Pensacola during the Douglas cause, or it is probable she might have been called on as a corroborating evidence.

25th. At his house, in Charles-street, Berkeley-square, colonel David Woodburne, of the Bengal artillery.

27th. At his house in Grosvenor-square, after a lingering illness of many months, in his 72d year, being born 1732, Robert Clements, earl, viscount, and baron Leitrim, of Manor Hamilton, co. Leitrim, in

Ireland, and one of the Irish peers in the parliament of the united kingdom. He served in parliament for the county of Donegall till he was created a baron, Sept. 20, 1783; a viscount Dec. 20, 1793; and an earl Oct. 6, 1795. He was ranger of the Phoenix-park, and appointed a governor of the county of Donegall. He married, May 31, 1765, Elizabeth Skeffington, daughter of the late earl of Massareen, and had issue two sons and three daughters. His remains were deposited in the family vault at St. Michan's, Dublin. He is succeeded by his son, Robert lord viscount Clements, M. P. for the county of Leitrim.

At Cork, Mr. O'Brien, the celebrated Irish giant. His body was interred, on the 31st, at the church of St. Finbar; the concourse of people who attended the funeral was so great and so clamorous as to oblige the mayor to have the attendance of several peace-officers. Mr. O'Brien had a small property in the county of Kerry, of about 150*l.* a year, which had been mortgaged, and to clear which he exhibited himself as a show for some years past.

29th. In his 84th year, James lord Forbes, premier baron of Scotland. He married Catharine, only daughter of sir Robert Innes, of Orton, bart. He is succeeded by his eldest son, the hon. major-gen. James Forbes, of the coldstream regt. of guards, now lord Forbes.

30th. At Bath, having survived the truly inhuman murder of her much-lamented husband 12 months and 7 days, the dowager viscountess Kilwarden.

Lately, at his house in Dublin, Otway Cuffe, earl, viscount, and baron of Desart, in the county of Kilkenny, Ireland. In 1767, on the



the death of his elder brother John, without male issue, his lordship succeeded to the barony of Desart, was created a viscount in 1780. in 1785 an earl. He married in 1785, Anne, eldest dau. to the late earl of Almont, and sister to the marquis of Sligo, by whom he has one daughter and four sons. The present earl was born Feb. 28, 1788: by his lordship's death, and that of the earl of Leitrim, two vacancies occur in the Irish peers who sit in parliament.

*August 3d.* At the Black Rock, near Dublin, sir Henry Cavendish, bart. husband to lady Waterpark, and father to the countess of Mountmorris and lady Kilmaine. He is succeeded in title and estates by his eldest son Richard, married to Miss Cooper.

At Corn-hill, in his way to Edinburgh, in his 73d year, of the gout in his stomach, the gallant admiral lord viscount Duncan.

At his son's house, at Segrave, near Loughborough, aged 77, the Rev. Robert Ingram, M. A. vicar of Wormington and Boxted, co. Essex, formerly of Corpus Christi college, Cambridge, of which he was some time fellow; B. A. 1749; M. A. 1753. Mr. I. was of the same family which was ennobled, in 1661, by the title of Irwine. He was said to be of an older branch, and nearly allied to the title; and probably was the only surviving male relative in the Ingram line, as the title is now extinct, or in abeyance.

Much and most deservedly respected, John Reilly, esq. of Scarva, co. Down, in Ireland. He had been many years an upright and respectable representative in parliament, and first commissioner for public accòmpts of that country.

About 5 o'clock this afternoon, as Mr. and Mrs. Jones, and their child about 15 months old, of Park-place, Kennington-lane, were coming down the river in a boat with a sail, for their amusement, the boat heaved suddenly to one side, opposite Somers-et-house, and the child was thrown from its mother's arms into the river. The father plunged into the river to save it, and, after much exertion, handed it to Mrs. J. into the boat, when, being exhausted, he sunk and disappeared. Mrs. Trotter, wife of Mr. T. of the navy-office, perceived the accident from her window, and ordered that every assistance should be given.—Dr. Stanton, of the Strand, one of the medical assistants of the Humane Society, attended immediately, and succeeded in restoring the child to life. The body of Mr. Jones was not found till Wednesday noon, the 8th, when it was taken up by two watermen at London bridge, through which it was seen to pass by a person from the ballustrades. Mrs. Jones is far advanced in pregnancy.

6th. Aged 70, the Rev. Thomas Twining, of Sidney-college, Cambridge; B. A. 1760, M. A. 1763; rector of White Notley, Essex, in private patronage, 1788, and of St. Mary's, Colchester, to which he was presented by the bishop of London, on the death of Philip Morant, 1770. Sound learning, polite literature, and exquisite taste in all the fine arts, have lost an ornament and defender in the death of this Scholar and worthy Divine. His translation of the "Poetics of Aristotle" must convince men of learning of his knowledge of the Greek language, of the wide extent of his classical erudition, of his acute and fair spirit of criticism, and, above all, of his good taste



taste, sound judgment, and general reading manifested in his dissertations. Mr. T. was the only son of the eminent tea-merchant of that name, by his first marriage, and intended by his father to succeed him in that house, which he had so well established; but the son, feeling an impulse towards literature and science, entreated his father to let him devote himself to study and a classical education; and, being indulged in his wish, he was matriculated at Cambridge. Mr. T. was contemporary in that university with Gray, Mason, and Bate; and so able a musician, that, besides playing the harpsichord and organ in a masterly manner, he was so excellent a performer on the violin as to lead all the concerts, and even oratorios, that were performed in the university during term time, in which Bate played the organ and harpsichord. His taste in music was enlarged and confirmed by study as well as practice, as few professors knew more of composition, harmonics, and the history of the art and science of music, than this intelligent and polished amateur. Besides his familiar acquaintance with the Greek and Roman classics, his knowledge of modern languages particularly French and Italian, was such as not only to enable him to read but to write those languages with facility and idiomatic accuracy. His friends and correspondents will deplore his loss with no common grief. His conversation and letters, when science and serious subjects were out of the question, were replete with wit, humour, and playfulness. In the performance of his ecclesiastical duties, Mr. T. was exemplary, scarcely allowing himself to be absent from

his parishioners more than a fortnight in a year, during the last 40 years of his life, though, from his learning, accomplishments, pleasing character, and conversation, no man's company was so much sought. During the last 12 or 14 years of his life he was a widower, and has left no progeny. His preferment in the church was inadequate to his learning, piety, and talents. But such was the moderation of his desires, that he neither solicited nor complained. The Colchester living was conferred upon him by the present bishop of London, very much to his honour, without personal acquaintance or powerful recommendation: but, from the modesty of his character, and love of a private life, his profound learning and literary abilities were little known till the publication of his Aristotle.

At Paris, general Reubell.

7th. At his house at Homerton, near Hackney, Timothy Curtis, esq. eldest brother to alderman sir Wm. Curtis, bart. one of the largest men in the kingdom, his weight, some years ago, exceeding 34 stone. Under the medical superintendence of his friends, he reduced himself 10 stone within the last 15 years.

8th. At his house in Hammer-smith, aged 70, Robert Macfarlane, esq. His death was occasioned by the bruises he received from a carriage which ran over him, and which he survived only half an hour. He was educated in the university of Edinburgh, and came to London at a very early period of life; and was well known in the literary world as the author of many celebrated productions. The first volume of his History of George III. was published in 1770, the fourth in 1796.

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He published the first book of *Timora*, by way of specimen, in 1796. Mr. M. possessed a retentive memory, and an elegant style of composition, which enabled him to give the world with fidelity, some of the finest speeches in parliament during lord North's administration and the American war; in which laborious duty he was succeeded by the late Mr. Wm. Woodfall. Until within a few years back he kept an excellent seminary at Walthamstow, at which some of the ablest men, now in various professions of the law, church, army, and the mercantile world, received their education. For the two last years, he was engaged in translating into Latin the poems of Ossian, now printing by Mr. Bulmer. His last work, of which he received the first proof sheet only a few hours before he died, is intituled, "An Essay proving the Authenticity of Ossian and his Poems."

9th. Found dead in his bed, at Lowestoft, of which he was vicar, aged 83, the rev. Robert Potter, of Emanuel college, Cambridge, B. A. 1741, M. A. 1788, and prebendary of Norwich. His first preferment was the vicarage of Scarning, Norfolk. He was a character of the highest distinction as a classical scholar. The literary world is most intrinsically indebted to him for excellent poetical versions of the three Greek tragedians. He published, 1774, an octavo volume of poems, most of which had before appeared separately, many very pretty compositions, particularly a beautiful farewell hymn to the country, in imitation of Spenser. Three years after this, his translation of *Æschylus* made its appearance in a quarto volume, and has since been

reprinted with the addition of notes, in two volumes octavo. Of the excellence of this translation it is hardly possible to say too much; many of the parts are so exquisitely beautiful as to leave us in doubt whether any poet could have accomplished the task with greater success. In 1781 he published the first volume of his translation of *Euripides*, in quarto; and the following year the second; and, 1788, that of *Sophocles*, in the same size. These last mentioned versions are on the whole inferior to his first production; yet they are each of them excellent performances, and even superior to those of Mr. Wodhull and Dr. Franklin. Besides these very laborious works, Mr. P. published in 4to. 1783, "An Enquiry into some passages in Dr. Johnson's *Lives of the poets*;" and, in 1785, in quarto, "A Translation of the Oracle concerning Babylon, and the Song of Exultation from *Isaiah*, chap. XIII. and XIV." "A Sermon on the Thanksgiving for the peace, 1802." "In his weightiest character, as translator of the Greek tragedians, we must allow that Mr. P. was of very singular service to the literary world. It was an undertaking which to many would have appeared too great for the life of man; and, considering the success with which so much labour has been accomplished, and the amiable character Mr. P. bears as a member of society, we may well be surprised he had not earlier attracted the notice of those who are able and willing to confer honors and preferments, when they meet with peculiar desert."—*Memoirs of living authors*, II. 153. By his death the republic of letters has lost one of its best and most unassuming ornaments.



ments. His manners were simple, and his life exemplary; he was a scholar of the old school, and nothing tempted him to relinquish divine and polite literature. It was not till after he had compleated his last translation, (that of Sophocles,) that Mr. Potter obtained any preferment in the church higher than that of vicar of Lowestoft. He had been a school-fellow of Lord Thurlow, and had constantly sent his publications to that great man without ever soliciting a single favour from him. On receiving a copy of the Sophocles, however, his lordship wrote a short note to Mr. Potter, acknowledging the receipt of his books from time to time, and the pleasure they had afforded him, and requesting Mr. Potter's acceptance of a prebendal stall in the cathedral of Norwich, which, with his vicarage, rendered him comfortable for the remainder of a life devoted to those pursuits which best become a profound scholar and a true christian. The vicarage of Scarning is a mediety in the gift of the Warner family; the vicarage of Lowestoft in the bishop of Norwich; and the prebend of Norwich in the crown.

11th. At Shuckburgh park, co. Warwick, aged 53, sir George Augustus William Shuckburgh Evelyn, bart. elected, 1802, for the fifth time, one of the members for the county of Warwick. He succeeded his uncle, sir Charles Shuckburgh, in 1773; and married, first, 1782, Sarah-Johanna, one of the two daughters of John Darker, esq. treasurer of St. Bartholomew's hospital, in London, and many years representative of Leicester in parliament, who dying the year following without issue, sir George

married, secondly, 1785, Julia Annabella, one of the two daughters, and at length sole heiress, of James Evelyn, esq. of Felbridge, Surry; on whose death, 1793, sir George took his name, in addition to his own. He has left one daughter, Julia Evelyn Medley, born Oct. 5th, 1791. Sir George was elected F.A.S. 1777, and was also F.R.S. In the Philosophical transactions are the following papers by him:—"Observations made in Savoy, in order to ascertain the height of mountains by means of the barometer, being an examination of M. De Luc's rules delivered in his *Recherches sur les Modifications de l'Atmosphere*," 1777.—"Comparison between his and colonel Roy's rules for the measurement of heights with the barometer," 1778.—"On the temperature of boiling waters," 1778.—"An account of the equatorial instrument," 1793.—"An account of some endeavours to ascertain a standard of weight and measure," 1798.

Mrs. Egerton, wife of William Tatton E. esq. of Tatton park, in Cheshire, and only daughter of Thomas Watkinson Payler, esq. of Ileden, Kent. Among the catalogue of unfortunate events, none could produce a more general sensation than the loss of this amiable woman, whose death was occasioned by precipitately jumping from a low chair (in which she was taking her usual airing in the park), in consequence of the horse becoming restive. By the fall she became senseless, and expired without uttering a word. Besides those near and intimate connexions, to whom her loss is irreparable, a numerous acquaintance sincerely share the sorrow which it inflicts: and a still more extensive circle



circle feel the loss which society sustains. Whether we contemplate her youth, her recent marriage, her beauty, her accomplishments, her unaffected and amiable manners, few occurrences in private life could excite a more general interest; while it imports an awful lesson of the uncertainty of life. Her mother was daughter of the late William Hammond, esq. of St. Alban's, in Kent, by Charlotte, daughter and co-heir of William Egerton, LL.D. great-uncle to her husband. Her grandfather, whose paternal name was Turner, changed his name to Payler, for an estate in Yorkshire. See Manning's Surry, I. 171.

At Clifton, Miss Susan Proby, daughter of the dean of Litchfield.

15th. At Edinburgh, George Mattocks, esq. formerly of Covent-garden theatre, afterwards manager of Liverpool theatre, and lastly stage manager at Edinburgh. He was one of the handsomest men and one of the best vocal performers of his time, as well as a very judicious actor in parts adapted to his talents; and a worthy, intelligent, social character in private life. Though there are some comedians still living who have attained a greater age, none of them have been so long upon the stage; and therefore, for a considerable time, he has had the appellation of "Father of the drama." About 41 years ago, he, as the original lord Aimworth, married the present and long celebrated Mrs. Mattocks, as the original Patty, in Bickerstaff's pleasant opera of the 'Maid of the Mill;' and has left a daughter, a very accomplished young lady, married to a gentleman of the bar. His remains, attended by a number of respectable friends, and all the theatrical persons in Edinburgh, VOL. XLVI.

were interred in the Calton burying-ground.

17th. In her 29th year, while on a visit at the rev. Mr. Dashwood's, at Downham, Norfolk, after a few days' illness, Miss Mary Knollis, eldest daughter of the hon. and rev. Francis K. of Burford, co: Oxford.

18th. In Great Quebec-street, aged 80, Lady Elizabeth Gallini, wife of the Chevalier John G. and eldest sister to the late Earl of Abingdon.

At his house at Acton, Middlesex, after a lingering illness, aged 72, John Way, esq. chief clerk of the court of king's bench, to which he was appointed in 1778. This very lucrative office is in the gift of Lord Ellenborough. The bulk of his fortune he has left to Mr. Lewis W. of Denham.

21st. At Sidmouth, Devon, after a lingering illness, the wife of James Amyatt, esq. M. P. for Southampton.

At Chapel, Miss Elizabeth Hall, daughter of the late sir James H. bart. of Douglas.

24th. In Harley-street, after a short illness, major-general Ross, M. P. for Horsham.

In Park-street, after a long illness, aged 75, Elizabeth dowager lady Harrowby, daughter of bishop Terrick, and sister to the lady of Dr. Hamilton; married to lord H. 1762, by whom she had six sons and two daughters.

25th. In Dublin, aged 82, Mrs. Marsden, relict of the late John Marsden, esq. and mother of the secretary of the admiralty, and of the under secretary of state in Ireland.

27th. At her son's house in Soho-square, aged 84, Mrs. Sarah Banks, K k relict



relict of the late Willim B. esq. of Revesby Abbey, co. Lincoln, and mother to sir Joseph Banks, bart. She was daughter of William Bate, esq. by a daughter and coheirress of Tho. Chambers, esq.

28th. Miss Eliza Baillie, daughter of lieutenant-col. Baillie.

30th. At Keith-hall, Scotland, Anthony Keith Falconer, earl of Kintore, and lord lieutenant of the county of Kincardine.

At Verdun, in France, George Hay, sixth marquis of Tweeddale, one of the sixteen representative peers of Scotland, and lord lieutenant of the county of Haddington. He succeeded his nephew George, the fifth marquis, who died in Oct. 1770, at the age of 13.

At his estate near Chaueney, general Scherer, who commanded the French army in Italy when Suwarroff opened his victorious campaign in that country.

At Toulon, admiral La Touche Treville.

At Paris, in his 73rd year, cardinal De Boifgelin, archbishop of Tours. This personage had the singular fate of having preached the coronation sermon of the ever-to-be lamented Louis XIVth. and of the execrable Buonaparte.

At Frescati, near Rome, in his 6th year, young Le Clerc, son of the late general, and of the princess Borghese, sister to the emperor Buonaparte.

At his house at Manchester, aged 63, Thomas Percival, M.D.F.R.S. deservedly respected in every department of life. Though principally addicted to the studies of his profession, which he cultivated with great success; he did not confine the exercise of his talents to a single object, but made many deviations

into the paths of literature and philosophy; and what does him much greater credit, employed his elegant genius in explaining and enforcing the domestic and moral duties of life; which he has not recommended with that coldness of speculation, or the harshness of men who censure with acrimony any failure in duties which they neither do, nor mean to practise themselves; but with the tenderness of one conscious of the imperfection of human nature, but who was nevertheless to a great degree himself the example which he taught.

Sept. 1st. At her house in Chelsea, Mrs. Aufrere, widow of George A. esq. formerly M.P. for Stamford, and mother-in-law of lord Yarborough. By the death of this venerable old lady his lordship will come into possession of 50,000l. ready money, and one of the finest collections of paintings in this country. The late sir Joshua Reynolds frequently said, that it contained a greater variety of pieces by the first masters of the Italian, Dutch, French, and Flemish schools, than any other private collection in England, and estimated it at 200,000l. value. It is supposed, that the deceased, in conformity with her promises frequently repeated, has left, besides, a legacy of 10,000l. to each of his lordship's six daughters. His lordship's two sons, it is also supposed, will enjoy 20,000l. each, besides the Chelsea estate. Her remains were interred in the family vault at Brocklesby, co. Lincoln.

2nd. At his seat at Stanstead, Sussex, aged 63, Richard Barwell, esq. late M.P. for Winchelsea. From a regular gradation of service on the civil establishment of the East India company, he brought to Eng-  
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land, about 25 years since, one of the largest fortunes ever accumulated; soon after which, he purchased the beautiful demesne of Stanstead from the executors of the deceased earl of Halifax.

At Ingatestone, Essex, Thomas Brand Hollis, esq. F.R.A. S.S. and formerly M.P. He was the only son of Timothy Brand, esq. (who died in 1734, aged 51), of the Hyde in Ingatestone, where he built a very good house, and was sheriff of Essex in 1721, by Sarah daughter of Thomas Mitchell, esq. of Rickling; by whom he had also two daughters: one married, 1744, to Richard Grindall, esq. surgeon, separated from him, and died of the small pox 1781. Mr. Brand made the tour of Europe with the well-known Mr. Hollis, who died in 1774, and left him his fortune and his name. Their tastes were congenial, but not their principles; for whereas Mr. H. would hardly have accepted of a seat in Parliament, his friend applied *his* fortune to acquire a seat for Hindon, and was convicted of bribery, and confined in the King's Bench several years. Early in the administration of lord North, and conjointly with the duke of Richmond, he was institutor of the constitutional society, of great celebrity in those days. He has left his estates in Dorset and Essex to his friend Dr. Disney. Mr. Brand Hollis's sister kept his house, and he has left her 600*l.* a year for life. Mr. Thomas Hollis, having quarreled with his cousin Timothy, made a will in Mr. Brand's favour; and when Mr. Harrison, the solicitor of the Million Bank, who drew it up, went, at a late hour, to inform Mr. B. of his good fortune, he was long in gaining admittance, and

when, after frequent knocking, he had gained it, was met by the master of the house and his servants armed for resistance as against house breakers. Mr. B's library and collection of antiques are left to the British museum or Antiquarian society.

3rd. Found dead in his bed, in Enniskillen, in his 31st year, the hon. and rev. W. Montgomery Cole, third son of the late earl of Enniskillen, and brother to the present earl; a young gentleman of the most amiable qualities. He had been recently appointed by his excellency lord Hardwicke to the deanery of Waterford, vacant by the promotion of Dr. Butson.

5th. At the Royal Hotel, in Pall Mall, sir Charles Style, bart. of Wateringbury, near Maidstone, in Kent.

10th. At Dumfries, general sir Robert Laurie, bart. colonel of the 8th regiment of dragoons, 30 years M.P. for the county of Dumfries, and knight marshall of Scotland. He is succeeded by his son Robert, captain of the *Cleopatra* frigate.

11th. At South-End, Jn. Ibbetson, esq. late under secretary to the Admiralty; who, in consequence of violent agitation, occasioned by an altercation between him and lieut. Norman, commander of the signal post at that place, fell down in a fit of apoplexy, from which he never recovered. After a deliberation of nearly five hours, during which it appeared that Mr. I. had been previously afflicted with two apoplectic fits, the coroner's jury returned a verdict, Died by the visitation of God.

11th. At Malton, Charles Locke, esq. who was minister at Naples, and who went out thither, a few months



months ago, on his way to Egypt, where he was appointed consul-general and also in the Mediterranean. It is supposed that his death proceeded from a bad fever, which was occasioned by excessive fatigue, in visiting the plains of Troy. The fever had entirely left him, when he landed from his majesty's ship *Anson*, from Smyrna; but it left such a debility, that he never recovered; and Mr. Locke died without speaking a word after he had landed, which was about ten days.

13th. On board the *Centaur*, off the Diamond Rock, Martinique, capt. Reynolds, son of capt. Carthew Reynolds, of his majesty's sloop *Curieux*; who obtained the command of her, for his gallant conduct, in cutting her out from under fort Edward, Martinique, having received seven wounds in the conflict. This brave promising young man was ill of the fever, in prince Rupert's bay, Dominique, and on his arrival at Barbadoes, was removed on shore, but finding he got worse, was taken on board the *Centaur*, to go out the cruise, in hope change of air might bring him about, but every thing proved ineffectual. His remains were deposited on the Diamond Rock, where a stone will be erected to perpetuate his memory. The funeral was conducted with as much ceremony as time and circumstances would allow.

14th. At Ham-house, Surrey, aged 59, Anna Maria countess of Dysart. She was eldest daughter of David Lewis, esq. of Malvern, co. Warwick, and sister to Magdalena countess of Dysart (lady of Lionel the last earl); and was married, in 1777, to Wilbraham Tollenache, the present earl; who having no issue, sir William Manners, bart. (the eldest son of lady Louisa Man-

ners, his lordship's sister) is presumptive heir to the title. Her remains were interred, on the 24th, in the family-vault in Suffolk.

Drowned, in the sight of his afflicted parents, while bathing in the Wye, at Coldwell, John, the third son of J. Warre, esq. of Hendon-place.

At Geneva, Gilbert Ainsley, esq. of Baker-street, Portman-square, son-in-law to sir Henry Blackman.

16th. This afternoon, at two o'clock, the rev. William Tindal, M. A. F. S. A. and chaplain of the Tower, shot himself, with a musketoon strongly charged, at his house on the parade in that fortress. He had in the morning waited on the governor to request his permission of absence from chapel that day, on account of indisposition; which was granted, under circumstances of polite and even of kind consideration. No immediate cause seems to have instigated the act.

17th. At Vienna, the countess Zamoiska, sister to the late king of Poland. She did not leave behind her more property than was sufficient to bestow some legacies on the poor, and the exact amount of what she inherited from her parents. Her unfortunate brother, king Stanislaus, was equally generous, patriotic, and disinterested; and, instead of enriching himself or his relations, lived the last years of his life upon alms at St. Petersburg, where he died a pauper. The love of Catherine II. from a nobleman made him a king; and afterwards her ambition reduced him from a king to a pensioner.

19th. At her cottage, near Chertsey, Surrey, after a long and painful illness, which she bore with the greatest fortitude and resignation, in her 44th year, lady Mary Stawell,



Stawell, one of the ladies to the princesses Augusta and Elizabeth; by whom, and by all who knew her, she is much regretted. She was second daughter of Asheton lord Curzon; married, 1779, to Henry, present and fifth lord Stawell, by whom she had one daughter, Mary, born 1780.

At the house of Mr. Fox, in Arlington-street, after a long illness, endured with patience and piety, which baffled all the powers of the medical art, and rendered ultimately fruitless the constant tenderness of an affectionate and afflicted family, William Dixon, lord bishop of Downe and Connor nineteen years, having been promoted to it 1785. Dr. D. went through his academic exercises with great credit, and was an excellent scholar. If his natural modesty had not, in a great degree, kept his mind from expanding itself, his understanding and cultivation were capable of great things. Nothing could be executed with more happiness than his ready, eloquent, and energetic answer to the late earl of Clare, in the Irish House of Lords, upon a subject unexpectedly started upon him by that noble person. It is hardly possible to conceive any man to be more, what is understood by the world, *amiable*, than the late bishop of Downe; and it is assuredly impossible for any man to be more beloved than he was. There was a charm in his manners; and the gentleness of his domestic life was exemplified in the discharge of his ecclesiastical and political functions. All religious denominations regarded him with the profoundest admiration. From that poison of social life; from that eternal curse upon Ireland, religious intolerance; that fatal frenzy, which

makes that miserable country be devoured, like the pelican, by her own offspring, never was mortal more free than was this virtuous prelate. The rare fortune was his, to be bishop of the diocese in which he was born, and to contradict, in his own person, the popular maxim, "that no man can be a prophet in his own country;" for, throughout his district, there was not a man, whatever his mode of faith, who did not revere this admirable person, excepting the remorseless bigot, the disciple of the fire and the faggot, of the whip, the picket, and the torture. The friendship between Mr. Fox and the bishop of Downe began with their studies at Eton; and lasted till the close of the prelate's life. There, too, commenced, and in like manner continued, the bishop's indissoluble connexion with most of Mr. Fox's nearest friends, of whom one, and one who bears many resemblances to his departed friend, lord Robert Spencer, is the bishop's executor. He was a cotemporary at Eton with Mr. Fox, lord Robert Spencer, Mr. Hare, &c. and owed his promotion to the prelacy to the former, being the only bishop made under his administration. He married Miss Symmes, a lady every way deserving, from her sweetness of temper, and elegance of manners, of the blessing of such a mate. By her he had six children. Two of his sons are field officers in the army, and the two eldest daughters (not long introduced to the polite world) are distinguished by the superiority of their mental and personal accomplishments.

22nd. At Edinburgh, Mrs. Dorothy Hay, widow of John Hay, esq. of New-Mill, and mother to the late marquis of Tweeddale.



27th. At Clifton-hall, Penelope Madan Maitland, second daughter of Alexander Charles Maitland Gibson, esq. of Clifton-hall: and on the following day, at the same place, Alexander Maitland, fourth son of brigadier-general Frederick Maitland.

29th. At Hampton-court Palace, Frances, eldest daughter of the late earl of Ludlow.

Lately, sir James Cockburne, of Langtown, bart.

October 1st. At his house in Upper Gower-street, of the repeated attacks of a paralytic disorder, aged 73, George Wilson, esq. formerly an eminent solicitor in the high court of chancery. The chambers which he occupied in Symond's inn had been successively tenanted, during the period of a century, by his father and grandfather; and he discharged the duties of his profession with hereditary reputation and integrity. He married Sarah, daughter of John Cox, and sister and heiress of George Cox, of Fairseat, co. Kent, esqrs. by whom (who died 1796) he had four children, Sarah, Mary, George-Cox, and George-Cox. One only survives him, Mary, now the wife of sir Hugh Inglis, bart. M. P.

2nd. Suddenly, at Exeter, in her 80th year, Mrs. Elizabeth Elliot, daughter of the late col. Duckett, of the Horse-guards, and relict of the late Granville E. esq. a general in the British service.

Mrs. Lewis, wife of Mr. David Lewis, jun. of Carmarthen. The circumstance that occasioned her death is remarkable. She dreamt that she met with two men carrying a coffin, and enquiring whom the coffin was for, they replied it was for her. This had such an effect on

her mind, that it brought on a miscarriage, which terminated her life.

At Jersey, much regretted, Mr. Pleydell Dawnay Le Geyts, third son of Charles-William Le Geyts, esq. He was midshipman on board his majesty's ship the Severn, and descended from one of the first families in that island. He was a very promising youth, much beloved by his captain and near relation, his serene highness the duke de Bouillon, by the rest of the officers and men of the ship, and by all who had the pleasure to know him. His loss is most severely felt by his disconsolate parents.

5th. Of the gout in his stomach, in his 43d year, Thomas Seddon, esq. of Aldersgate-street, colonel of the 11th regiment of loyal London volunteers. His remains were interred on the 12th with military honours.

At her house in Spa-fields, aged 65, lady Anne Erskine, sister to the earl of Buchan, and the hon. Thomas Erskine. She was a trustee for the late countess of Huntingdon's chapels, and superintended their management.

At his house in Bury, after a severe and lingering illness, which he supported with much fortitude, lieutenant-colonel Thomas Rockley, of the 7th battalion of the royal army of reserve.

6th. Aged 60, sir William Kemp, bart. of Bristow, co. Norfolk. He was riding on a hobby, from which he fell, and expired on the spot.

6th. At his lodgings in Bristol, after a long illness, the rev. John-William Hamilton, brother to sir Frederick H. bart. and nephew to lieutenant-general sir John Cradock, K. B.

7th. In



7th. In London, aged 72, Francis Eyre, esq. of Warkworth-castle, co. Northampton. He married, 1. Lady Mary Radcliffe, daughter of Charles Radcliffe, beheaded on Tower-hill 1746, and sister to the earl of Newburgh, by whom he had three sons: 1. Francis Eyre, esq. of Hassal, co. Derby; 2. a son, now abroad; 3. Charles; and a daughter, who married Serj. Arthur Onslow, counsellor at law, and died s. p. Lady Mary Eyre died about 1799; and Mr. Eyre, about three years ago, married, 2. Miss Sarah Hernon, who survives him. Mr. E. was the author of the following works: 1. "A few Remarks on the History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, relative chiefly to the two last chapters. By a Gentleman. London, 1778. 8vo. 154 pages. 2. A short Appeal to the Public. By the Gentleman who is particularly addressed in the Postscript of the vindication of some passages in the 15th and 16th chapters of the decline and fall of the Roman Empire. London, 1799. 8vo. 41 pages. 3d. A short Essay on the Christian Religion, &c. the whole proposed as a preservative against the pernicious doctrines which have overwhelmed France with misery and desolation. By a sincere Friend of Mankind. London, 1795. 8vo. 140. pages. On Mr. Churton, Rector of Middleton Cheney, to which parish that of Warkworth adjoins, addressing to his parishioners, at his first coming amongst them, A Defence of the Church of England. Mr. Eyre published, 4. A Letter to the Rev. Mr. Ralph Churton, &c. from Francis Eyre, of Warkworth. London. 1795. 8vo. 454 pages, which occasioned a short

Postscript by Mr. Churton, and there the controversy ended. The estate of Warkworth was bequeathed by ———. Holman, esq. to his nephew, the late Mr. Eyre and his brother, who sold his moiety many years ago.

7th. Aged 70, Richard Freeborough, of Lincoln. He was known to his neighbours by the name of "The Old Bachelor," and resided in a small dwelling by himself, not suffering any person to assist him in his household affairs. He was continually swearing about the taxes, and complaining of poverty; yet, since his death, 100 guineas in gold have been found in his house; and he has likewise left other property to a considerable amount.

At his house in Green-park place, Bath, aged 73, George Paul Monck, esq. a lineal descendant of gen. George Monck, duke of Albemarle. He married lady Araminta Beresford, sister to the late marquis of Waterford, and was father to Mr. R. Dawson, Dublin, and the wife of the rev. Gustavus Hume, of the county of Wicklow.

8th. At Derby, in her 80th year, Mrs. Denby, mother of lieutenant-colonel Denby.

Henry Wickham, esq. of Cottingley, in the commission of the peace for the West Riding of Yorkshire, and upwards of 26 years a partner in the banking-house of Messrs. Wickham, Field, and Co. of Leeds. He was formerly lieutenant-colonel in the third regiment of guards, and father of the right hon. William W. late chief secretary in Ireland.

At Vincenza, in Italy, after an illness of some days, Bertie, only son of Samuel Greathead, esq. of Guy Cliff, near Warwick. He was



grand nephew to the present duke of Ancaster.

12th. At Mr. Phillips's, in Thornhaugh-street, Bedford-square, James Barton, esq. of Penwortham, co. Lancaster, brother-in-law to E. M. Mundy, esq. M. P. for Derbyshire.

Mr. Carter, a celebrated composer of music, and author of many ballads, among which were "O, Nanny, wilt thou gang with me." "Tally-ho!" &c. &c.

13th. At his country-seat, Abbeyleix, in Queen's County, Ireland, most sincerely and deservedly lamented, Thomas Vesey, viscount De Vesci, so created in 1776. He is succeeded in his title, &c. by his eldest son the hon John Vesey, who is married to Miss Brownlow, sister to the countesses of Darnley and Powerscourt, and daughter of the late right honourable William Brownlow.

At Clifton, the hon. col. George Napier, comptroller of army accounts in Ireland. A better or a braver soldier never served his country; a more upright or more diligent servant of the public never filled an office of trust. He was married to lady Sarah Bunbury, sister to the duke of Richmond.

17th. At Berlin, in his 70th year, M. de Struensee, Prussian minister of state. He had served under three different kings.

19th. At his house in Suffolk-street, Charing-cross, aged 63, the facetious Mr. Charles Bannister, formerly, for many years, of Drury-lane and Covent-garden theatres, but latterly of the Haymarket-theatre, and father of Mr. John B. the celebrated comedian. He had long been the life of every company into which he was introduced; his

gaiety and conviviality never failed to set the table in a roar; mirth flashed from his eye, and care dared not intrude. In his manners he was unoffending and unassuming. "Live while we can," was his motto throughout his mortal career; and few men ever enjoyed, or was more beloved by, a more extensive and respectable circle of friends. A long attachment to society and his bottle impaired his constitution; so much so, that it was latterly necessary to revive him with comfortable cordials before he could take dinner, or preside at the festive board. He was ever considered a respectable performer; his vocal talents were for many years of the first celebrity; and the public never missed an opportunity of testifying their esteem for so deserved a favourite and respected individual; of which Mr. B. experienced their last testimony at his benefit at the Haymarket theatre on the 16th, only three days before his death, when the house overflowed in every part, and hundreds were disappointed. His remains were interred, on the 25th, in the family-vault under the communion-table in St. Martin's church. The hearse was drawn by four horses, and followed by six mourning-coaches, in which were Messieurs Barrymore, Moody, Waldron, Holland, Wroughton, Pope, Johnstone, Kelly, Incledon, Munden, Lewis, Bartley, Collins, Cherry, Dowton, Sutt, Fawcett, Truman, Caulfield, and Hill. Mr. J. Bannister was in the first coach, with some of his children. Many other friends of the deceased joined the procession. The coffin was placed on those of the deceased's mother and brother.

20th. At his chambers in the Temple,



Temple, aged 76, John Wynne, esq. a bencher of the Middle Temple, and brother to sir Wm. W. of Doctors Commons.

At Wickham, Hants, after a short illness, in his 38th year, the rev. George-Andrew Thomas, rector of that place, and of Deptford, Kent, prebendary of Lichfield, and nephew to the late bishop Thomas, of Rochester, whose works he published, with memoirs of his life, and had just published a sermon of his own, on the king's recovery, intitled, "The Case of Hezekiah." He was of St. John's college, Cambridge; B.A. 1789, M.A. 1795. —In a few minutes after him, his mother-in-law, Mrs. Ford, relict of col. F. who had long resided with him.

After a long illness, Thomas Hughes Phillips, esq. of Pont-y-Wall, co. Brecon.

At Carton, co. Kildare, in Ireland, aged 56 years, 7 months, and 7 days, William Robert Fitzgerald, duke of Leinster, so created in 1766, marquis of Kildare, and K. P. He married Amelia-Olivia St. George, only child of the late lord St. George, who died in 1798, leaving a numerous family to regret her loss, of whom the eldest son, Augustus-Frederick, now 13 years of age, and to whom the Prince of Wales stood sponsor, succeeds to the titles, honours, and estates. His grace's disorder was a strangury, and his sufferings were extremely severe. When told what would probably be the result of his illness, he burst into tears, and exclaimed, "What will become of my poor men?" This last attention to the existence and welfare of many invalid workmen, whom he had employed from pure compassion, was

strongly characteristic of his humane heart; he feared that others, less feeling than himself, would hesitate to employ persons whose incapacity rendered them unfit for laborious occupations; and the thoughts of their sufferings when he should be no more, seemed to agitate him as he quitted this transitory world for one of eternal glory. Although he did not possess those shining abilities that confer instead of receive dignity from rank, he was good-tempered, good-natured, and affable; a fond father, indulgent landlord, and kind master. The county of Kildare never exhibited a greater gloom; the shops in Maynooth were entirely closed the whole of the 22d, and no business carried on. The town of Leixlip also, and, in fact, all the villages in the vicinity of Kildare, partook of the heartfelt sorrow evinced by the county at large; among the rest, 46 poor old men and women, who have experienced his grace's bounty for many years. Every Christmas they were completely cloathed, and in seasons of scarcity they were comfortably fed, and provided with every thing their situation required. At eight o'clock in the morning of the 25th, the funeral commenced, which was at once superbly-elegant and awfully-impressive. As the procession (consisting of all the nobility and gentry in the county) reached the avenue of Maynooth, 180 students of the Catholic college at Dublin drew up in two rows, in their academical dresses, and, when the body had passed through them, walked in the rear two miles, two by two. When the procession reached the Curragh of Kildare, it was joined by 300 of his grace's tenantry, and as many other yeomen and tradesmen on horseback,



horseback, all wearing white scarfs and hatbands. The whole proceeded thence, in great solemnity, to the Old Abbey-church at Kildare, where his remains, after the usual church-service was performed by the rector, were finally deposited in the ancient family vault, exactly at half past four o'clock in the afternoon, amidst the unfeigned sorrowings of thousands of spectators. The bells of the cathedral of Christ church, Dublin, chimed muffled, night and day, till the interment was over. His grace's executors are, his two brothers, lords Henry and Robert Fitzgerald. The guardians appointed for the minor duke, under his grace's will, are, his son-in-law, Mr. Henry, and the hon. Charles-James Fox.

23d. At Eskgrove, the right. hon. sir David Rae, bart. chief justice of Scotland.

At Inverary-castle, the seat of the duke of Argyle, sir W. Hart, knight of the Polish order of St. Stanislaus.

26th. At his lodgings, in Jermyn-street, St. James's, Major Lawrence Parsons, of Pembroke-place, King's County, Ireland, lately one of the royal fusileers, and brother to sir L. Parsons, M. P. for the said county.

29th. Mr. George Morland, the celebrated English painter.

30th. At his house in the precincts of Canterbury, aged 74, sincerely lamented by those who knew his worth, W. Gostling, esq. capt. of the invalids in the royal artillery. He had been more than 50 years in the service, was in the action at Minden, and, among others, had the thanks of the commander in chief on that memorable day.

Nov. 1st. By the accidental dis-

charge of a fowling-piece, Mr. George Willis, eldest son of the Rev. W. Willis, of Stirling. He was amusing himself with his gun on board a vessel in the Forth, near Alloa; had laid it out of his hand upon the deck, and was sitting on the hatches eating a biscuit, and conversing with the master, when the motion of the vessel, or some ropes near which the gun lay, made it go off, the contents lodged in his arm and left side, and he almost instantly expired.

2nd. After a few hours illness, at Stock-house, Dorset, John Berkeley Burland, esq. son and heir of the late judge Burland, and one of the representatives in parliament for Totnes, in Devonshire, colonel of the eastern regiment of Somerset volunteer infantry, and in the commission of the peace for that county, of which he was an active and very highly-respected magistrate. He married to his first wife the daughter and sister of the Butlers, successively rectors of Ochford Fitz Paine, who died Feb. 2, 1802; and to his second, 1804, the relict of Mr. Gordon of Leweston, sister to the late sir Skipton Nash, of Bristol.

At Keynsham, near Presteign, after a short illness, in her 77th year, Susannah dowager-countess of Oxford, relict of Edward third earl, and daughter of William Archer, esq. of Welford, Berks, which county he represented till his death, 1739. To the poor she was a liberal benefactress, and her death will long be regretted by every one who knew her. Her ladyship was a lineal descendant of the ancient family of the Archers, of Welford, Berks, and aunt, by marriage, to the present earl of Oxford. By her decease



decease about 6000*l.* per annum devolves to her sister, Mrs. Blundell, of Bath, and about 2500*l.* per ann. to her late lord's nephew, the present earl. Her remains were interred at Brampton-Bryan.

5th. At St. Petersburg, field-marshal count Muschin Puschin, who some time commanded the Russian forces, in the last war with Sweden.

After a long illness, aged 74, Abraham Winterbottom, esq. an eminent attorney in Threadneedle-street. At the close of a long and irreproachable life, he sunk under the infirmities of ill-health, and the loss of his wife, who had herself lingered under the confinement of long illness and blindness, and by whom he had no issue. By this and other privations, left almost alone in the world, he had not the fortitude of mind to prevent him from terminating his life by a pistol, at his house at Highbury-place, Islington. He was secretary and solicitor to the Magdalen charity, and solicitor to the South-Sea company.

8th. Captain Huby, going on shore from his vessel lying in the river at Selby, co. York, together with captain Ellis, employed in the same trade, the latter fell off the plank into the water. Captain Huby jumped in after him, and, owing to his exertions, capt. Ellis's life was preserved, but he himself was unfortunately drowned. Capt. Huby had been married to Miss Martin, of Reedness, in the Marshland, near Selby, only three days before.

9th. At Newcastle, lieut.-col. Blakeney, late inspecting officer of the volunteer corps in that district. He was dreadfully wounded in the battle of Bunker's-Hill, North-

America, and was always considered an intelligent and brave officer.

10th. At Bristol, Miss Louisa Anne, fifth surviving daughter of sir Edmund Cradock Hartop, bart. of Four-Oaks-Hall, co. Warwick, one of the representatives in parliament for the county of Leicester.—Her remains were interred on the 22d, in the family vault at Aston Flamville.

12th. At her house, in Lower Seymour-street, Mary, countess-dowager of Shaftesbury. She was second surviving daughter of Jacob Bouverie, viscount Folkstone, full sister to William Bouverie, late earl of Radnor, and second wife of Anthony fourth earl of Shaftesbury, married to him March 26, 1759, by whom she had two sons, the present earl and Cropley Ashley, to whom, by her death, a considerable accession of fortune accrues; and a daughter, Mary Anne. She was interred in the family vault at Wimborn-St. Giles, Dorset.

The hon. capt. Paget Bayly, of the royal navy, fourth brother to the earl of Uxbridge. He was born in 1753.

14th. At his seat at Nocton, near Lincoln, in his 70th year, George Hobart, earl of Buckinghamshire, baron Hobart, of Blickling. He was the fourth son of John first earl of Buckinghamshire, being eldest son of the second wife, Elizabeth Bristow; succeeded his half-brother John 1793, and was before that event, conductor of the opera entertainments. He was M. P. for Beer-Alston, and secretary to his elder brother, when ambassador to Russia. He married, in 1757, Albinia, eldest daughter of lord Vere Bertie, eldest son of Robert first duke of Ancaster, by his second marriage



marriage, by whom he has left two sons and three daughters. His remains were deposited, with great funeral solemnity, in the family-vault at Nocton. His numerous tenantry assembled on the occasion, to pay their last tribute of gratitude and affection to a nobleman who possessed many virtues, and who had never, in the whole course of his life, and amidst the most trying exigencies of the times, raised their rents, but always held out to the last that excellent maxim, "Let the poor man live." He is succeeded by his son, Robert lord Hobart, late his majesty's principal secretary of state for the department of the war and colonies.

15th. At his lordship's house, at Colchester, the infant daughter of lord Stanley.

At his seat, Wingerworth, in Derbyshire, in his 81st year, universally lamented on account of his many amiable qualities, sir Henry Hunloke, bart. fourth baronet of his family. He married Miss Coke, eldest daughter of Wenman Coke, esq. of Longford, Derbyshire, by whom he has left a numerous family. Sir Henry, the first baronet, testified his loyalty by lending to king Charles I. a considerable sum of money, in his most pressing necessity, even at a time when there was little probability of ever being repaid. But his support of the royal cause stopped not here, for he, at his own expense, levied and accounted a troop of horse in the regiment of col. Frecheville (afterwards lord Frecheville) whereof he himself was lieut.-col. and this young hero, not then 22 years of age, at the battle of Edge-hill, so signalised himself, that king Charles knighted him in the field of battle, and soon after-

wards created him a baronet. Not long after, making an attempt upon the enemy near Bestwood-park, in Nottinghamshire, in a skirmish with some of the adverse party in ambush, he received a cut of a sword in his elbow, which so disabled his right arm, that it hung useless in a scarf to his dying day; and for his loyalty to his sovereign was fined 1748l. by the sequestrators. The late baronet is succeeded in his titles and estates by his eldest son sir Thomas Windsor Hunloke. His second son survived him only seven days.

16th. At Conway, in Wales, in her way to Ireland, with the countess her mother, lady——. Stewart, 3rd daughter of the earl of Londonderry.

17th. At Peterborough, in her 64th year, Mrs. Bertie, of that city, sister of gen. B. M.P. for Stamford, co. Lincoln.

19th. Near Bangor, in Wales, where she was on a visit, of a rapid decline, lady Georgina Canning, sister of lord Castlereagh, and niece to earl Camden.

At Paris, aged 88, M. Francis Tanois, a clerk in the French treasury. He has left no less than ten widows, though he was a bachelor until 1792. In his will he declares he never intended to marry, had not the national convention passed the law for easy divorces. He leaves to each of his widows an annuity of 1200 livres (50l.), as, he says, they were all equally dear to him. Not one of them is yet 30 years old.

20th. Mrs. Sowerby, wife of a pawnbroker, the corner of Cannon-street, and the Commercial Road, Shadwell. About 11 o'clock, as baron Robeck was standing at the draw-



drawing-room window of his house, the corner of Clarges-street, Piccadilly, he observed a lady throw herself into the Queen's Basin in the Green-park. He immediately rushed out, accompanied by two of his domestics; and on his arrival at the basin plunged in, and, after considerable exertion, bore the unhappy female to the bank, from whence she was conveyed to a public-house, where a surgeon was sent for, and, in a short time, animation was restored. The first words which she uttered were, "Oh! my children! my children! my mother! I have poisoned myself with the contents of the bottle!" She soon after fell into convulsions, which lasted for some time. Upon examining her pockets, a four-ounce phial was found in one of them, with some aqua-fortis, supposed to be the phial a servant saw her drink of before she plunged into the water. Between 5 and 6 o'clock she was removed to Mount-street workhouse. The violence of her convulsions increased, and she foamed shockingly at the mouth. These symptoms convinced the medical men of her having taken the fatal draught before she jumped into the water; and at 8 o'clock at night she expired in great agony. Under her left breast there was a large wound, as if caused by a sharp instrument; also another upon the left thigh, with some violent bruises on the breast, apparently occasioned by blows. The first witness before the coroner's jury was an apprentice to her husband, who deposed, that his master and mistress did not live happily; that she had been of a very indifferent temper, and was addicted to drinking, and very often in a state of delirium. The

brother of Mr. Sowerby deposed nearly to the same effect. He said, that on the 17th he visited his brother and the deceased; that they were then at words, and that they lived unhappily; he attributed it to her unsettled state of mind, being of a jealous turn, and sometimes betraying symptoms of phrenzy, as well as of liquor. The surgeon was clearly of opinion that her death was produced by drinking the contents of the phial, being aqua fortis, which brought on suffocation. The jury returned their verdict, Lunacy. She appeared to be about 26 years of age, of a middle stature, and a beautiful woman; was elegantly dressed. She has left three children. Her husband was at the workhouse, but did not attend the jury.

At Bath, where he took refuge 8 years since from the troubles of the continent, the venerable Dr. Archibald Maclaine, 50 years minister of the English church at the Hague, and well known as the translator of Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History, the author of Letters to Soame Jenyns, of Sermons, &c. Endeared to a numerous and respectable acquaintance, his memory seems the less to require the tribute of a public eulogy; but, in deploring the loss of departed worth, sincerity and friendship may be permitted briefly to state its claims to imitation and praise. Suffice it then to say, that, in a probationary course of 82 years, Dr. Maclaine's superior endowments of mind and heart,—his genius, learning, and industry, constantly directed by a love of virtue and truth, by piety and charity, diffused a beneficial influence over the whole of his professional and domestic sphere. As a scholar, a  
gen-



gentleman, and a divine, uniformly displaying a judicious taste, an amiable deportment, and instructive example, he was admired and loved by all who courted and enjoyed his society; especially those of whom he was a distinguished archetype—the man of education, the polished companion, the benevolent friend, and pious Christian. Cloathed in the invincible armour of the latter, he received with triumph the assaults of the last enemy of mankind; and it is no small consolation to his mourning friends, that great as had been the excellence and utility of his life, they were surpassed by the fortitude he displayed, and the happiness he enjoyed, in the hour of impending death. He was a native of Scotland, and son of a minister in Ireland. He published, 1752, a sermon, preached Dec. 5, 1751, on the death of the prince of Orange, Lam. iii. 28, 29. In 1765, his masterly translation of Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History made its first appearance, in 2 vols. 4to. dedicated to William prince of Orange. It experienced a most favourable reception, and was reprinted, 1758, in 6 vols. 8vo. in which form it has had several subsequent editions. The additions to the quarto edition were published separately the same year. Few publications, on their first appearance, have been more generally read than Mr. Soame Jenyns's "View of the Internal Evidence of the Christian Religion." Dr. M. addressed to that gentleman a series of letters, 1777, in 12mo. written to serve the best purposes of christianity, on a due consideration of the distinguished eminence of Mr. J. as a writer, of the singular mixture of piety, wit, error, wisdom, and paradox, exhibited in his publica-

tion, and of his defence of christianity on principles which would lead men to enthusiasm or to scepticism, according to their different dispositions. His only publications since are 2 fast sermons, 1793 and 1797. It will be no reproach to this worthy man's memory to add, that he was brother to the highwayman who went by the name of "The Gentleman Highwayman," and had been a grocer in Welbeck-street, and was executed at Tyburn Oct. 3, 1752, attended by Dr. Allen, a presbyterian minister, who published an account of his behaviour. His brother early renounced him, though he made all the interest he could for him, and wrote a letter to him after condemnation. Dr. M. was *supposed* to be, for many years, the principal editor of the foreign articles in the Monthly Review.

At Winchester, the rev. James Bandinell, D.D. rector of Netherbury, with Bedminster, co. Dorset, worth 600l. a year.

20th. At Bath, the hon. George Browne, captain in the Bedfordshire militia, and brother to lord Kilmaine.

About 3 o'clock in the afternoon of the 24th, Charles Birch (late servant to Mr. Leadbetter, of Little Dalby, near Melton Mowbray) was found near the foot-path leading from the latter place to Scalford, with his skull fractured in so shocking a manner, that a considerable quantity of the brain issued from the perforation, and he was otherwise much bruised: one of the pockets of his breeches (which is supposed to have contained a 10l. Stamford bill and some cash) was cut out and taken away. At the time he was found, the blood was flowing copiously from his wounds, which



which left no doubt but he had very recently been treated in the above inhuman manner, and left for dead by the perpetrators. The unfortunate young man languished till the morning of the 26th, but, being speechless all the time, was in course unable to give any account of his murderer.

Mary Pippet, 80 years of age, was burnt to death at the house of Mr. Middleton, Great Vine-street, Piccadilly. She was his aunt, and had been confined to her apartment for above 18 months. Between 2 and 3 o'clock Mr. M. heard an incessant scream up stairs, and, on his approaching the deceased's room, heard her cry out "Mary! Mary!" the name of her attendant; on opening the door of her apartment, he was nearly suffocated by smoke that rushed out. Not knowing the cause, he threw up the window, and, when the air was admitted, perceived the deceased sitting at a table, with her head reclined, a smoke arising from her as well as the bed and blankets; he immediately put the mattress on her, and extinguished the fire, and went for Mr. Ford, surgeon, of Golden-square, who did not arrive till after the death of Mrs. P. who was a most affecting spectacle. It is supposed a spark had flown from the fire and caught her cloaths.

29th. Mrs. Bowden, wife of the rev. Richard B. of Over-Durwin, near Blackburn, co. Lancaster, returning from a visit on horseback, passing a small brook, which was much increased by heavy rains, she was forced down the stream, and drowned in sight of her husband and two sisters.

At his house in Russell-street, Bath, the rev. sir James Stronge, bart. of Tynan, in Armaghshire, and

Thornhill, co. Dublin, so created in June 14, 1803.

30th. Much lamented, in St. James's-street, at her daughter's, the duchess of Roxburgh's, aged 66, Mrs. Bechinne, relict of capt. B. of the royal navy, and sister to sir John Smith, bart. of Sydling, co. Dorset, whither her remains were conveyed for interment in the family vault.

Lately, at Hackwood park, the hon. Miss Anne Orde Powlett, 2nd daughter of lord Bolton.

At Gainsborough, aged 107, Elizabeth Bullard, alias Winfrey, widow. She remembered Geo. 1st coming to England; could sew without spectacles; and died without pain, being literally exhausted and worn out.

At Wolverhampton, co. Stafford, in the 67th year of her age, after a long and painful illness, Catherine Nickins, a maiden lady, daughter of Catherine Nickins, late of Tettenhall, in the said county, who died on the 18th December, 1795, in the 82d year of her age, and the 55th of her widowhood. The said Catherine, the mother, before marriage, was Catherine Hale, one of the daughters of Gabriel Hale, who was the youngest son of Robert Hale, which Robert Hale was the eldest son of that truly distinguished character sir Matthew Hale, lord chief justice of the king's bench. The said Catherine Nickins, spinster, has, by her will, given to the infirmary for the county of Stafford 100l. old south sea stock, and 300l. sterling, after her sister Mrs. Ann Mee's decease; to the Birmingham hospital 100l. old south sea stock; to a charity-school, at Tipton, co. Stafford, 100l. old south sea stock, and 50l. sterling after her said sister's



ter's decease; and legacies to the poor of Tipton, Wolverhampton, and Tettenhall, at the discretion of the minister of each parish, and which is intended to be laid out in the purchase of linsey petticoats for poor widows. On the decease of Mrs. Mee, the distinguished family of Hales will be extinct.

*Dec. 1st.* At his seat at Berrington, near Leominster, co. Hereford, in his 75th year, the right hon. Thomas Harley, father of the city of London, president of St. Bartholomew's hospital, lord lieutenant of the county of Radnor, one of his majesty's most honourable privy council, and uncle to the earl of Oxford. He was alderman of Portsoken ward, 1761, sheriff 1763, lord mayor 1767.

At his house, the park at Hertingfordbury, Samuel Baker, esq. late M. P. for the county of Hertford, and third son of the late sir W. B. alderman of London.

*2nd.* At Mount Clere, Rochester, Surry, in his 85th year, sir John Dick, bart. and knight of the Russian order of St. Alexander Newski, which he received from the late empress of Russia, for his services to her fleet while he was English consul at Leghorn. He was likewise, for several years, one of the commissioners for auditing public accounts. He is said to have died worth upwards of 70,000*l.* the whole of which he has left in equal divisions to Mr. Carr, Mr. Simons of Carlisle-street, Soho, his apothecary, the rev. Mr. Cleaver, and Dr. Vaughan, his physician, after a reservation of annuities of 160*l.* per annum each to his housekeeper and the servant who attended his person; and one of 200*l.* per annum to col. Pleydell, in approba-

tion of his attachment to the duke of Gloucester.

At Brithelmstone, in her 5th year, the eldest daughter of the duke of Rutland. Her remains were interred in the family vault at Bottesford, co. Leicester.

*3rd.* At Bath, the lady of sir Francis Baring, bart.

*6th.* At his apartments in Devonshire-street, Michael Marcus Lynch, esq. of Mallow, co. Cork, in Ireland, late of the royal north Lincoln regiment of militia, and brother-in-law to the right hon. J. H. Addington.

At his seat, at Kedleston, co. Derby, in his 78th year, Nathaniel Curzon, Lord Scarsdale, a baronet, LL.D. and a vice-president of the Middlesex hospital. He was the eldest son of the late Sir Nathaniel Curzon, bart. whose family came to this country with William the conqueror. We find them seated at Kedleston ever since the reign of Edward the first. This family first represented the county of Derby in parliament, in the second year of the reign of Richard II. and continued to do so, with some intervals, until the twelfth of William III.; from which period they uninterruptedly continued to represent it till the year 1761, when his present majesty was pleased to call the late lord up to the house of peers. His private worth will be long in remembrance: and the poor of the surrounding villages will recollect with gratitude his continued benevolence. His exquisite taste for the fine arts is universally known and acknowledged by those of the present age, and his noble mansion at Kedleston will remain a monument of it to posterity. He is succeeded by his eldest son, the hon. Nathaniel Curzon,



Curzon, who represented the county of Derby in two successive parliaments.

8th. At Edinburgh, Miss Charlotte Augusta Colquhoun, daughter of the late Sir George C. bart. of Tillyquhoun.

At her house in Upper Sloane-street, Lady Caroline Leigh, daughter of Henry Duke of Chandos, by his first wife Lady Mary Bruce, daughter of Charles Earl of Aylesbury; and married to John Leigh, esq. of Addlethorpe, co. Gloucester, in 1755.

10th. At Stonehouse, near Plymouth, Miss Elizabeth Langton, daughter of the late Bennet L. esq. of Langton, co. Lincoln, and the dowager countess of Rothes.

11th. Sir Edward Nightingale, bart. of Kneesworth, co. Cambridge. He was only son of Gamaliel N. captain in the royal navy, by Maria, daughter of Peter Clossen, merchant at Hamburg, who died in 1789. Sir Edward proved his claim to the title, 1797, as heir male of sir Tho. the first baronet. He married Eleanor, daughter and heiress of Robert N. of Kneesworth, his uncle, by whom he had six sons and four daughters.

At his house in Cheapside, aged 86, John Boydell, esq. alderman of Cheap ward; to which he was elected in 1782; sheriff 1785; lord mayor 1790. He attended his duty as alderman at the Old Bailey sessions on the 8th, when it is supposed he caught cold. On the 10th he found himself much indisposed; on the 11th he was pronounced by the physician to be in danger, and the next morning expired without a groan. The history of this worthy alderman affords an extraordinary instance of what a life of spirited

exertions is able to accomplish. It appears almost impossible that an individual, who began the world in humble circumstances, could have effected so much for the improvement of the arts, and of the national taste. When more than 20, he was put apprentice to a Mr. Tomms, an engraver, at a time when there were no eminent engravers in England. He saw the necessity of forcing the art of engraving, by stimulating men of genius with suitable rewards. He himself mentioned, that the first means which enabled him to encourage other engravers, were the profits he derived from the sale of a book of 152 prints, engraved by himself; and he very modestly allowed, that he himself had not at that time arrived at any eminence in the art of engraving, and that those prints are now principally valuable from the comparison of them with the improved state of the art within the last 50 years. With the profits of this book, however, he was enabled to pay very liberally the best engravers then in the country, and presented the public with English engravings of the works of the best masters. The encouragement he experienced from the public was equal to the spirit and patriotism of the undertaking, and soon laid the foundation of an ample fortune. The alderman had the satisfaction to see in his life-time the effect of his labours: though he never himself made great progress as an engraver, yet he was the greatest encourager of the art that this country ever saw. The English engravings, which were before considered much inferior to those of foreign nations, began from that time to be highly prized; and the exportation of them became a valuable



luable article of commerce. Having done so much for the art of engraving, he resolved to direct his efforts to encourage the art of painting in this country. To this effect he undertook that superb edition of Shakspeare, the originals of which were exhibited in the Shakspeare gallery. The expense of these paintings was prodigious, and more perhaps than any individual had ever before embarked for such an object. It was rather singular that he should live just long enough to see the Shakspeare lottery disposed of; for, on the day he paid the debt of nature, not a single ticket remained unsold.\* Of his unbounded liberality let the council-chamber of the city of London, the court-room of the stationers' company, and the dining-room at the sessions-house loudly speak. To every benevolent institution he was a generous benefactor and attentive guardian. Witness, particularly, "The royal Humane Society," and the "Literary fund for the relief of distressed authors;" to both of which he was for many years a most worthy vice-president, and a frequent attender at their meetings. Of his private charities, were they to be brought before the public, the list would be abundant. His remains were interred in great funeral state, in the afternoon of the nineteenth, in the church of Saint Olave Jewry, where an excellent funeral sermon was preached by the rev. Robert Hamilton, LL. D. vicar of that church, and rector of St. Martin, Ironmonger-lane. The following is a correct statement of the procession:—

Twelve city constables.  
Mace-bearer's attendant.  
Warden.

Two pages with wands.  
Beadle of school.  
A painting of St. Anne.  
Two boys.  
Two masters.  
Twenty-five girls.  
Mistress.  
Two house-stewards.  
Two porters.  
Ward Beadle.  
Twelve gentlemen of the common council, two and two, with 8 pages.  
Two marshalsmen.  
Two ditto.  
Two ditto.  
Two marshals.  
Mace and sword-bearer.  
Two porters.  
Lord mayor's chaplain (rev. Manly Wood).  
Rev. J. B. Sanders, Rev. Dr. Hamilton.  
The lid of feathers.  
The Recorder, Sir Cha. Price.  
Sir John Eamer, Sir Wm. Staines.  
BODY.  
Sir John Anderson, Mr. Alderman Le Mesurier.  
Mr. Ald. Newnham, Lord Mayor.  
Mr. Ald. Boydell elect.  
Mr. Leigh Thomas, Mr. Jos. Boydell.  
Mr. Jones, Mr. Nicol.  
Mr. Harrison, Mr. W. Nicol.  
Sir W. Leighton, Mr. Ald. Shaw.  
Mr. Ald. Flower, Mr. Ald. Ansley.  
Mr. Ald. Smith, Mr. Ald. Hunter.  
Mr. Ald. Lea, Mr. Ald. J. J. Smith.  
Mr. Duxbary, Sir M. Bloxham.  
Mr. Sloane, Mr. Moreland.  
Mr. Lavie, Mr. Clarke.  
Mr. Parker, Mr. Braithwaite.  
Mr. Salt, Mr. Miller.  
Mr. Blumer, Mr. Cread.  
Artists. Artists.  
Mr. Young, Mr. Smith.  
Mr. Ryder, Mr. Rouse.

(The above gentlemen were supported by 32 pages, and were followed by)

\* Vide Chronicle, page 366, for his admirable letter to Sir J. W. Anderson on this subject.



Mr. Reading, Mr. Williams.

Mr. Bull, Mr. Smith,

and ten servants, two and two.

15th. Interred in St. Andrew's church-yard, Dublin, the remains of lady Catharine Stopford, sister to James earl of Courtown. The funeral was attended by a great number of noblemen's and gentlemen's carriages.

At Croydon, Surry, aged 49, Mr. Thomas Levins, many years clerk of the parish church there.—Some few years back, having a numerous family, he filled the following offices in Croydon and its neighbourhood to maintain them: he was parish-clerk, barber, and publican; having many years kept the white horse, on Dubben-hill, near the church; provided music for dinners, balls, &c. taught the violin, flute, bassoon, French-horn, and psalmody, at home and abroad; was headborough, and bumbailiff to the court of conscience, and many years one of the wardens of the royal Mecklenburgh free-mason's lodge, at Croydon.

16th. In London, after twelve months illness, aged 71, M. de Conzies, bishop of Arras, in France, born a nobleman and educated for the prelacy. He did equal honour to his rank and his station; faithful to his king as to his God, a long life was never polluted by a single action which did not prove the standard merit of a good man and a sincere Christian. The loyal, as well as the religious, in imitating his conduct, may be sure to possess the esteem of their contemporaries, and the admiration of posterity. That such a character should particularly attract the hatred of Bonaparte might justly be expected.—The name of the bishop of Arras was upon the same line of the same

list of proscription with that of the hero of loyalty Georges. The Corsican assassin, who pierced the hearts of an Enghien, Pichegru, and Georges, has long pointed his dagger at the bosom of this prelate, who preferred poverty and exile in England to the Roman purple and the Parisian arch-episcopacy; both offered him in 1801, by the first consul of France and the pontiff of Rome. Unalterable in his attachment to the house of Bourbon, his royal highness Monsieur, brother to the king of France and Navarre, made him one of his principal counsellors and confidential advisers; unprofitable offices indeed, for those who, confounding fortune with justice, regard money more than honour; but advantageous to him who has a conscience, follows its dictates, and feels the honourable difference between the disinterested counsellor of a lawful prince, and the despicable accomplice of a barbarous usurper. The bishop of Arras had from nature a constitution strong enough to resist the ravages of time to the farthest limits assigned to the life of man, had not Providence also bestowed upon him a mind virtuous and feeling to the highest degree. The deplorable state of Christianity, the misfortunes of his king, and the degradation of his country, were the disease which deprived the world, prematurely, of one of its best and brightest ornaments. From the scandalous journey of Pius VII. and the sacrilegious coronation of Napoleon the first, this prelate received his death-blow. He survived but for a few days the news of the Corsican assassin's and poisoner's anointment, and was one of the first victims of this horrible act,



which has opened a tomb for true religion as well as for lawful monarchy. As in health he had been an example of piety and constancy, during his illness he was a model of devotion and resignation. He exhorted his countrymen and fellow-sufferers, like himself, unfortunate exiles, not to deviate from that glorious though painful path of thorns they had dutifully and conscientiously entered. He preached submission to the decrees of the Almighty, in shewing the justice of that noble cause to which they had sacrificed rank, property, country, and every thing else except their honour. He told them never to forget the gratitude they owe to England, should religion and royalty once more prosper in France. His constant prayers were, on his death-bed, that Christ may again save his church in France, restore there the rightful and faithful to power, and convert, but not punish, the undutiful and unbelieving. It is often more glorious to deserve than to occupy a throne. His royal highness Monsieur, with an humanity worthy of better times and better fortune, refused himself even the necessary rest to attend this trusty and affectionate servant, who had the consolation to breathe his last in the arms of his good and generous prince. Some few moments before he shut his eyes for ever, he pressed the hand of Monsieur to his bosom, and with a faint voice faltered these his last words: "My kind prince, death is terrible to the wicked only!"

16th. At her house in Chesterfield-street, May-fair, aged 83, dame Hannah Hales, widow of sir Edward H. bart. of Breamore-house, Hants, who died December 1st,

1800, aged 85. Her remains were interred in the family vault at Welmington, near Dartford.

At Ashe, in Hampshire, by a fall from her horse, which she survived only 12 hours in a state of insensibility, aged 56, Mrs. Lefroy, wife of the rev. John Lefroy, rector of that parish and of Compton, in Surrey, and eldest daughter and co-heir of the late Edward Bridges, esq. of Wootton, in Kent, by Jemima daughter and co-heir of William Egerton, LL. D. prebendary of Canterbury, and grandson of John, second earl of Bridgewater.

19th. At her seat, Hillingdon-house, near Uxbridge, Middlesex, Mary, marchioness of Rockingham. She was daughter and heir of Thos. Bright, esq. of Badsworth, co. York, uncle to Henry Liddell, lord Ravensworth; and married Feb. 26th, 1752, to Charles second marquis of Rockingham, who died in 1782. Her remains were conveyed through York in funeral procession to the cathedral, and deposited in the vault belonging to that ancient family. The corpse was met at the iron gate within the cathedral by the rev. archdeacon Markham and the rev. James Richardson, by whom the funeral service was read. The coffin was covered with crimson velvet, ornamented with rich gilt tire.

At Holyrood-house, Edinburgh, the hon. Mary Murray, only daughter of the late lord Edward Murray, and sister to the hon. and rev. M. Murray, dean of Killaloe, in Ireland.

21st. At his house, at Laurieston, Edinburgh, in his 77th year, colonel James Riddell, son of sir Walter Riddell, of Riddell, and uncle to sir John Buchanan, knt.

22nd.



22nd. An inquest was this night held at the king's-head, Limehouse, on view of the body of Wm. Locke, esq. a captain in the second regiment of Tower-hamlets militia. After the coroner (Mr. Unwin) had given the jury their charge, they retired to view the body, which presented a sight awfully affecting and picturesque, being wrapped up in the English colours, with the uniform which the deceased wore, and watched by two grenadiers in their regimental dress. The first witness called was captain Bartlett, of the West India Dock volunteers. He stated, that he had frequently seen the deceased on guard at the dock; he had called that evening by accident at the house of Mr. Tobin, where the deceased was spending the evening; at supper he observed him to be a good deal intoxicated, and his voracious manner of eating much surprised him. About the middle of supper he observed the deceased turn pale and faint, and advised he should be taken into the air. He got worse, and medical aid was sent for. Mr. Tobin, of Limehouse, deposed, that the deceased had come to his house with a friend; he had seen him often before, but was not intimate with him. He stated, that he supported him a considerable time on his knee till a surgeon came; that he gradually observed his pulsation diminish, till he was quite gone. The surgeon, Mr. Wedgborough, stated, that he came too late to render any assistance; that life was totally extinct. He believed the deceased did not die of apoplexy, though he could not trace his death to any particular cause. Verdict, died by the visitation of God.

23rd. At her apartments at Chelsea, in her 81st year, the celebrated signora Galli. She was some years since a performer of considerable celebrity on the stage of the king's theatre in the Haymarket, and was the last of Handel's scholars; and that celebrated musician composed several of his most favourite airs expressly for her, both in his operas and oratorios, in which she sang with great applause; and appeared so lately as the year 1797, at Mr. Ashley's oratorios at Covent-garden theatre. After quitting the stage, she resided as a companion with the unfortunate Miss Ray, and was in company with her at Covent-garden theatre on the evening she was shot by the rev. Mr. Hackman, April 7th, 1779. Being thus deprived of her situation, and not having made any provision for her declining years, she has subsisted entirely on the bounty of her friends, and an annual benefaction from the royal society of musicians.

25th. At the house of the secretary at war, in New Norfolk-street, Mary-la-bonne, col. Hamilton, of Pencaithland.

27th. In her 62nd year, Mrs. F. Glover, who had lived 50 years in the same cottage at Honnington, Suffolk, where she gave suck to that much admired rural poet Robert Bloomfield, author of the 'Farmer's Boy,' &c. which poem was first written with the sole view of pleasing his mother, by the recital of scenes long passed; but by its unprecedented success, on being introduced to the world, he was enabled to contribute much towards the comfort of her declining years; and on hearing of her last illness, with that true filial piety which  
 L 1 3 breathes



breathes throughout all his productions, he went to her from London, and with unwearied patience watched her rapid decay, till death closed a well-spent life.

At Lazarus-hospital, in Hereford, aged upwards of 100, Elizabeth Garrett, who for a long period sold fruit in that city. She was born in the reign of queen Anne, and was found, when but a few days old, at the south-end of the street where she kept her apple-stall, and from this circumstance obtained the name of Street. However, having at an early age, engaged the affections of a barber of the name of Garrett, he married her; and from this circumstance it became a common observation, that Bet had mounted from a Street to a Garrett. She walked out till within a few days of her death, and her faculties were unimpaired to the last. She was carried to her grave by six hair dressers, to each of whom she bequeathed a razor.

In Magherabeg, near Dromore, in Ireland, the self-taught poet, William Cunningham; who, while he was a poor weaver-boy, having received the first rudiments of education at one of the bishop of Dromore's Sunday schools, had, by reading such books as he could borrow, made so considerable a progress, that in the autumn of 1800, he presented his lordship with a copy of verses, requesting the loan of books. The bishop, struck with the marks of genius displayed in this poem, rescued him from the loom, and placed him at the dioclesian school of Dromore, where his application was so diligent that, in about two years and a half, he had read the principal Latin and Greek Classics. Being thus qualified to superintend

the education of youth, which had been the object of his wishes, he was received, early in 1804, as an assistant-teacher in the academy of the rev. Dr. Bruce, of Belfast, where he was distinguished for his diligence and skill in preparing the boys under his care to be examined before the last summer vacation. But, by this time, such strong symptoms of a consumption had appeared in his tall, thin, and slender frame, that he could not any more return to his charge, and his declining health confined him to the house of his poor mother, near the turnpike-gate between Hillsborough and Dromore, where he continued to experience the kindness of his former patron, and was most generously attended by sir George Atkinson, an eminent physician in Hillsborough; but his case was beyond the reach of medical aid, and terminated fatally. He was interred in Dromore church-yard on the 29th, having nearly completed his 24th year, being born March 19, 1781.—Cunningham, though very unlike, in his bodily frame, to Dr. Goldsmith, who was short and not slender, so strongly resembled him in face, that, when he stood near the profile of the doctor, his portrait seemed to have been drawn for him.

28th. Suddenly, the bishop of Noyon, one of those dignified ecclesiastics of France who remained attached to the house of Bourbon, and was also one of the ancient French nobility.

At Dyke, co. Lincoln, in consequence of a fright experienced on the preceding day from accidentally letting an infant fall out of her arms, Miss Diana Howes, of King's Cliffe, co. Northampton, an amiable



amiable young lady, aged only 18.

30th. In Park-street, Grosvenor-square, in his 80th year, gen. Patrick Tonyn, colonel of the 58th foot, and late governor of the province of East Florida.

At Reddish's hotel, in his 39th year, George Evans, Baron Carberry, of the kingdom of Ireland, and M. P. for the county of Rutland. In 1792 he married Miss Watson, daughter of col. W. who amassed a considerable fortune in India. The first baron was created by George I. in 1715. He was considered the finest man of his day; and the king bestowed this honour on him on account of his extreme beauty and manliness. The late lord was truly amiable, and a man of the mildest and most gentlemanly manners. About two years since, his lordship was hunting on his estate near Northampton, and had the misfortune to burst a blood-vessel, and was considered at the time in extreme danger. About 15 months ago he broke his arm, which brought on a lingering complaint, considered by the faculty as a decay of some internal part. A few weeks since, his lordship came to town, and has been under the care of Dr. Bailie and other eminent physicians, who considered him so far recovered as to sanction his return to the country, and Friday, Dec. 28, was the day fixed for his departure with lady Carberry for his seat in Northamptonshire. Preparatory to the journey he rode in Hyde-park. On the 26th and 27th he was in good spirits, and saw company each afternoon; but in the morning of the 28th he proposed to lady Carberry to postpone their departure to the 31st, to which

she acquiesced. About one o'clock in the morning of the 29th, he was seized with a violent sickness in his stomach, and rang the bell for his servant, who immediately attended, and, on finding his lordship had again burst a blood-vessel, sent for Dr. Bailie, who administered some medicine, which relieved his patient so much, that he sat up, dined, conversed, and was in tolerable spirits; but in the evening of the 30th a relapse took place, which terminated fatally at nine o'clock in the evening of the 31st. Dying without issue, he is succeeded by his uncle, the hon. John Evans, of Dublin. His estates in the counties of Cork and Kerry amounted to 15,000*l.* a year. All his personal property is bequeathed to lady Carberry. His remains were interred in the family-vault at Laxton, co. Northampton. The funeral procession was grand, and joined by his lordship's tenants.

Lately, at Barbadoes, in the West Indies, of the yellow fever, lord viscount Proby, commander of the *Amelia* frigate, of 38 guns, and most of his officers. His lordship's death occasioned a vacancy in parliament for the town of Buckingham.

On board the *Carysfort* frigate, of the yellow fever, lieut. John Bellamy, of the R. N. son of the late Mr. alderman B. of Leicester. This gallant young man was with lord Duncan, when he defeated the Dutch fleet off Camperdown; had been in much other desperate service; and was promoted entirely for his great personal courage and nautical abilities.

At Ulm, Huber, one of the most celebrated writers in Germany.

At Vienna, in his 79th year,  
L 1 4 the



the celebrated musical composer, Haydn.

James Baden, professor of eloquence and the Latin tongue in the university of Copenhagen. His death is a serious loss to the literary world. He began his connection with that institution in 1779; his labours were not confined to the pupils at the National college; he devoted a great portion of his time to advance the Danish language to its highest state of improvement; and his translation of Tacitus rivals the original for precision, taste, and purity of diction. He also published a German and Danish Dictionary, known to every modern linguist. In the latter years of his life he found himself inadequate to the active duties of his public situation, and retired, but not without an honourable proof of the approbation of the Danish government.

At St. Petersburg, whilst playing at billiards, Jarnowick, the celebrated performer on the violin.

At Bantry, in Ireland, of a violent fever, Hamilton White, esq. brother to lord viscount Bantry.

At Stoneville, co. Dublin, in her 20th year, Miss Pratt, only daughter of major-general P.

In Merrion-square, Dublin, John Mercier, esq. of Portarlinton, late lieutenant-colonel of the 39th regiment of foot.

In Aungier-street, Dublin, in his 70th year, Lundy Foot, esq. one of the aldermen of that city.

In Dominick-street, Dublin, aged 92, Mrs. Graham, relict of col. G. of Coolmaine, co. Monaghan.

In Tipperary, John Power, esq. col. of the Tipperary militia.

At Eggleston-castle, in Scotland, a few hours after his birth, the son and heir of lord Montgomery.

Charles Ferguson, esq. son of the deceased sir J. Ferguson, bart. of Kilkerran, late one of the senators of the college of justice in Scotland.

*SHERIFFS appointed by his Majesty in Council for the Year 1804.*

*Bedfordshire.* George Edwards, of Henlow, esq.

*Berkshire.* Richard Mathews, of Wargrave, esq.

*Buckinghamshire.* James Nield, of Stoke-Hammond, esq.

*Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire.* Benjamin Keene, of Wistow-lodge, esq.

*Cheshire.* Sir John Fleming Leicester, of Nether Tabling, bart.

*Cumberland.* John De Whelpdale, of Penrith, esq.

*Derbyshire.* Sir Henry Every, of Eggington, bart.

*Devonshire.* Thomas Porter of Rockbear, esq.

*Dorsetshire.* Robert Williams, of Bridgehead, Little-bridge, esq.

*Essex.* William Palmer, of Nazing, esq.

*Gloucestershire.* Nathaniel Clifton, of Frampton-upon-Severn, esq.

*Herefordshire.* Richard Stukely Fleming, of Dinmore-hill, esq.

*Hertfordshire.* Edward Garrow, of Totteridge, esq.

*Kent.* Sir Walter Stirling, of Shoreham, esq.

*Leicestershire.* Henry Otway, of Stanford-hall, esq.

*Lincolnshire.* Robert Viner, of Godby, esq.

*Monmouthshire.* William Adams Williams, of Llangibby, esq.

*Norfolk.*



*Norfolk.* Henry Styleman, of Snottisham, esq.

*Northamptonshire.* Charles Tibbitts, of Barton Seagrave, esq.

*Northumberland.* Sir Thomas Henry Lyddell, of Effington, bart.

*Nottinghamshire.* Thomas Webb Edge, of Stretty, esq.

*Oxfordshire.* John Langston, of Sarsden-house, esq.

*Rutlandshire.* Cotton Thompson, of Ketton, esq.

*Shropshire.* Robert Burton, of Longner, esq.

*Somersetshire.* John Rogers, of Yarlington, esq.

*Staffordshire.* Richard Jessar, of West Bromwich, esq.

*Southampton.* Sir Charles Mill, of Mottesfont, bart.

*Suffolk.* Sir Robert Pocklington, of Chelsworth, knt.

*Surry.* William Borradaile, of Streatham, esq.

*Sussex.* John Dennet, of Woodmancott, esq.

*Warwickshire.* Roger Vaughton, of Sutton-Colfield, esq.

*Wiltshire.* Wadham Locke, of Rowdford, esq.

*Worcestershire.* Thomas Holmes, of Beoly, esq.

*Yorkshire.* James Fox, of Bramham-park, esq.

SOUTH WALES.

*Brecon.* Penry Williams, of Penpont, esq.

*Carmarthen.* John Simmons, of Llangenah, esq.

*Cardiganshire.* John Bond, of Kesney-Cold, esq.

*Glamorganshire.* Richard Turberville Picton, of Ewenny, esq.

*Pembrokeshire.* Sir Hugh Owen, of Orielson, bart.

*Radnor.* Thomas Frankland Lewis, of Harpton-court, esq.

NORTH WALES.

*Anglesea.* Charles Evans, esq. of Trefeiling.

*Caernarvon.* Owen Molineux Wynne, of Penmachno, esq.

*Denbigh.* Robert William Wynne, of Garthewin, esq.

*Flint.* Richard Garnons, the younger, of Llutwood, esq.

*Merioneth.* Sir Edward Price Lloyd, of Park, bart.

*Montgomery.* Charles Hanbury Tracey, of Greginog, esq.

Sheriff appointed by his royal highness the prince of Wales in council for the year 1804:

*County of Cornwall.* John Trevannion Purnell Betterworth Trevannion, of Carhais, esq.



## APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE.

*Proceedings of the Association for promoting the Defence of the Frith of Forth, and Scotland in general. The Right Honourable the Lord Chief Baron in the Chair.*

THE committee having, at a former meeting, appointed Mr. Campbell of Clathick, Mr. Mackenzie of the exchequer, and Mr. Porter of Troquhain, a sub-committee, to draw up an account of the proceedings of the association; a report was prepared accordingly, and read by Mr. Porter, this 19th Dec. which, being approved of by the general committee, was ordered to be printed; and a copy, as follows, to be sent or delivered to each of the subscribers.

### REPORT OF THE SUB-COMMITTEE.

When the association for promoting the defence of the Frith of Forth, and of the country in general, was originally formed in the month of July last, the resolutions then published by the constituent members informed the public of the motives that had given rise to it, and pointed out the leading objects that were meant to occupy their attention, and to which the money that should be subscribed was intended to be applied.

The then defenceless state of this

part of the coast, and the unaccountable and alarming apathy at that time much too prevalent, and to which the present spirit and ardour of all ranks present a pleasing contrast, justified the apprehensions entertained at the time, by those who seriously considered the situation of the country, and the character of the foe by whom it was menaced with invasion, and all its attendant calamities.

To awaken the people to a sense of their danger—to rouse their sleeping energies—to prepare them to expect without dismay, and to combat without apprehension of the issue, an enemy their ancestors had always vanquished, seemed objects of primary importance; and to promote these, their best endeavours were employed. With this view they began—

1st. By printing and dispersing throughout the country numerous popular and patriotic publications and placards, calculated to attract the notice of the middle and lower classes of society, and designed to warm their breasts with the honest zeal and dignified sense of superiority which become a free and loyal people.

The committee, in the mean time, was bestowing its attention in finding out, and fixing upon certain specific



specific objects within the limited compass of the funds of the association, which, in their opinion, were best adapted to the purposes of excitement and preparation, consequently most likely effectually to promote the defence of the Frith, as well as of the country in general. What these objects were, the subscribers will naturally expect to know. They have certainly a right to be fully informed of it; and to convey this information to them, in the shortest and most satisfactory manner, is the chief design of the present report.

2nd. After the publications above-mentioned, the next thing to which the attention of the committee was called, was the means of rendering more speedily useful a branch of the service in itself most important, but in danger of being, for a time at least, less efficient than could have been wished, from want of skill in the use of the weapons that were to be employed in it. The sea fencibles were to be armed with pikes; but the pike exercise was little known in Scotland, and no person had been then sent down to instruct those in it who had volunteered their services in that line. To supply the want of this appointment, the committee appropriated a certain sum, to be given to any person duly qualified who should come forward and teach the sea fencibles the pike exercise, to the satisfaction of captain Clements, who has the command of that body, within the district to which the association had particularly directed their attention; and a premium was added for each of the first 12 men who should acquire such a degree of skill as to be able to undertake the instruction or drill of others. Such a drill-master was,

after some enquiry, found; and the pike exercise is now understood, and practised in a style of expertness, superior to what might otherwise have been the case for months to come.

3rd. By general Lloyd's calculation, only one shot out of 400, from troops not accustomed to take aim, takes effect in battle. This admitted as a fact, shews the vast importance of a soldier's being trained to ball practice; but the provision made for such practice in the service is so limited, that little progress towards proficiency in this point can be expected.—To promote a spirit of emulation among the volunteers in this useful acquirement, the committee ordered a considerable number of honorary silver medals, of different sizes and value, to be struck off, with appropriate inscriptions, and to be lodged with the commanding officers of each battalion of the volunteers in the six counties adjacent, or approaching towards the coast from Berwick to Fifeness, to be distributed by them, in a gradation of three medals in each company receiving pay, to the best shots of those competitors whose regularity of conduct, and punctuality of attendance at drill, were approved of by the commanding officer.

The committee, in suggesting this idea, was far from ascribing to itself any particular merit beyond that of contributing in a certain degree to animate and increase the acknowledged zeal and honourable emulation of our volunteer forces; in consequence of which, many of the companies in this district have by practice acquired so great a degree of proficiency, that in their exercise every 5th or 6th shot is made



made to take place in a target of 3 feet diameter, at the distance of about 100 yards. This, with the common battalion firelock, is a high degree of precision; and if accuracy on a proportional scale may be expected from them in battle, the efficiency of the military defence of the country will thereby, it is evident, be greatly augmented.

4th. It being impossible, on so extensive a line of coast, to have a stationary force at every place where a landing may be attempted, the commodious and expeditious conveyance of troops from a distance to the point of attack becomes of great importance. With this view, colonel Crichton, one of the committee, contrived a machine, of simple construction, to be made at a small expence, and easily fixed, on either coach or chaise-wheels, and which, when so fixed, should be equal to the conveyance of ten or twelve men, with their arms and accoutrements, to be drawn by two horses only, and to go at the rate of from five to seven miles an hour. Of those machines (after a full and satisfactory experiment, as published in the newspapers) the committee caused upwards of a hundred to be made, at the expence of the association, and have delivered them over to the lord-lieutenant of the city, with the necessary complement of rope, &c. for fixing them on the carriages that have been volunteered for their reception. A certain number of these, of nearly a similar construction, have also been made and sent down to Dunbar, for the use of the artillery. The utility of these general Don acknowledges in the handsomest terms in his letter to the secretary of the association; and his royal highness the commander in

chief has also honoured the plan with his approbation, and given reason to expect that the adoption and use of it will soon become general in England and elsewhere.

5th. To render this plan more effective: when the emergency calls for putting it in practice shall arrive, the committee set apart a sum, to be proportioned out in premiums of 1st, 2d, and 3d classes, to be given to the coach and chaise hirers who shall have the greatest number of wheel-carriages mounted with frames, and ready on the shortest notice for the conveyance of troops: and to the conductors of carts who shall first reach the place to which they may be called, by signal or otherwise, by divisions of not less than ten each, due regard being had to the distance from whence they started. Premiums also were appointed, in similar classes, to the farmers or others, who shall first appear with their own carts at the place of rendezvous.

6th. The equipment of a naval force of any magnitude appeared to the association (how much soever it was to be wished for) so far beyond the compass of their funds, that they refrained, for a time, from any attempt of this sort. But when lord Hobart's letter of the 15th August, transmitting "The plan of a Voluntary Naval Armament for the protection of the coast," and recommending it to the attention of the lord-lieutenants of the maritime counties, was received, the association immediately allotted 1000*l.* of their funds, to be applied in aid of the plan. And, conceiving that the money might be more economically employed, and the plan more expeditiously carried into full effect, by an unity of direction, the committee offered



offered to deliver over this part of their funds to the lieutenancy of the county; to be added to whatever sums they (the lieutenancy) might otherwise raise for that purpose. The proposal was received by the lieutenancy with expressions of acknowledgement, but declined for reasons unnecessary to be mentioned in this report. The lord advocate, however, having afterwards given the committee to understand, that his majesty's ministers anxiously wished the equipment to be proceeded in, a plan that had been previously presented to, and approved of by the navy board in London, was adopted as a model by the committee; and, conformably thereto, a contract was immediately entered into with respectable ship-builders at Leith, for the equipment of a certain number of decked vessels, from 70 to 50 tons burden, to receive on board carronades of various calibres, and to serve as an auxiliary force when called for. Of these there are now prepared 10 vessels, completely fitted with slides, chocks, iron-bolts, sweeps, powder-chests, &c. ready for the reception of carronades, the largest to carry two 24 and two 18-pounders; the rest two 18 and one or two 12-pounders each. Beside these, there is a decked vessel of 40 tons burden, fitted up on a different plan, as an experiment, and the slides, chocks, &c. all accurately marked and numbered with the names of the vessels to which they respectively belong, are delivered over to his majesty's officers, and deposited in the naval yard at Leith, ready for the services to which they were destined. Authority was given, at the same time, for preparing twelve herring-

boats, on a plan recommended by his grace the duke of Buccleugh, and sir James St. Clair Erskine, of which the committee undertook to defray the expence.

7th. Lieut.-gen. Vyse, whose attention to the concerns of the association, and to whatever promises any addition to the means of national defence, has been uniform and unremitting, having recommended to the committee's notice the description of a newly-invented or improved gun, which, of the same calibre as a 6-pound carronade, and possessing, with half the charge of powder, nearly an equal projectile power, should weigh one-half less, and cost three-fourths less, than the guns or carronades of like power hitherto in use; the committee, to enable Mr. Roebuck the inventor to establish by experiment the reality of a fact which (if well ascertained) promised to become of so much importance to the service, caused a gun to be made at Glasgow, under his direction, and had it brought to the fort at Leith for trial. A comparative trial of this piece of ordnance has been made in the presence of competent judges; and it appears, from their report, that there is every reason to conclude that, with a few small improvements, suggested at the time of the experiment, and approved of by our distinguished commander-in-chief for Scotland, it will fully answer the expectations of the inventor.

8th. The committee, finding that the above objects had not yet wholly exhausted the funds of the association, were of opinion, that nothing could more effectually contribute to the defence of the Frith of Forth, and of the country in general, than providing



providing for the health and comfort of its defenders; and a subscription having been opened, to raise a fund for furnishing great coats, &c. to the volunteers receiving pay, the committee transferred 300*l.* of the cash remaining at the credit of the association, to that fund.

From the money expended in those and sundry other incidental disbursements, as stated in the books of the association, it appears that of 2,755*l.* 10*s.* 6*d.* the total amount of the money subscribed, there remains only a balance of 309*l.* 14*s.* 3*d.*; against which it is possible, notwithstanding all the care that has been taken, some unsettled items may still be brought forward.

When the importance of the above-recited objects, and the consequences resulting from them, are fairly considered, and compared with the limited amount of the funds the association were enabled to employ, it is hoped that the subscribers will not be of opinion that their contributions have been idly wasted, or unprofitably applied:—And should it be thought expedient to proceed in attending to, and promoting measures of a similar tendency for the general safety, their past conduct, it is to be presumed, will be deemed the surest pledge of their future care, to economise, and prudently to direct the appropriation of whatever sums shall be raised by the voluntary contributions of those who approve of what has been already done.

Ar. Campbell.

Henry Mackenzie.

Wm. Porter.

Alex. Dick, Sec. to the Association.

No. 9, St. James's-squ. Jan. 1, 1804.

*Dispatch from Col. Frazer, Commandant of the Settlement at Goree, on the Coast of Africa, containing an Account of the Capture of that Settlement by a French Force. To the Right Honourable Lord Hobart, one of the principal Secretaries of State, &c.*

*Goree, Africa, Feb. 5, 1804.*

My Lord,

On the 17th of January, about noon, a negro arrived from Yoff, and reported that a fleet had been seen from thence that morning at day-light, and appeared to be standing for Goree; before two o'clock vessels were seen from the hill behind cape Emanuel; near four they came round the cape. The squadron consisted of one ship carrying a commodore's pendant, and five armed schooners, with pendants, all shewing French colours, and with large boats towing after them. The commodore fired a gun, and hoisted a red flag at his foremast head, which we have since learnt was meant as a signal to us, that in case of attack during night, no quarter would be given. About sun set the squadron tacked, and before dark was near the anchorage, standing-in. The inhabitants having agreed to assist in defending the island against any attempt that should be made from Senegal, and being of opinion that the present force was of that nature, such measures were taken as appeared most likely to prevent the enemy from landing during the night: all the arms that could be procured were accordingly issued to the inhabitants, who, with the garrison, were stationed at the different posts round the island. The moon set at eleven, and affairs remained in the situation described, until about 3 o'clock on the

the



the 18th, when, shortly after I had returned to the breach battery, from visiting the posts, a fresh firing commenced on the east side of the island, from boats, and at the same instant a schooner came in sight, standing directly for the beach ; a strong and well-directed fire of great guns and musquetry was immediately opened upon her, and the people on board being either wounded or driven below, she drifted on shore. In the mean time the boats, to the number of eight, full of troops, had unfortunately effected a landing on the rocks, to the east side of the town, where the surf happened to be unusually low ; and having overcome the force which was opposed to them, they had penetrated through the town as far as the main guard, of which, after having been once repulsed, they gained possession, making some prisoners. The inhabitants having given way, nearly on all sides, and the enemy being now in such force on our right, it appeared advisable to form a junction with the soldiers in the north-point battery, where we should retain the command of the beach, and be ready to check any further attempt to land, until some information could be received of the strength and situation of the enemy, to enable me to judge what ought to be done.

The firing continued till towards six o'clock, when, being yet uncertain what number had landed, and in hopes that the main guard was the only post held by the enemy, I directed that it should be attacked by the soldiers I had with me ; which was executed with great alacrity, and the post carried with considerable loss on the part of the enemy. On our side it was less as to numbers, but I lost the assistance of a

very gallant officer, Doctor Heddle, being shot through the breast in the attack, when capt. Lloyd was also slightly wounded. We now learned that the enemy had possession of the hills, where capt. Lloyd proposed to attack them, a measure I should gladly have adopted, but the day beginning to break, we had the mortification of seeing them appear in such numbers, as left no room to suppose there was any probability of success, our force being reduced by killed, wounded, and prisoners, to about twenty-five soldiers, capt. Lloyd, lieut. Christie, and myself. At this time the enemy's vessels were standing in closer, apparently to land a reinforcement ; and the inhabitants seeing French colours on the hill, came to me, asking leave to treat. Under these circumstances, and exposed to the enemy's fire on all sides, farther resistance appeared vain ; I therefore felt it my duty to comply with the request of the inhabitants, and sent an officer with them, proposing terms of capitulation for the garrison. The officer who commanded the storming party having been killed, the terms of capitulation were virtually agreed to with the senior who survived, to be communicated to the commandant of the squadron : until his answer should be received, firing ceased, and we continued to occupy the battery.

The terms of capitulation being confirmed by the chevalier Mahè, the soldiers grounded their arms, and the place was surrendered. We were informed that the enemy's force consisted of four schooners, which had been fitted out at Cayenne, and supplied with soldiers for the purpose of attacking Goree ; that they had touched at Senegal, where



where they had been furnished with additional boats, pilots, and a reinforcement of soldiers, and another schooner; and where they had been joined by the ship, which happening to call at Senegal, was put in requisition for the expedition. The squadron altogether carried upwards of sixty guns, and six hundred men, two hundred and forty of whom had been landed; the whole under the command of M. Mahè, lieutenant de vaisseau. The commodore's pendant having been hoisted only while coming in, by the captain of the ship having held that rank during the late war. On the evening of the action we had fifty-four white men, including officers; and although the serjeant major was the only one who was not able to come upon the batteries; when it is considered, that several of the men, worn out by disease, and disabled by accidents, were incapable of making any great exertion; that uncertain where an attack might be made in the night, it was necessary to divide our force very much, to occupy the different posts: I hope and trust it will appear to our king and to our country, that the garrison I had the honour to command did not submit, without discharging its duty like British soldiers. Our loss consists of 1 drummer, 8 rank and file, killed; 2 officers, 8 rank and file, wounded, total 19.—Of the enemy, according to the most correct accounts I can procure, 3 officers and 40 men killed, or since dead; 2 officers and upwards of 30 men, wounded, total 75.—Captain Lloyd, who has already, upon several occasions been mentioned as a

deserving officer, both here and at Sierra Leone, continues to merit very great praise. Doctor Heddle having proposed some time back to do military duty, I gladly accepted his offer, and he has given me great assistance. His wound, which was at first thought to be mortal, has since taken a favourable turn, and I am happy to add, I think he will recover; and I earnestly wish to recommend him to your lordships' notice, as distinguished by his conduct upon this occasion, and also by his attention to his medical duties, since we came to Africa.

On the 18th of January, in the evening, the British soldiers were embarked on board the French squadron, until a cartel should be made ready for them. On the 23rd the officers and soldiers went on board a sloop which was sent as a cartel to Senegal, where a larger vessel was preparing to carry them to England. I am sorry to add, that, notwithstanding the articles of capitulation, the inhabitants, officers, and even soldiers, have been shamefully pillaged.

I am, &c.

John Fraser.

*List of the French Force.*—Division from Cayenne, having on board troops from the eighth demi-brigade, and from the Cayenne volunteers. Schooner La Vigie, M. Mahè, lieutenant de vaisseau, commandant, 2 guns, 14 swivels and 90 men. Schooner la Renommée, citizen Renaud, 14 guns and 85 men.\* Schooner l'Oiseau, 10 guns and 80 men. Division from Senegal with a detachment of the 46th brigade, La Rosalie; Ducraneau, enseigne de

\* This vessel was afterwards burnt by his majesty's sloop Penguin, capt. Morris, on the 17th of March, off Senegal Bar.



vaisseau, 2 guns and 80 men. Division from Rochelle, the ship l'Oncle Thomas, Papin ci-devant capitaine de vaisseau, 20 guns and 230 men.

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*Dispatch addressed to the Secretary of the Board of Admiralty, dated March 15th, Goree, announcing the re-capture of that Settlement, from Capt. Dickson, of his Majesty's Ship the Inconstant.*

Sir,

I have the honour to acquaint you, for the information of my lords commissioners of the Admiralty, of the arrival of his majesty's ship under my command, and the vessels named in the margin,\* off the island of Goree, on the morning of the 7th March, but, conceiving it possible that it might be in the possession of the enemy (although English colours were hoisted on the citadel, and sentinels cloathed in red placed on the different batteries), I brought to with the convoy, and directed Mr. Charles Pickford, my first lieutenant, to proceed on shore in the cutter, and, if he found it in the hands of the English, to make the signal I established for that purpose. At sun-set, not any signal having been made, nor the appearance of the boat, I came to anchor with the convoy a little out of gun-shot; and, deeming it highly necessary to gain some information with respect to the garrison, I ordered, at 10 o'clock, P. M. three boats, manned and armed, under the direction of Mr. Runciman, midshipman, to proceed into the harbour, and cut out any of the vessels he could find, which he

did in a gallant manner, by bringing out a ship, under a heavy fire from the batteries, which sunk our cutter, and wounded one man. From her I learned, that the French had been in possession of Goree since the 18th of January, and that they had 300 black and white troops in the garrison. On the 8th inst. at daylight, I weighed and stood to the westward of the island, to prevent any succours being thrown in by sea from Senegal, and, on the evening of the same day, being determined to attack it, having ordered scaling-ladders to be made for that purpose, at nine P. M. anchored, and ordered all the boats of the convoy to be sent on board the Inconstant, and after embarking as many troops as they could possibly stow, I found they would not carry a sufficient number to promise success; I therefore postponed the attack until the arrival of one of our convoy, which was in sight, standing into the bay, as her three boats could carry from 30 to 40 more men. At daylight on the morning of the 9th instant, we were agreeably surprised by seeing the English colours hoisted over the French; and shortly after I received information from lieutenant Pickford, that the garrison had capitulated with him. I instantly stood into the harbour with the convoy; anchored, and disembarked the troops. Conceiving it of importance that his majesty's ministers should be made acquainted as soon as possible with the recapture of this island, I have purchased a small brig, and sent my first lieutenant, Mr. Charles Pickford, an intelligent and deserving officer, to England, who will have the honour to present my dispatches;

\* Eagle store-ship, Hamilton, Venus, Jenny.



and I beg leave to recommend him in the strongest manner to their lordships' favour. I have appointed captain William Murray, senior officer of the troops, to be commandant of Goree, till his majesty's pleasure is known; and Mr. Wm. Arnold, master's mate, to be lieutenant of the *Inconstant*, vice Pickford, and hope it will meet their lordships' approbation. The moment I can get a sufficient supply of water and provisions landed, and put the island into a proper state of defence, I shall proceed, and put their lordships' orders into execution. I cannot conclude my letter without assuring their lordships that the greatest cordiality existed between the officers, seamen, and soldiers; and, had an attack been found necessary, from the handsome manner they volunteered their services, I am persuaded they would have done honour to their country.

E. S. Dickson.

[Next follow the articles of capitulation, in which there is nothing particular; and a list of the ordnance on the island of Goree, when taken possession of by the English.]

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*Interesting narrative of the loss of his majesty's ship the Apollo, J. W. T. Dixon, esq. captain, with about forty sail of her convoy, on the coast of Portugal, three leagues north of Cape Mondego, when on her passage for the West Indies, on the 2nd of April 1804.*

Monday the 26th of March, sailed from the Cove of Cork, in company with his majesty's ship *Carysfort*, and 69 sail of merchant-men, under convoy for the West Indies. Twenty-seventh, were out of sight

of land with a fair wind, blowing a strong gale, and steering about W. S. W. The 28th, 29th, and 30th, weather and course nearly the same. Thirty-first, the wind came more to the westward, but more moderate. Sunday the 1st of April at noon, observed in latitude 40 deg. 51 min. north longitude, per account, 12 deg. 29 min. west. At 8 o'clock on Sunday evening, the wind shifted to the south-west, blowing fresh; course S.S.E. At ten, up mainsail and set the main-staysail, split by the sheet giving way; called all hands upon deck. At half past ten, strong breezes and squally; took in the fore topsail and set the foresail. At half past eleven the main-topsail split; furlled it and the mainsail. The ship was now under her foresail, main and mizen storm-staysails; the wind blowing hard, with a heavy sea. About half past three on Monday morning, the 2nd, the ship struck the ground, to the astonishment of every one on board, and by the above reckoning, we then conjectured upon an unknown shoal. She continued striking the ground very heavy several times, by which her bottom was materially damaged, and making much water, the chain-pumps were rigged with the utmost dispatch, and the men began to pump; but in about ten minutes she beat and drove over the shoal. On endeavouring to steer her, found the rudder carried away; she then got before the wind. The pumps were kept going, but from the quantity of water she shipped, there was every probability of her soon foundering, as she was filling and sinking very fast.

After running about five minutes, the ship struck the ground again with



with such tremendous shocks, that we were fearful she would instantly go to pieces, and kept striking and driving further on the sands, the sea making breaches completely over her. Cut away the lanyards of the main and mizen rigging, and the masts fell with a tremendous crash over the larboard side, with the gunwale under water. The violence with which she struck the ground, and the weight of the guns (those on the quarter-deck tearing away the bulwark) soon made the ship a perfect wreck abaft: only four or five guns could possibly be fired to alarm the convoy, and give notice of danger. On her striking the second time most pitiful cries were heard every where between decks, many of the men giving themselves up to inevitable death. I was told that I might as well stay below, as there was an equal likelihood of perishing if I got upon deck. I was determined to go, but first attempted to enter my cabin, and was in danger of having my legs broken by the chests floating about, and the bulk heads were giving way. I therefore desisted and endeavoured to get upon deck, which I effected after being several times washed down the hatchway by the immense volume of water incessantly pouring down. The ship still beating the ground very heavy, made it necessary to cling fast to some part of the wreck, to prevent being washed by the surges or hurled by the dreadful concussions over-board; the people holding fast by the larboard bulwark of the quarter-deck, and in the main channel, while our good captain stood naked upon the cabin skylight-grating, holding fast by the stump of the mizen mast, and making use of every soothing

expression which could have been suggested to encourage men in such a perilous situation. Most of the officers and men were entirely naked, not having had time to slip on even a pair of trowsers. Our horrible situation every moment became more dreadful until daylight appearing about half past four o'clock, discovered to us the land at about two cables' distance; a long sandy beach reaching to Cape Mondego, three leagues to the south of us. On daylight clearing up we could perceive between twenty and thirty sail of the convoy ashore, both to the northward and southward, and several of them perfect wrecks. We were now certain of being on the coast of Portugal, from seeing the above Cape, though I am sorry to say no person in the ship had the least idea of being so near that coast. It blowing hard and a very great swell of the sea, (or what is generally termed, waves running mountains high,) there was little prospect of being saved. About eight o'clock, there being every likelihood of the ship going to pieces, and the after part laying lowest, captain Dixon ordered every person forward, which it was very difficult to comply with from the motion of the main mast working on the larboard gunwale, there being no other way to get forward. Mr. Cook, the boatswain, had his thigh broke in endeavouring to get a boat over the side. Of six fine boats not one was saved, being all stove and washed over-board with the booms, &c. Soon after the people got forward the ship parted at the gangways. The crew were now obliged to stow themselves in the fore channels, and from thence to the bowsprit end, to the number of 220;



for, out of 240 persons on board, when the ship first struck, I suppose 20 to have previously perished between decks and otherwise. Mr. Lawton, the gunner, the first person who attempted to swim ashore, was drowned: afterwards lieutenant Wilson, Mr. Runcie, surgeon, Mr. M'Cabe, surgeon's mate, Mr. Stanley, master's mate, and several men, shared the same fate, by reason of the sea breaking in enormous surges over them, though excellent swimmers. About thirty persons had the good fortune to reach the shore, upon planks and spars; among whom were, lieutenant Hervey and Mr. Callam, master's mate. Monday night our situation was truly horrid, the old men and boys dying through hunger and fatigue; also Messrs. Proby and Hayes, midshipmen. Captain Dixon remained all this night upon the bowsprit. Tuesday morning presented us no better prospect of being relieved from the jaws of death, the wind blowing stronger and the sea much more turbulent. About noon this day, our drooping spirits were somewhat raised by seeing lieutenant Hervey and Mr. Callam hoisting out a boat from one of the merchant ships, to come to the assistance of their distressed shipmates. They several times attempted to launch her through the surf; but being a very heavy boat, and the sea on the beach acting so powerfully against them, they could not possibly effect it, though assisted by nearly 100 of the merchant sailors and Portuguese peasants. Several men went upon rafts this day made from pieces of the wreck, but not one soul reached the shore; the wind having shifted, and the current setting out, they were all driven to

sea; among whom was our captain, who, about three in the afternoon, went on the jib-boom with three seaman; anxious to save the remainder of the ship's company, and too sanguine of getting safe on shore, he ventured upon the spar, saying, on jumping into the sea, "My lads, I'll save you all." In a few seconds he lost his hold of the spar, which he could not regain: he drifted to sea, and perished. Such was also the fate of the three brave volunteers who chose his fortune.

The loss of our captain, who, until now, had animated the almost lifeless crew; as well as the noble exertions of lieutenant Hervey and Mr. Callam to launch the boat not succeeding; every gleam of hope vanished, and we looked forward for certain death the ensuing night; not only from cold, hunger, and fatigue, but the expectation of the remaining part of the wreck going to pieces every moment. Had not the *Apollo* been a new and well-built ship, that small portion of her could never have resisted the waves, and stuck so well together; particularly as all the after-part from the chess-trees was gone, the starboard-bow under water, the fore-castle-deck nearly perpendicular, the weight of the guns hanging to the larboard-bulwark on the inside, and the bower and spare anchors on the outside, which it was not prudent to cut away, as they afforded resting-places to a considerable number of men, there being only the fore-chains and cathead where it was possible to live in, and about which were stowed upwards of 150 men; it being impracticable to continue any longer in the head, or upon the bowsprit, by reason of the breakers washing



washing completely over those places. The night drawing on, the wind increasing, frequent showers of rain, the sea washing over us, and looking every instant for the fore-castle giving way, when we must have all perished together, afforded a spectacle truly deplorable; the bare recollection of which, even now, makes me shudder. The piercing cries of the dismal night, at every sea coming over us, which happened every two minutes, were pitiful in the extreme; the water running from the head down all over the body, keeping us continually wet. This shocking night the remaining strength of every person was exerted for his individual safety. From the crowding so close together in so narrow a compass, and the want of something to moisten their mouths, several poor wretches were suffocated; which frequently reminded me of the black-hole, with this only difference, that these poor sufferers were confined by strong walls, we by water; the least movement without clinging fast, would have launched us into eternity. Some unfortunate wretches drank salt water, several their own urine, some chewed leather, myself and many more chewed lead, from which we conceived we found considerable relief, by reason of its drawing the saliva, which we swallowed. In less than an hour after the ship struck the ground, all the provisions were under water, and the ship a wreck, so that it was impossible to procure any part. After the most painful night that it is possible to conceive, on day-light appearing, we observed lieutenant Hervey and Mr. Callam again endeavouring to launch the boat. Several attempts were made without

success, a number of men belonging to the merchant ships being much bruised and hurt in assisting. Alternate hopes and fears now pervaded our wretched minds: fifteen men got safe on shore this morning on pieces of the wreck. About three in the afternoon of Wednesday the 4th, we had the inexpressible happiness of seeing the boat launched through the surf, by the indefatigable exertion of the above officers, assisted by the masters of the merchant ships, with a number of Portuguese peasants, who were encouraged by Mr. Whitney, the British Consul, from Figuiera. All the crew then remaining on the wreck were brought safe on shore, praising God for their happy deliverance from a shipwreck, which never had its parallel. As soon as I stepped out of the boat, I found several persons whose humanity prompted them to offer me sustenance, though improperly, in spirits, which I avoided as much as possible. Our weak state may be conceived, when it is considered that we received no nourishment from Sunday to Wednesday afternoon, and continually exposed to the fury of the watery element. After eating and drinking a little, I found myself weaker than before; occasioned, I apprehend, from having been so long without either. Some men died soon after getting on shore, from imprudently drinking two large a quantity of spirits. All the crew were in a very weak and exhausted state, the greater part being badly bruised and wounded. About forty sail of merchant ships were wrecked at the same time on this dreadful beach. Some ships sunk with all their crew, and almost every ship lost from two to twelve men each; yet the situ-



ation of the remainder was not equal to that of the frigate's ship's company, as the merchant ships drawing a less draught of water, were mostly driven close on the shore, and no person remained on board them after the first morning. The masters of the merchant ships had tents upon the beach, and some provisions they had saved from the wrecks, which they very generously distributed, and gave every assistance to the Apollo's ship's company. Thus was lost one of the finest frigates in the British Navy, with sixty-one of her crew. The number of souls lost in the merchants' ships was also considerable. Dead bodies were every day floating ashore, and pieces of wreck covered the beach upwards of ten miles in extent.

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*Interesting Account of the Capture of the Atalante Dutch National Brig, mounting 16 Long Twelve-pounders, and 76 Men\*, in a Letter from Captain G. N. Hardinge, to his Father, Mr. Justice Hardinge.*

*Scorpion, April 7, 1804.*

My ever dearest friend,—I am on my way to the Nore, after six days of severe, but unrepented fatigue, and have sixty Dutch prisoners on board: we are accompanied by the Atalante, a Dutch war brig of sixteen guns, prize to us. I was ordered on the 28th to reconnoitre at Vlie, and perceived a couple of the enemy's brigs at anchor in the roads. Despairing to reach them with my ship, on account of the shoals that surrounded the entrance, I determined upon a dash at the outermost one in

the boats, if a good opportunity could be made, or found. It came unsolicited March 31. Preparing to embark, we accidentally were joined by the Beaver sloop, who offered us her boats to act in concert with ours. We accepted the reinforcement, under an impression, that it would spare lives on both sides, and would shorten the contest. At half past nine in the evening, we began the enterprize in three boats from the Scorpion, and two from the Beaver. Captain Pelly (a very intelligent and spirited officer) did me the honour to serve under me as a volunteer in one of his boats. We had near sixty men, including officers, headed by your humble servant in the foremost boat. As we rowed with tide flood, we arrived along-side the enemy at half past eleven. I had the good fortune, or (as by some it has been considered) the honour, to be the first man who boarded her. She was prepared for us, with board-nettings up and with all the other customary implements of defence. But the noise and the alarm, &c. so intimidated her crew, that many of them ran below in a panic, leaving to us the painful duty of combating those whom we respected the most. The decks were slippery in consequence of rain, so that grappling with my first opponent, a mate of the watch, I fell, but recovered my position,—fought him upon equal terms, and killed him. I then engaged the captain, as brave a man as any service ever boasted; he had almost killed one of my seamen. To my shame be it spoken, he disarmed me, and was on the point of killing me, when a seaman of mine came up, rescued me,

\* Vide Chronicle, Page 379.



me, at the peril of his own life,—and enabled me to recover my sword. At this time all the men were come from the boats, and were in possession of the deck. Two were going to fall upon the captain at once. I ran up—held them back,—and then adjured him to accept quarters. With inflexible heroism he disdained the gift,—kept us at bay, and compelled us to kill him—he fell, covered with honourable wounds. The vessel was ours, and we secured the hatches, which, headed by a lieutenant, who has received a desperate wound, they attempted repeatedly to force. Thus far we had been fortunate;—but we had another enemy to fight; it was the element. A sudden gale, and shifted against us, impeded all the efforts we could make. But, as we had made the capture, we determined at all events to sustain it, or to perish. We made the Dutch below surrender—put forty of them into their own irons,—and stationed our men to their guns; brought the powder up, and made all the necessary arrangements to attack the other brig. But as the day broke, and without abatement of the wind, she was off, at such a distance, and in such a position, that we had no chance to reach her. In this extremity of peril we remained eight and forty hours. Two of the boats had broke a-drift from us; two had swampd alongside. The wind shifted again, and we made a push to extricate ourselves, but found the navigation so difficult, that it required the intense labour of three days to accomplish it. We carried the point at last, and were commended by the admiral for our perseverance. You will see in the Gazette my letter to him. I aimed at modesty, and am a little afraid that

in the pursuit of this object I may have left material facts a little too indefinite, if not obscure. The Atalante's captain and four others were killed; eleven are wounded, and so dreadfully that our surgeon thinks every one of them will die. To the end of my existence I shall regret the captain—he was a perfect hero; and, if his crew had been like him, critical indeed would have been our peril. The Atalante is much larger than my vessel; and she mounted 16 long twelve pounders: we have not a single brig that is equal to that calibre. Her intended complement was 200 men;—but she had only 76 on-board. I expect your joy by the return of the post.

P. S. In two days after the captain's death, he was buried with all the naval honours in my power to bestow upon him; during the ceremony of his interment, the English colours disappeared, and the Dutch were hoisted in their place. All the Dutch officers were liberated—one of them pronounced an éloge on the hero they had lost—and we fired three volleys over him as he descended into the deep.

Ever affectionately,  
and gratefully yours,  
Geo. N. Hardinge.

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*Ceremonial of the Presentation of Colours to the Loyal London Volunteers, May 18th, 1804.*

At eight o'clock this morning the different regiments repaired to the places appointed for their embarkation, which was thus arranged: In the first boats, the commander and field officers, adjutants excepted. 2d, The band. 3d, The Regiment. 4th, The adjutant and quarter-master.

M m 4



ter. After the embarkation, some of the boats having to pass through London-bridge, it was ten o'clock before they all reached the place of rendezvous off the Tower. Precisely at a quarter before 9 o'clock, the earl of Harrington arrived at the Mansion-house, accompanied by lady Harrington, lord Petersham, and lady Anne Maria Stanhope, and his staff. About the same time arrived the sheriffs of London. The whole party immediately set off to the Tower-stairs, in order of procession as they arrived, preceded by the lord mayor's carriage and six horses, in which were his family. Having reached the water-side, the earl of Harrington and the lord mayor alighted, and repaired to the governor's of the Tower, where they met his royal highness the duke of York, and his four aides-de-camp, with whom they returned, and embarked immediately, together with the rest of their party, under a royal salute from the Tower, and proceeded without further delay, accompanied by the committee's barge for the day, and the lord Nelson barge, in which were several persons of distinction. As this part of the flotilla moved along, they were preceded and followed by some hundreds of boats, many of which were elegantly decorated. An equal number still remained with the river fencible boats, containing the volunteer regiments, which was attended with a happy effect; for, had the whole of the flotilla moved off together, the attraction would have been confined to one spot, and the river would have been blocked up from the immense number of boats. The shores on each side of the river were crowded with people. The tops of the houses were covered;

nor was there a spot in the whole distance to Greenwich unoccupied. The ships in the river vied with each other on the occasion, in their fanciful decorations. All the way as the flotilla passed, it was saluted with incessant discharges from temporary batteries on shore, and the ships in the river. The whole of the business on the river was conducted with the greatest regularity. Four river fencible boats preceded the barges, to keep a clear stage, and each boat mounted an 18lb. carronade, and was well manned. On the lord mayor's barge arriving opposite the Thames police office, the volunteers belonging to that establishment were drawn out in boats and saluted it. The same attention was paid by the volunteers at the West India docks, who appeared on the banks in military array, and fired three volleys with great precision. At Deptford the militia of the Tower Hamlets saluted. The several divisions of boats did not proceed from the Tower until near half an hour after the lord mayor's barge. Each division was commanded by an officer of the river fencibles; and space of about 150 yards was allowed between each division. The first division, which comprised the 1st regiment, was contained in 9 boats. The second regiment occupied 12 boats; the 4th 11, and the rest about the same proportion. The bands of each regiment played all the way, and produced a most charming effect upon the water. The same good order which had hitherto prevailed, existed at the disembarkation at Greenwich. The company in the lord mayor's barge landed at the centre stairs, and were all hospitably received at the governor's house until it was time to repair



pair to the heath. The other two city barges, and the duke of Manchester's yacht, landed their companies at the same place. The disembarkation having thus taken place, the Greenwich pensioners lined the different corners of the hospital in their holiday cloaths. The park of artillery from Woolwich, placed on the left of the landing, gave its repeated discharges; and the different corps belonging to the neighbourhood lined the shore from right to left, and presented arms to each regiment. On their arrival at the bottom of Greenwich-hill, the whole formed into a kind of close column, in order to proceed to Blackheath. The river fencibles, under the command of commodore Lucas, assisted by a detachment of the Westminster light horse, formed an opening through the crowd, from the bottom of the hill to the gate leading on to the heath. The committee led the van, preceded by a band, with the ten pair of colours, and standards for the cavalry. On their arrival at the top of the hill, they drew up on the right of the gate, and the regiments passed them in companies, according to seniority of number, headed by his royal highness the duke of York, attended by his staff, to the heath, and took up their ground, which extended for full two miles, being the whole extremity of the spot. On their being formed they stood nearly in the following order:—On the right of the line were the London volunteer cavalry, with their field-pieces, dismounted, in their flying cars, &c. which, with 1st and 2d regiments, formed on their left, with their backs towards Woolwich, at the extremity of the heath that way: 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, and 9th, formed an

angle on the 1st and 2d, and extended across towards the London-road; the 10th and 11th forming another angle on them, facing the 1st and 2d. They being now in full readiness to receive the lord mayor, committee, and attendants, his royal highness dispatched an aid-de-camp, to acquaint the mayor and members of the corporation, that the troops were ready to receive them; on which his lordship headed the colours, and proceeded to the centre of the troops, when, on a gun being fired, the whole line presented arms, officers saluted, drums beat, &c. On another gun being fired, a standard guard from the London volunteer cavalry, and the grenadiers, accompanied by the ensigns who were to receive the colours, and preceded by their respective bands, advanced to a position which lord Harrington had marked for them in the centre, and where his royal highness and the lord mayor had placed themselves. The eleven companies of grenadiers, and the standard guard of the cavalry, formed a circle round them, in which were her royal highness princess Charlotte of Wales, the lord mayor's party, and from 6 to 700 person's of rank and distinction. The colours were now unfurled, and consecrated in the most solemn manner by the rev. John Perring, chaplain; after which the ensigns came forward, and, kneeling down, received them with a speech from the right hon. the lord mayor, which was alike creditable to his lordship's manly feelings and just understanding. "I cannot (said his lordship) but consider myself peculiarly fortunate in being called on, by my official situation, to discharge a duty so gratifying as that which, on the present



present occasion, has devolved on me. Gentlemen, it would be a vain attempt for me to describe the sensations to which this sublime spectacle gives birth.—Powers, far superior to mine, could not do justice to the scene which here presents itself—could pay but an inadequate tribute of applause to those gallant and patriotic bands, who, roused by the voice of honour, yield their pleasures and their occupations a willing sacrifice at the shrine of their country. Yes, it remained for the present age to prove, that the citizens of London inherit the same ardent spirit, glow with the same devotion to the sacred cause of freedom and independence, as distinguished their immortal ancestors, who, in the proudest periods of Britain's fame, were still most conspicuous in the career of glory. It was reserved for the present age to prove the falsehood of the imputation, that the genius of commerce had subdued the fire of freedom in our breasts; and to evince that those, who by civilization and industry best learn to acquire wealth, by their intrepidity and exertions best know how to preserve it. Gentlemen, to your perseverance and attention, as well as to the ardour of those you command, are to be attributed their high state of discipline and appearance. Your own feelings, and the approbation of your country, are the most honourable, and, I am sure, to you the most gratifying reward. Gentlemen, in presenting to you the colours, a tribute of the gratitude of your fellow citizens, and the best mark of their attachment to their brethren in arms, allow me to say, I rely with confidence, that you will receive them as the most sacred deposit which can be entrusted to

your care: and, that as the city of London is the first in the united kingdom, its citizens will be the first to afford a bright example of devotion, in a cause of which they have already shewn themselves so worthy." This speech being finished, the ensigns kneeled down, and each received the colours of their respective regiments. Colonel Birch, of the 1st regiment, as superior colonel, then replied to the lord mayor, in the following very elegant and excellent speech:

"My Lord—In the name, and on behalf, of the ten regiments of loyal London volunteer infantry, I enter upon the grateful and distinguished office assigned me with peculiar pride, to return your lordship thanks for the handsome way in which you have, in the name of the corporation of the city of London, conferred this high honour upon them. The sublime and interesting ceremony of presenting these colours from the first city in the world to her sons in arms, in token of their approbation, confidence and esteem, in the presence of so august and numerous an assemblage, overwhelms the mind with sensations which it cannot but proudly feel; and robs the tongue of that power of utterance which is adequate to the glorious subject. The foe with whom we have to contend, with unwearied boasting, threatens to subdue a loyal and united people, affectionate to the best of kings, attached to the reverend constitution handed down to them by their ancestors, born to the purity of freedom, and inheriting an independence unknown to other countries. My lord, he may calculate upon a mad attempt to desolate our fields, depopulate our villages, despoil us of



our possessions, and, in the desperate phrenzy of baffled ambition and an intercepted career of universal dominion, may vainly hope and rashly prepare for the overthrow of that constitution which has been our glory for ages. But it is that constitution itself which is at once our citadel and treasure. It cements our liberties; is the sacred deposit of all our possessions; furnishes our best means of defence; is the grand chain of connexion by which all ranks are upheld, harmonized, and respected, and in defence of which all orders unite with one hand and one heart. It is the security of our homes; by which the sweetest, most endearing, and most-ennobling charities of social and domestic life are hallowed and preserved. Can then that constitution be endangered by the extravagant and formidable threats of this desperate invader?—Never! Never! I trust; for the palladium of British liberty is the bosom of every Briton born. He must first extirpate the human race from this island, before he can hope to subdue that unextinguishable spirit which animated our forefathers to those successful deeds, which obtained for us all the blessings which we now enjoy. The volunteer force of this country has already attracted the notice, and provoked the affected derision and mockery of this consular tyrant; but the volunteers are too well trained to return railing for railing, and too high-minded to boast of untried services. Their answer, when the occasion demands it, will be given once for all. The pledge they have offered of their zeal and industry to acquire the knowledge of the use of arms, is a safe one—that in the conflict they will acquit themselves like men and

Britons. It will be ever our peculiar glory to reflect, that the metropolis of Britain can record its thousands armed for the general safety, and ready to perish whenever or wherever called upon in defence of their beloved king and country. The city of London has deposited a sacred charge to their keeping, which they will never forsake while life remains. They are sensible of the honour conferred; and I pledge myself, in the hour of trial, they will prove themselves not unworthy the confidence reposed in them.” This was followed by an animated reply from colonel Anderton, on behalf of the loyal London cavalry. The ensigns then placed themselves, with their colours, in the centre of their respective companies, who faced to the right-about, and marched in ordinary time to their regiments. This was a grand sight indeed; in every direction was to be seen standards bearing down to their regiments, supported by companies of grenadiers. On the colours being paraded in front of each regiment, the word was given to form circle of battalions, when the commanding officer of each addressed his regiment in a short speech on the occasion. The corps here gave three cheers, and being, by another signal gun, thrown into line, they fired three volleys of battalions, from right to left of the line, in a masterly style. On another gun being fired, the whole line wheeled backward by companies, and by another signal gun being fired, stepped off altogether in ordinary time, to pass the royal party in review order. Her royal highness princess Charlotte of Wales, in a close carriage, was on the right about three hundred yards; and by order of his royal



royal highness the duke of York, received from each company, as they passed, a royal salute. The colours of each waved on the ground, as they passed her highness; which compliments she returned with a wave of her hand from her bosom, in a very attractive manner. The duke of York received also, as the regiments passed, a royal salute. After the London regiments were passed the royal party, the royal artillery company with their field pieces, the cities of London and Westminster light horse volunteers, with their dismounted cavalry, and flying cars, and the Deptford volunteers, passed by their highnesses. The ground was kept in an admirable manner by the following corps: London light horse volunteers, Westminster volunteer cavalry, St. James's volunteers, the custom-house regiment, the Blackheath volunteer cavalry, the Greenwich volunteers, the Deptford volunteers, and the royal artillery company. The two latter regiments embarked with their band on board the boats that brought the others down, and, under the command of the naval officers and capt. Lucas, were safely landed in London. The ten London regiments marched to town under the command of their respective colonels. The captain of the marine society's ship, in order to add to the interest of the scene, and to display the object of that excellent institution, arranged the boys in the most judicious manner in the rigging, where they cheered the duke of York, the lord mayor, and the respective regiments, as they passed. Several governors and gentlemen were on board. It is with pleasure we add, that no accident occurred to interrupt the general satisfaction.—After the busi-

ness of the day was concluded, the lord mayor and lady mayoress set off in their coach and six, escorted as far as Deptford, by sir Thomas Wilson and the Blackheath volunteer cavalry. In the evening, the lord mayor gave a grand dinner to the duke of York, lords Harrington and Amherst, generals Burrard and Leslie and their suite; sir Brook Watson and the London staff, the sheriffs of London, colonel sir John Eamer, Le Mesurier, and the commandants of the volunteer regiments who came home in time. His royal highness remained at the Mansion-house until past twelve o'clock, highly delighted with the spectacle of the day, as well as the attention of the chief magistrate.

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*Dispatch from Commodore Sir Sidney Smith, containing an account of his attack upon the French flotilla, dated Antelope, at anchor off Ostend, May 17th, addressed to Lord Kieth, K. B. &c. &c. &c.*

My Lord,

Information from all quarters, and the evident state of readiness in which the enemy's armaments were in Helvoet, Flushing, and Ostend, indicating the probability of a general movement from those ports, I reinforced captain Manby, off Helvoet, with one ship, and directed captain Hancock, of the Cruizer, stationed in shore, to combine his operations and the Rattler's with the squadron of gunboats stationed off Ostend. The Antelope, Penelope, and Amiable, occupied a central position in sight both of Flushing and Ostend, in anxious expectation of the enemy's appearance. Yesterday at half past five A. M. I received



received information from captain Hancock, then off Ostend, that the enemy's flotilla was hauling out of that pier, and had already 21 one-masted vessels, and one schooner outside in the roads; and at half past seven the same morning I had the satisfaction to see the Flushing flotilla, of 59 sail, viz. two ship-rigged praams, 19 schooners, and 38 schuyts, steering along shore from that port towards Ostend, under circumstances which allowed me to hope I should be able to bring them to action. The signal was made in the Cruizer and Rattler for an enemy in the E. S. E. to call their attention from Ostend; the squadron weighed the moment the flood made, and allowed of the heavier ships following them over the banks; the signals to chase and engage were obeyed with alacrity, spirit, and judgment by the active and experienced officers your lordship has done me the honour to place under my orders. Captains Hancock and Mason attacked this formidable line with the greatest gallantry and address, attaching themselves particularly to the two praams, both of them of greater force than themselves, independent of the cross fire from the schooners and schuyts; I sent the Amiable by signal to support them. The Penelope (having an able pilot, Mr. Thornton), on signal being made to engage, capt. Broughton worked up to the centre of the enemy's line, as near as the shoal water would allow, while the Antelope went round the Stroom Sand to cut the van off from Ostend. Unfortunately our gun-boats were not in sight, having, as I understood since, devoted their attention to preventing the Ostend division from moving westward. The enemy at-

tempted to get back to Flushing; but being harrassed by the Cruizer and the Rattler, and the wind coming more easterly against them, they were obliged to run the gauntlet to the westward, keeping close to the beach under the protection of the batteries. Having found a passage for the Antelope within the Stroom Sand, she was enabled to bring her broad-side to bear on the headmost schooners before they got the length of Ostend. The leader struck immediately and the crew deserted her: she was however recovered by the followers. The artillery from the town and camp, and the rowing gun-boats from the pier, keep up a constant and well-directed fire for their support; our shot, however, which went over the schooners, going ashore among the horse artillery, interrupted it in a degree; still, however, it was from the shore we received the greatest annoyance; for the schooners and schuyts crowding along could not bring their prow guns to bear without altering their course towards us, which they could not venture; and their side guns, though numerous and well-served, were very light. In this manner the Penelope and Antelope engaged every part of their long line from four to eight, while the Amiable, Cruizer, and Rattler, continued to press their rear. Since two o'clock the sternmost praam struck her colours and ran on shore: but the artillery-men from the army got on board, and she renewed her fire on the Amiable with the precision of a land battery, from which that ship suffered much. Captain Bolton speaks much in praise of lieutenant Mather, who is wounded. Several of the schooners and schuyts immediately under the fire of the ships,



ships, were driven on shore in the like manner, and recovered by the army. At eight, the tide falling and leaving us in little more water than we could draw, we were reluctantly obliged to haul off into deeper water to keep afloat, and the enemy's vessels that were not on shore, or too much shattered, were thus able to reach Ostend,—these and the Ostend division have hauled into the bason. I have anchored in such a position as to keep an eye on them; and I shall endeavour to close with them again if they move into deeper water. I have to regret that, from the depth of water in which these vessels move, gun-boats only can act against them with effect: four have joined me, and I have sent them in to see what they can do with the praam that is on shore. I have great satisfaction in bearing testimony to your lordship of the gallant and steady conduct of the captains, commanders, officers, seamen, and marines, under my orders. Captains Hancock and Mason bore the brunt of the attack, and continued it for six hours against a great superiority of fire, particularly from the army on shore, the howitzer shells annoying them much. These officers deserve the highest praise I can give them. They speak of the conduct of their lieutenants, officers, and crews, in terms of warm panegyric. Messrs. Budd and Dalyell, from the Antelope, acted in the absence of two lieutenants of those ships. Lieutenants Garrety and Patful, commanding the Favourite and Stag cutters, did their best with their small guns against greater numbers of greater calibre. Lieut. Hillier, of the Antelope, gave me all the assistance and support on her quar-

ter-deck his ill-state of health would permit. Lieut. Stokes and Mr. Slessor, acting lieutenants, directed the fire on the lower and main-decks with coolness and precision. It would be the highest injustice if I omitted to mention the intrepid conduct of Mr. Lewis, the master, Mr. Nunn and Mr. Webb, pilots, to whose steadiness, skill, and attention, particularly the former, I shall ever feel myself indebted, for having brought the Antelope into action within the sands, where certainly the enemy could not expect to be met by a ship of her size; and for having allowed her to continue engaged with commodore Verheuil, to the last minute it was possible to remain in such shoal-water, with a falling tide. It is but justice to say, the enemy's commodore pursued a steady course notwithstanding our fire, and returned it with spirit to the last. I could not detach open boats in the enemy's line, to pick up those vessels which had struck, and were deserted, mixed as they were with those still firing. Capt. Hancock sent me one schuyt that had hauled out of the line and surrendered. She had a lieutenant and 23 soldiers of the 48th regiment, with five Dutch seamen on board. She is so useful here, I cannot part with her yet. Inclosed is a list of our loss, which, though great, is less than might have been expected, owing to the enemy's directing their fire at our masts. The Rattler and the Cruizer have of course suffered most in the latter respect, but are nearly ready for service again. The smoke would not allow us to see the effect of our shot on the enemy; but their loss, considering the number of them under our guns for so long, must be great in proportion. We



We see the mast-heads above water of three of the schooners and one of the schuyts which were sunk.

W. Sidney Smith.

Lord Keith. K. B.

&c. &c. &c.

*Return of Killed and Wounded on board his Majesty's Ships and Vessels in Action with the Enemy's Flotilla, May 16, 1804.*

Antelope: 2 seamen and 1 private marine, wounded. Penelope: 3 seamen, killed; and 4 seamen, wounded. Amiable: Mr. Christie, master's-mate, Mr. Johnson, midshipman, four seamen, and 1 boy, killed; lieut. W. Mather, Mr. Shawell, purser, Mr. Connor, midshipman, and 11 seamen, wounded. Cruizer: 1 seaman killed; Mr. George Ellis, clerk, and 3 seamen, wounded. Total: 2 petty officers, 10 seamen, and 1 boy, killed; 1 lieut. 1 purser, 4 petty officers, 25 seamen, and one private marine, wounded.

W. Sidney Smith.

*Account of the success of the British arms at Surinam, from the dispatches of M. G. Sir Charles Green, and received by Earl Camden, June 22d, 1804. Dated Paramaribo, May 13,*

My Lord,

It is highly gratifying to me to have the honour of informing your Lordship that the colony of Surinam has surrendered to his majesty's arms; and I have the further satisfaction to acquaint your lordship, that this valuable acquisition to the British dominions has been made with very little loss on the part of his majesty's troops. In my dis-

patches from Barbadoes of the 2d of April, I had the honour to repeat to your lordship that the arrangements for proceeding on the expedition against Surinam being nearly completed, I had reason to expect we should be enabled to sail from Barbadoes in the course of three or four days; and commodore Hood having previously signified to me that every thing in the naval department was ready, I directed the final embarkation of the troops, stores, &c. on the 6th of the same month. The following day the whole fleet weighed anchor and sailed. On the 25th, his majesty's ship Centaur, having the commodore's broad pendant, and on board of which I was embarked, came to anchor about 10 miles off the mouth of the river Surinam, and during that and the next day the greater part of the fleet also anchored. On the 26th, a corps, consisting of the flank companies of the 16th and 64th regiments, the rifle company of the 2d battalion 60th regiment, made up by detachments from the battalion companies of the 16th, 64th, and 6th West-India regiments, to about 600 men, and the first brigade of royal artillery, besides armed seamen, was detached in different vessels under convoy of his majesty's ship Hippomenes, captain Shipley. This corps was commanded by brigadier-gen. Maitland, who was directed to effect a landing at the Warappa Creek, about ten leagues to the eastward of the Surinam river, where the enemy occupied a post. The object of this operation was to obtain a water communication with the Commenyne river, to procure plantation boats in sufficient number to transport the troops down that river towards



wards its junction with the Surinam, and thereby facilitate our approach to take a position in the rear of Fort New Amsterdam; and also with a view to cut off a considerable detachment of the enemy stationed at Fort Brandwacht, on the mud creek.— On the same day preparations were made for landing a body of troops to take possession of Braam's Point, where there is a battery of seven 18-pounders, which defends the entrance of the river Surinam. Brigadier-general Hughes undertook to superintend this service; the wind proving favourable, his majesty's ships *Emerald*, *Pandour*, (having the 64th regiment on board), and *Drake* brig of war, got under weigh to attack the battery; when a fire was opened on the ships, which, however, was soon silenced by a few broadsides, and the enemy struck their colours. A detachment of troops, under brigadier-gen. Hughes, immediately landed, and took possession of Braam's Point, making prisoners a captain and 44 men. The entrance being thus secured, the commodore made signal for the ships to go into the river as soon as possible; in the course of that and the following day, the most considerable part of the fleet anchored in the river. At this period the commodore shifted his pendant to the *Emerald*, and I accompanied him on board that ship. We then judged it expedient to send a summons to the governor of Surinam, with proposals for the surrender of the colony. Captain Maxwell of the royal navy, and capt. Drummond, of the 6th regiment (acting as my aid-de-camp) proceeded up the river with a flag of truce, and having delivered our summons to the governor, returned in the night with

information that an answer would be sent next morning. On the 28th, we received the governor's answer, refusing to capitulate. It was then determined that we should lose no time in endeavouring to make some impression on the enemy's posts, but I must here beg leave to observe to your lordship, that the coast of Surinam is of very difficult approach, shallow and full of banks; that a landing is only to be attempted at the top of the tide, and at particular points; the coast is uncleared; and from wood, and the marshy nature of the soil, it is impossible to penetrate into the interior, except by the rivers and creeks. The shores on both sides of the river Surinam, are equally difficult of access, for the same causes, until you reach the battery *Frederici*, with the exception of one spot on the eastern shore, where a plantation, called *Resolution*, has been lately established. Our points of attack were therefore confined; and the enemy, by means of their forts, ships of war, and other armed vessels, were completely masters of the navigation of the river Surinam above Fort Amsterdam. The defences of the river, after passing Braam's Point, are Fort Amsterdam, situated on the confluence of the rivers Surinam and Commewynne; upwards of 80 pieces of ordnance are mounted in this fortress. Fort *Leyden* is armed with twelve heavy guns, and situated on the right bank of the Surinam, where it meets the Commewynne, is opposite to, and commanded by Fort Amsterdam, at the distance of about two thousand yards. The battery *Frederici* is about 200 yards lower down, and armed with twelve heavy guns. On the left bank of the river, near-



ly opposite to Fort Amsterdam is Fort Purmurent, having ten guns mounted, its rear and flanks protected by impracticable marshes and woods. The fire of all these works and batteries intersect in the channel for ships going up the river. The town of Paramaribo is defended towards the water by a battery of about ten guns, mounted in Fort Zelandia, a place otherwise of no defence. The 28th, the ships of war and other vessels proceeded up the river as fast as the tides would admit of. A plan was formed for making an attempt on Fort Purmurent; a detachment of the 64th regiment, under captain Burton, accompanied by captain Drummond, my aid-de-camp, with a body of armed seamen, commanded by capt. Jervis, embarked at eight o'clock at night for that purpose, but on approaching the fort they found the tide was unfavourable for the undertaking, and returned. On the 29th, lieut.-col. Shipley, commanding engineer, went on shore at the plantation before stated, below the enemy's batteries, to endeavour to procure intelligence; and on returning, reported, that he had every reason to believe that there was a practicable way through the woods, by which a body of men might be conducted to the rear of the Forts Leyden and Frederici. Lieutenant colonel Shipley was indefatigable in ascertaining the accuracy of this information, in which he was ably assisted by lieutenant Arnold, of the royal engineers, and Mr. Hobbs, acting engineer, and the result was such, that a detachment of 140 men of the 64th regt. under the command of the hon. lieut.-col. Cranstoun, with major Stirke, of the 6th W. I. regt. 10 men of the 6th W. I. reg. with side-

arms, having felling-axes; twenty of the artificers' corps provided in the same manner; and about thirty armed seamen, commanded by captains Maxwell, Ferris, and Richardson, of the royal navy, the whole under the command of brigadier-general Hughes, accompanied by lieut.-col. Shipley, lieut. Arnold, of the royal engineers, and Mr. Hobbs, acting engineer, whose local knowledge proved extremely useful on this occasion, landed between the hours of ten and eleven at night, at Resolution Plantation, and proceeded through the woods with negro guides. A great quantity of rain having recently fallen, it was found that the path, at all times difficult, had become almost impassable; but no obstacle could damp the enterprising spirit of our seamen and soldiers, who, with persevering courage, after a laborious march of five hours, arrived near the rear of Frederici battery. The alarm having been given, a considerable fire of grape shot was made upon the troops before they quitted the wood, whilst forming for the attack, and of musketry as they approached the battery. The assault of our intrepid seamen and troops with fixed bayonets was so animated and vigorous as to prevent any further resistance. The enemy fled to Fort Leyden, having set fire to the powder magazine; by the explosion of which a few British officers and men were severely wounded.—Brigadier-gen. Hughes used no delay in moving on to the attack of Fort Leyden, but being under the necessity of marching by a narrow road, which was enfiladed by four or five guns, received a considerable fire of grape shot on his march, and of musketry on his nearer approach.



which however was soon put a stop to by a repetition of the same impetuous attack on our part; and the enemy, after some firing, called for quarter, which was generously granted by the conquerors, although in the moment they were highly exasperated at the conduct of the Batavian troops in blowing up the powder magazine at Fort Frederici, after it had been in our possession. A captain with some other officers and 120 men were taken at this post, about 30 having made their escape across the river Commewyne to Fort New Amsterdam. By this brilliant affair a position was secured, by which a heavy fire could be brought on Fort New Amsterdam, a communication with the river Commewyne opened, the means of forming a junction with brigadier-gen. Maitland's corps established, and the command of the finest part of the colony, abounding with resources of all kinds, obtained.—Brigadier-general Hughes's exertions upon this occasion were highly meritorious, and by his animating example contributed much to the success of the day. On the 30th in the morning, the commodore and myself went on shore at the captured forts, and directions were given for covering the troops and guns from the fire of Fort New Amsterdam, to which they were greatly exposed, and for pointing the fire of the forts towards the enemy. The troops underwent great fatigue in executing these works, which, however, they cheerfully submitted to, under the direction of lieut.-col. Shipley, who as usual was unceasing in his exertions. Brigadier-general Hughes remained in the command there, giving every necessary support and countenance. The enemy

fired from time to time from Fort New Amsterdam, by which three men at Fort Leyden were wounded, but some shells being thrown in return from two mortars, which we had got on shore at Fort Leyden, the firing on the part of the enemy ceased. On the same day I received a report from brigadier-general Maitland, that a landing had been effected at the Warappa Creek by the first division of his corps, under the command of major Hardyman, of the 1st battalion of the royals, who took possession of the enemy's posts, where there were two guns, after a short resistance; and the brigadier-gen. further stated, that he was proceeding to land with the whole of his corps. Under these circumstances, no time was lost in disembarking at Fort Leyden the rest of the troops, and pushing them on by the north bank of the Commewyne to nearly opposite Zooland's plantation, where it was intended to cross the river to form a junction with brigadier-general Maitland's corps on its expected arrival there. The artillery, stores, and provisions were also conveyed in boats by the indefatigable exertions of the navy into the Commewyne river, and an armed naval force established therein. On the 3rd May, brigadier-gen. Maitland having with great diligence procured a number of plantation boats to convey his corps, appeared coming down the Commewyne in very good order, and landed at a plantation on the south side of that river. On the same evening part of the 16th regiment crossed the Commewyne to join brigadier-general Maitland, and were followed the next day by the remainder of that regiment: orders were also given for all the troops



troops to pass as quickly as possible. On the 4th, between two and three o'clock, brigadier gen. Maitland's corps moved on through a wood, and approached Fort New Amsterdam within a mile to reconnoitre, with a view to extend their position towards the river Surinam, and thereby invest that fortress. Some shots were fired by the enemy's advanced centinels, who retired. At this time commodore Hood being with me at head-quarters on the Commewyne, we received a flag of truce from the commanding officer of the Batavian troops, with proposals to surrender on terms of capitulation, a copy of which is herewith enclosed; orders were in consequence issued to suspend hostilities until the conditions should be finally agreed upon. Lt. col. Shipley and capt. Maxwell of the royal navy, were sent to settle the terms. They returned early on the morning of the 5th, with two separate capitulations, signed by Lt. col. Batenburgh, commanding the Batavian troops, and commodore Bloys, chief of the naval department; but an article in the one signed by the military commandant not being sufficiently clear, brigadier gen. Maitland was employed to arrange the business, which being compleated to our satisfaction, at five o'clock, on the same evening, the advanced corps, under the command of brigadier gen. Maitland, marched in and took possession of Fort New Amsterdam. The Batavian frigate and sloop of war were also taken possession of at the same hour. Having thus detailed the particulars of our short, but active operations, it is a very pleasing part of my duty to state to your lordship, the names of those officers whose situations enabled them to come forward with distin-

guished honour and credit to themselves.—[Here general Green acknowledges his obligations to brigadier gens. Maitland and Hughes; to Lt. col. Shipley, major Wilson, of the Artillery; major Robertson, acting adj.-gen.; acting com. gen. Glasfurd; capt. M<sup>c</sup>Geachy, assist. q. m. gen.; capt. Drummond, of the 60th reg.; and to com. Hood, and all the captains and other officers of the squadron: particularly to capt. Maxwell, of the Centaur, and capt. Kempt, agent of transports. The general concludes his letter with the following paragraph:—]—I have the pleasure to assure your lordship, that the principal inhabitants of the colony appear to be extremely rejoiced at the event which has taken place, restoring to them the powerful protection of the British government, and the solid advantages arising therefrom. Captain Campbell, my aid-de-camp, will have the honour to deliver this dispatch to your lordship: he is a very old and deserving officer, and I beg leave to refer your lordship to him for further information.

On the 27th of April, gen. Green and com. Hood proposed terms of capitulation to the gov. of Surinam, according to which he was to surrender up the colony in twenty-four hours. The inhabitants were to enjoy their property; the exercise of their religion, &c.; the laws of the colony to remain in force; all ships of war, artillery, stores, &c. to be delivered up; the Batavian troops to surrender prisoners of war, &c. These terms the governor refused to accept, and hostilities continued until the 4th of May, when the commanding officer of the Dutch troops proposed a new capitulation. A negociation was then commenced



with him, and with the Dutch commander Van Treslong, which terminated at last in articles differing only in some slight modifications from those originally proposed by the British commanders.

*Total Return of Killed and Wounded of the Troops under the Command of Major General Sir Charles Green, at the Assault and Capture of the Forts Leyden and Frederici, in the Colony of Surinam, on the 30th of April.*

Total—3 rank and file killed; 1 field officer, 3 subalterns, 1 staff, 1 serjeant, and 7 rank and file wounded. Officers wounded—Lt. col. the hon. George Cranstoun, of the 64th regiment; lieut. Arnold, of the royal engineers; Mr. Hobbs, assistant engineer; lieut. Ross, of the 64th regiment; lieut. Brownrigg, of the 87th regiment; brigadier gen. Hughes.

*Total Return of Killed and Wounded of the Royal Navy, under the Command of Commodore Hood, at the Assault and Capture of Forts Leyden and Frederici, on the 30th of April.*

Centaur—1 lieutenant, 1 petty officer, and 2 seamen, killed; 2 lieutenants, and 4 seamen, wounded.—Drake—1 warrant officer, killed.—Pandour—1 seaman, wounded.—Unique—1 lieutenant, wounded.—Total—1 lieutenant, 1 warrant officer, 1 petty officer, and 2 seamen killed; 3 lieutenants, and 5 seamen wounded. Officers killed.—Lieut. Smith, first of the Centaur, mortally wounded; died the following day; W. Shulldham, midshipman of the Centaur; Mr. —, boatswain of the Drake.

*Total Return of Batavian Prisoners taken at the Conquest of the Colony of Surinam.*

1 Lieutenant-general; 1 lieutenant-colonel, 1 major, 19 captains,

22 first lieutenants, 30 second lieutenants, 1 surgeon-major, 6 first surgeons, 10 second surgeons, 2 serjeant-majors, 79 serjeants, 110 corporals, 24 drummers, 1434 privates, 13 women, and 11 children. —N. B. Total number of prisoners (navy included) exclusive of staff and departments, is 2001.

There fell into our hands, on this occasion, the Proserpine of 32 guns, and the Pylades of 18.—The quantity of ordnance, ammunition, and stores taken is immense.

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*Accounts of the different Attempts made upon the Enemy's Flotilla by the Immortalité and Melpomené Frigates, in Letters addressed to Lord Keith, K. B. &c. &c.—Admiral Louis, &c.*

*Immortalité, Boulogne E. seven or eight leagues, July 21st.*

Sir,

The wind yesterday set in strong from the N. N. E. and N. E. by N. and made so much sea, that the enemy's vessels in the road of Boulogne became very uneasy; and about eight P. M. the lee-most brigs began to get under weigh, and work to windward, whilst some of the luggers ran down apparently for Etaples; their force was then 45 brigs, and 43 luggers. I made a signal to look out on these vessels, which was immediately obeyed by the Harpey, Bloodhound, and Archer, who closed with them, giving their fire to such as attempted to stand off from the land; the Autumn was at this time getting under weigh, and lost no time in giving her support to the vessels already on this service, and continued with them during the whole weather



weather tide, to fire, from time to time, on such of the enemy's vessels as gave them opportunity. At daylight this morning there were nineteen brigs and eight luggers only remaining in the Bay; and about six o'clock these began to slip single and run to the southward, for Etaples or the river Somme, the Autumn and brigs being then too far to leeward to give them any interruption. As soon as the tide permitted this ship and the Leader to weigh, we stood in with Boulogne, when I perceived that a brig, a lugger, and several large boats, were stranded on the beach west of the harbour, the enemy were shipping and endeavouring to save from them what they could, but I have no doubt the rising tide would complete their destruction. Three other brigs and a lugger were on the rocks near the village of Portée, totally destroyed, a brig and two luggers remained at anchor close to the rocks with wefts up, and the people huddled together abaft: the brig had lost her topmast, topsail, and lower yards, and one of the luggers the head of her mainmast; the sea was making a perfect breach over them, and if the gale continues, their situation is hopeless. The merits of captains Jackson and Heywood, as well as those of lieutenants Richardson and Price, are so well known to you, that I need only say, they acted on this occasion with the same decisive promptness they have always shewn; and though the night prevented my seeing all that passed, there cannot be a doubt but that their well-timed attack caused the enemy's confusion, and occasioned much loss, which, taking every circumstance, is, I doubt not, far beyond what fell within our observation. I have

not yet been able to collect the reports of these officers, but will forward them the moment that they join me.

E. W. C. R. Owen.

*Rear Admiral Louis.*

*Letter to Lord Keith from Capt. R. D. Oliver, of the Melpomene, off Havre, July 24.*

My Lord,

Since my letter to your lordship of the seventeenth instant, we had very light and variable winds for three days, which were succeeded by a gale from the northward, when the bombs had some difficulty to keep clear of the shore. Yesterday the wind having got to the S. W. I stood in with the squadron, and at eleven made the signal for the bombs to try their range; they placed themselves with the utmost precision immediately off the pier heads, and at a quarter past eleven began a most tremendous fire of shells and carcasses, which was continued without intermission for an hour and a half; in a very few minutes the town was observed to be on fire, and as the pier was very full of vessels, it is impossible but they must have suffered considerably. The vessels which had been outside the pier, during the bombardment of the 16th, were so much annoyed as to retire, some into the pier, and some up the river; one of them was towed on shore under the batteries, and has been since taken to pieces. The enemy's mortar batteries have been very considerably increased since the attack of the 16th, and although the fire from them on the bombs was as great as, I will venture to say, was ever experienced, they being considerably within the range, yet it is with the most inexpressible pleasure I acquaint your

lordship,



lordship, that not a man has been hurt. A shell passed through the mizen stay-sail of the Zebra, another carried away the spare topsail-yard of the Merlin, and two chain plates, and grazed her side; and a 42-pound shot cut the spare topmast and some other spars, and lodged in the booms of the Hecla; this is all the damage done. It is impossible for me to find words to express my admiration of the conduct of captains Sykes, James, Paul, and Beauchamp, and the other officers and crews of the bombs, for the able manner in which they placed and managed their vessels; and also to the officers and men of the Royal Artillery embarked on board of them, for the judicious manner in which they fired the shells. Some luggers came out of the pier during the bombardment and fired their guns; but they were made to keep at a respectful distance by the vicinity of the Merlin, Pluto, Locust, and cutters, which were always ready to give assistance where wanted, as were the other ships in the squadron in the situations assigned to them.

R. D. Oliver.

*A Letter from Capt. Robert Dudley Oliver, Commander of the Melpomene, to William Marsden, Esq. dated off Havre, the 2d Instant, incloses the following:*

*Melpomene, off Havre, Aug. 2.*  
My Lord,

The wind having changed yesterday to the N. E. I determined to make another attack on the numerous vessels in Havre pier, as well

as those which were moored outside, amounting to 28 brigs, and as many luggers, and stood in with the squadron, as per margin\*. At half-past seven P. M. the bombs were well placed off the Pier Heads, when they began a well-directed fire, which was kept up with great spirit for about an hour and a half. The town was very soon observed to be on fire in two places; and seven brigs, which were on the outside of the Pier, found it necessary to move; one lost her main-mast. As the wind came more off the land, and a strong ebb tide setting out, I ordered the bombs to discontinue firing. At half-past nine we anchored with the squadron about five miles from the Light-houses. As the Explosion had fired away all her shells, and the Zebra most of her powder, I had them supplied from the Meteor; and at half-past five this morning got under weigh, and stood in with the squadron again. Before eight the bombs took up their position near the Pier Heads, and kept up a constant fire for near three hours with shells and carcasses; so many shells burst on and about the Piers, that the enemy's fire was observed latterly to slacken considerably, and it was evident they were in the greatest confusion; some brigs and luggers, however, got under weigh, and came out to endeavour to annoy the bombs, but all the other ships and vessels of the squadron were so well placed as to give chase to them immediately; and it was only by cutting away their boats, which were a-stern, and retreating very speedily into shoal water, that they

\* Melpomene, Ariadne, Trusty, Magnanime, Merlin, and Favourite; Hecla, Meteor, Explosion, and Zebra bombs; King George, Hope, Nancy, Countess of Elgin, and Locust cutters.

escaped,



escaped, but not before they had run the gauntlet of all the ships and cutters, and were very closely engaged for a considerable time by the *Merlin*, *Favourite*, *Locust* gun-brig, and *Hope* cutter; and on this occasion I feel particularly indebted to the exertions of captains Brenton and Foot, and lieutenants Lake and Dobbins, whose vessels were very often, during the action, in very shoal water, with a falling tide; indeed nothing but the bad sailing of the *Merlin* prevented captain Brenton from cutting off the sternmost brig. The *Locust* lost her main-topmast, but I have not heard of any other loss. The conduct of the captains Sykes, James, Paul, and Beauchamp, commanding the bombs on both these occasions, was highly meritorious; and although their ships were frequently struck, it gives me great pleasure to add that no lives have been lost. What damage may be done to the enemy by near 500 shells and carcasses thrown into the town and bason last evening and this morning, it is impossible to calculate; but I may without vanity say, that, if the exertions of the enemy's flotilla be not much greater on our shore than on their own, we have little to dread from them. I cannot conclude without expressing my obligations to every officer and man employed in this squadron.

I am, &c. R. D. Oliver.

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*Commodore Dance's Account of his  
defeating the French Squadron*

\* For an account of the honours and rewards bestowed upon sir N. Dance, and the officers and men of his fleet, vide *Chronicle*, page 409.

† Warley, Alfred, *Royal George*, *Coutts*, *Wexford*, *Ganges*, *Exeter*, *Earl of Abergavenny*, *Henry Addington*, *Bombay Castle*, *Cumberland*, *Hope*, *Dorsetshire*, *Warren Hastings*, *Ocean*.

‡ Lord *Castlereagh*, *Carron*, *David Scott*, *Minerva*, *Ardasier*, *Charlotte*, *Friendship*, *Shaw*, *Kissaroo*, *Jahaungeer*, *Gilwell*, *Neptune*.

*under Admiral Linois in the Indian Seas, in a Letter addressed to the Honourable the Court of Directors of the East India Company. Dated Earl Camden, August 6th, 1804\*.*

For the information of the Honourable Court, I beg leave to acquaint you, that the *Earl Camden* was dispatched from Canton by the Select Committee the 31st of January last; and the ships noted in the margin† were put under my orders, as senior commander; also, the *Rolla* *Botany Bay* ship, and the country ships, as per margin‡, were put under my charge, to convoy as far as our coasts lay in the same direction. I was also ordered to take under my protection a Portuguese Europe ship, that was lying in *Macao Roads*, whose Supercargo had solicited it from the Select Committee.

Our passage down the river was tedious, and the fleet much dispersed; the ships being under the directions of their several Chinese pilots, I could not keep them collected as I wished.

The *Ganges*, a fast-sailing brig, was put under my orders by the Select Committee, to employ in any manner that might tend to the safety or convenience of the fleet, till we had passed the Straits of *Malacca*. I was then to dispatch her to *Bengal*.

We passed *Macao Roads* on the night of the 5th of February, and I conceive the *Rolla* had anchored so near *Macao*, as not to see the fleet



get under weigh and pass through ; although at the time I had no idea that could be possible, especially as I saw the Ocean in shore of us getting under weigh, burning blue lights, and firing a gun ; the Portuguese ship, I suppose, must have been in the same situation as the Rolla. During the night of the 5th of February I carried an easy sail, and on the following day hove-to for above two hours, hoping to see those ships ; but there was no appearance of them, nor did they ever join the fleet.—On the 14th Feb. at day-break, we saw Pulo Auro, bearing W. S. W. and at eight A. M. the Royal George made the signal for seeing four strange sail in the S. W. : I made the signal for the four ships noted in the margin\*, to go down and examine them ; and lieut. Fowler, of the royal navy, late commander of the Porpoise, and passenger with me, having handsomely offered to go in the Ganges brig, and inspect them nearly, I afterwards sent her down likewise, and from their signals I perceived it was an enemy's squadron, consisting of a line of battle ship, three frigates, and a brig.

At one P. M. I recalled the look-out ships by signal, and formed the line of battle in close order.

As soon as the enemy could fetch in our wake, they put about ; we kept on our course under an easy sail. At near sun-set, they were close up with our rear, and I was in momentary expectation of an attack there, and prepared to support them ; but at the close of day we perceived them haul to windward. I sent lieut. Fowler in the Ganges brig, to station the country ships on our lee-bow, by which means we were between them and

the enemy ; and having done so, he returned with some volunteers from the country ships.

We laid to in line of battle all night, our men at their quarters ; at day-break of the 15th, we saw the enemy about three miles to windward, lying to ; we hoisted our colours, offering him battle, if he chose to come down. The enemy's four ships hoisted French colours, the line of battle ship carrying a rear-admiral's flag ; the brig was under Batavian colours.

At nine A. M. finding they would not come down, we formed the order of sailing, and steered our course under an easy sail ; the enemy then filled their sails, and edged towards us.

At one P. M. finding they proposed to attack, and endeavour to cut off our rear, I made the signal to tack and bear down on him, and engage in succession, the Royal George being the leading ship, the Ganges next, and then the Earl Camden. This manœuvre was correctly performed, and we stood towards him under a press of sail. The enemy then formed in a very close line, and opened their fire on the headmost ships, which was not returned by us till we approached him nearer. The Royal George bore the brunt of the action, and got as near the enemy as he would permit him ; the Ganges and Earl Camden opened their fire as soon as the guns could have effect ; but, before any other ship could get into action, the enemy hauled their wind, and stood away to the eastward, under all the sail they could set. At two P. M. I made the signal for a general chase, and we pursued them till four P. M. when, fearing a longer pursuit would carry us too far from the

\* Alfred, Royal George, Bombay Castle, Hope.



the mouth of the Straits, and considering the immense property at stake, I made the signal to tack, and at eight P. M. we anchored in a situation to proceed for the entrance of the Straits in the morning. As long as we could distinguish the enemy, we perceived him steering to the eastward under a press of sail. The Royal George had one man killed, and another wounded, many shot in her hull, and more in her sails; but few shot touched either the Camden or Ganges; and the fire of the enemy seemed to be ill-directed, his shot either falling short, or passing over us. Capt. Timins carried the Royal George into action in the most gallant manner. In justice to my brother commanders, I must state, that every ship was cleared and prepared for action; and, as I had communication with almost all of them during the two days we were in presence of the enemy, I found them unanimous in the determined resolution to defend the valuable property entrusted to their charge to the last extremity, with a full conviction of the successful event of their exertions; and this spirit was fully seconded by the gallant ardour of all our officers and ships' companies. From Malacca I dispatched lieut. Fowler, in the Ganges brig, to Pulo Pinang, with a packet from the select committee to the captain of any of his majesty's ships, soliciting their convoy to this very valuable fleet. On arrival at Malacca we were informed that the squadron we had engaged was that of admiral Linois, consisting of the Marengo, of 84 guns, the Belle Poule, and Semillante, heavy frigates, a corvette of 28, and the Batavian brig William, of 18 guns. The 28th February, in the Streights of Malacca, lat. 40° 30' N.

we fell in with his majesty's ships Albion and Sceptre. I was then in a very poor state of health; and Mr. Lance went on board the Albion, and, by his very able representation to capt. Ferrier of the great national consequence of the hon. company's ships, he was induced to take charge of the fleet. On the third of March I dispatched the Ganges brig with a letter to the right hon. the governor-general, giving an account of our action, to be conveyed to the hon. court. We arrived at St. Helena the 9th of June, under convoy of his majesty's ships Albion and Sceptre, and sailed the 18th under convoy of his majesty's ship Plantagenet, with the addition of the Carmarthen, capt. Dobree, and five whalers. Accompanying this I send a chart of the entrance of the Straits of Malacca, with the situations of the fleet on the 14th and 15th February, which will, I trust, convey a more distinct idea of the action than any written description.

I am, &c. N. Dance.

*Earl Camden, Aug. 6, 1804.*

*Names of the Whalers.*—William Fenning, Brook Watson, Thomas, or Young Tom, Betsey, Eliza, and the Blackhouse, from the Coast of Guinea, joined us at sea.

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*Account of the Failure of the Caramaran Expedition against the French Flotilla outside the Pier of Boulogne, in a Letter from the R. H. Lord Keith, K. B. &c. to W. Marsden, Esq. dated on board the Monarch, off Boulogne, the 3rd October, 1804.*

Sir,

Their lordships are aware that my attention has, for some time past, been directed to the object of ascertaining



taining the most effectual mode for annoying the enemy's flotillas at their anchorages in front of their ports, under protection of their land batteries. Having, on the afternoon of the 1st inst. arrived at this anchorage, and finding the weather promising to be favourable, and about 150 of the flotilla on the outside of the pier, I resolved to make an experiment, on a limited scale, of the means of attack which had been provided. The final arrangements for this purpose were made on the morning of yesterday. The officers named below\* were put in charge of the principal vessels which at this time were to be used. The armed launches, and other boats of the squadron, were appointed to accompany and protect them. The *Castor*, *Greyhound*, and some smaller vessels, were directed to take up an advanced and convenient anchorage for covering the retreat, giving protection to men who might be wounded, and boats that might be crippled, and for towing off the boats in general, in the event of the wind freshening and blowing upon the coast. The operation commenced at a quarter past nine o'clock last evening, and terminated at a quarter past four this morning; during which time, several vessels, prepared for the purpose, were exploded amongst, or very close to, the flotilla; but, on account of the very great distance at which they lay from each other, no very extensive

injury seems to have been sustained, although it is evident that there has been very considerable confusion among them, and that two of the brigs and several of the smaller vessels appear to be missing since yesterday at the close of day. I have great satisfaction in reporting, that, notwithstanding a very heavy discharge of shells, shot, and musketry, was kept up by the enemy throughout the night, no casualty whatever, on our part, has been sustained. The enemy made no attempt to oppose their rowing-boats to ours. Their lordships will not expect, that, at the present moment, I am to enter much into detail; but I think it my duty to state to them my conviction, that, in the event of any great accumulation of the enemy's force in their roadsteads, an extensive and combined operation of a similar nature will hold forth a reasonable prospect of a successful result. The conduct of the officers and men, who have been employed on this occasion deserves my highest commendation: I cannot more forcibly impress their merits upon their lordships' attention, than by remarking that the service was undertaken, not only in the face of, but immediately under, the whole line of the enemy's land batteries, and their field artillery and musquetry upon the coast, but also under that of upwards of 150 armed vessels, ranged round the inner side of the bay; and that the officers and men,

\* Officers in charge of the explosion vessels above referred to:—Captains—Macleod, of the *Sulphur*; Jackson, of the *Autumn*; Edwards, of the *Fury*; Collard, of the *Raillieur*; Searle, of the *Helder* Defence ship.—Lieutenants—Stewart, of the *Monarch*; Lowry, of the *Leopard*; Payne, of the *Immortalité*; Templer, of the *Sulphur*.—Midshipman—Mr. Bartholomew, of the *Inflexible*.—Captains Winthrop, of the *Ardent*, and Owen, of the *Immortalité*, most zealously and usefully superintended the operations from the southward, and the hon. capt. Blackwood, of the *Euryalus*, from the northward.



who could so deliberately and resolutely advance into the midst of the flotilla, under such circumstances, must be considered worthy of being entrusted with the performance of any service, however difficult or dangerous it may appear to be, and consequently to be highly deserving of their lordship's protection.

Keith.

*William Marsden, Esq.*

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*Dispatch from Capt. Moore, of the Indefatigable, announcing the Commencement of Hostilities against Spain, by the Capture and blowing up of four Treasure Ships; addressed to Admiral Cornwallis, dated Indefatigable, at Sea, October 6, 1804.*

Sir,

I have the honour to acquaint you, that I have executed the service you did me the honour to charge me with. On the morning of the 29th of September, the Indefatigable got off Cadiz; on the 30th we fell in with the Medusa; captain Gore having informed me the Amphion was in the Streight's mouth, and that the Triumph was off Gibraltar, and that sir Robert Barlow meant to go into Cadiz for the trade there, on his way to England; I thought fit to send the Medusa to apprise sir Robert Barlow of the nature of my order, that he might then judge whether or not he should go into Cadiz, and I directed capt. Gore to rejoin me with the Amphion as soon as possible off Cape St. Mary. On the 2d inst. I was joined by the Lively, and on the 3d. by the Medusa and Amphion; the latter having communicated what I thought

necessary, to sir Robert Barlow. Yesterday morning, Cape St. Mary bearing N. E. nine leagues, the Medusa made the signal for four sail W. by S. I made the signal for a general chase; at 8 A. M. discovered them to be four large Spanish frigates, which formed the line of battle a-head on our approach, and continued to steer in for Cadiz, the van-ship carrying a broad pendant, and the ship next to her a rear-admiral's flag; capt. Gore, being the headmost ship, placed the Medusa on the weather-beam of the commodore; the Indefatigable took a similar position along-side of the rear-admiral; the Amphion and Lively each taking an opponent in the same manner, as they came up; after hailing to make them shorten sail, without effect, I fired a shot across the rear-admiral's fore-foot, on which he shortened sail; and I sent lieutenant Ascott, of the Indefatigable, to inform him, that my orders were to detain his squadron; that it was my earnest wish to execute them without bloodshed; but that his determination must be made instantly: after waiting some time, I made a signal for the boat, and fired a shot a-head of the admiral. As soon as the officer returned with an unsatisfactory answer, I fired another shot a-head of the admiral, and bore down close on his weather-bow; at this moment the admiral's second a-stern fired into the Amphion; the admiral fired into the Indefatigable; and I made the signal for close battle, which was instantly commenced with all the alacrity and vigour of English sailors. In less than ten minutes, La Merced, the admiral's second a-stern, blew up along-side the Amphion, with



with a tremendous explosion.\* Capt. Sutton having with great judgment, and much to my satisfaction, placed himself to leeward of that ship, the escape of the Spanish admiral's ship was rendered almost impossible; in less than half an hour she struck, as did the opponent of the Lively. Perceiving at this moment the Spanish commodore was making off, and seeming to have the heels of the Medusa, I made the signal for the Lively to join in the chase, having before noticed the superior sailing of that ship. Capt. Hammond did not lose an instant; and we had the satisfaction, long before sun-set, to see from our mast head that the only remaining ship had surrendered to the Medusa and Lively. As soon as our boats had taken possession of the rear-admiral, we made sail for the floating fragments of the unfortunate Spanish frigate which blew up; but, excepting forty taken up by the Amphion's boats, all on board perished. This squadron was commanded by Don Joseph Bustamente, knight of the order of St. James, and a rear-admiral. They are from Monte Video, Rio de la Plata, and, from the information of the captain of the flag-ship, contained about four millions of dollars, 800,000 of which were on board the Mercedes which blew up. Other accounts state the quantity of specie to be much greater, public and private; and there is besides much valuable merchandize on board the captured ships. Our loss has been very trifling. I have not yet had the returns from other ships, but the Indefatigable did not lose a man. The Spaniards suffered chiefly in their

rigging, which was our object. The captains of the different ships conducted themselves so ably, that no honour accrues to me but the fortunate accident of being senior officer. G. Moore.

*Force of the Spanish Squadron.*

La Medée (flag ship) 42 guns, 18-pounders, and 300 men, taken; 2 men killed and 10 wounded.—La Fama, 36 guns, 12-pounders, and 280 men, taken; 11 killed, and 50 wounded.—La Clara, 36 guns, 12-pounders, and 300 men, taken; 7 killed, and 20 wounded.—La Mercedes, 36 guns, 12-pounders, and 280 men, blew up; second captain and 40 men saved.

*Statement of the Goods and Effects on board the Spanish Squadron.*

On account of the king, total 75 sacks of Vienna wool, 60 chests of cascarilla, 4732 bars of tin, 1735 pigs of copper, 28 planks of wood, and 1,307,634 dollars in silver.—On account of the merchants, 32 chests of ratinia, 1,852,216 dollars in silver, 1,119,658 gold, reduced into dollars, and 150,011 ingots in gold, reduced into dollars.—On account of the marine company, 26,925 seal-skins, and 10 pipes of seal oil.—On board the Mercedes, which blew up, were 20 sacks of Vienna wool, 20 chests of cascarilla, 1139 bars of tin, 961 pigs of copper, and 221,000 dollars in silver.

*Killed and wounded on board his Majesty's squadron.*—Indefatigable, none.—Medusa, return not received.—Amphion, lieut. W. Bennett, wounded; three seamen and one

\* For a most affecting and melancholy incident attendant on this calamitous event, vide Chronicle, page 424.



marine, wounded, badly.—Lively, two killed, one wounded.

*Further Attempts of the British Cruizers against the French Flo-tilla, detailed in Letters from Captains Owen and Hancock.*

*Immortalité, off Boulogne, Oct. 23.*

Sir,

Being off Cape Grisnez, and proceeding to my station before Boulogne, I this afternoon, about half past three, discovered a division of the enemy's vessels, consisting of three praam ships, seven brigs, and 15 luggers, which soon after bore up to the westward, keeping close to the beach, under cover of their batteries, and accompanied by horse artillery, making the best of their way to shelter themselves within the Blanc de Laine. By making all sail to windward I was enabled to close the praams (which kept together) about a quarter before five, and to open my fire upon them within the distance of grape-shot, under the high land of Cape Blanc Nez, the enemy still pushing to the westward, and returning at first a brisk fire, but it latterly slackened much. This running fight continued till near six, when, having been thrice obliged to sheer out into deeper water, we found ourselves still within the end of the Blanc de Laine, where the falling tide prevented us from following them, and obliged us to haul off. Our little Calais squadron was to windward following the enemy, of which the Orestes and Basilisk joined me in the first attack, giving me every support and assistance during the whole of the action; their commanders gave me much satisfaction

in conducting them. The other vessels of that squadron did not get within gun-shot; capt. Browne will of course make his report to vice-admiral Holloway; but I spoke him in passing, and was pleased to learn he had sustained no damage. I endeavoured to close the enemy again as they passed from behind the Blanc to round Cape Grisnez, and did get sight of a few of the vessels; but though we passed within half gun-shot of the Cape, the enemy were so effectually screened from our sight by the dark shade of the land, that I could do nothing, and am unable to say whether the whole number got down to Boulogne, or whether (as I suspect) a part of them anchored in Whitsand-bay. Lieut. Payne, though ill, was upon deck, and afforded me, as he has done in every instance, the greatest aid; and it is not possible for me to speak too highly of the conduct of every officer and every man; each, in his station, gave me the fullest satisfaction; but it gives me serious pain to add, that of these brave fellows one was killed and ten wounded (three mortally), besides the third lieutenant, Charles Burrough Strong, of whose assistance I was deprived before a shot was fired by us, and whose loss I feel the more, as two years service with me in this ship has fully proved to me his worth; his wounds, however, are not dangerous. My thanks are due to Mr. Henry Thornton, our pilot, for his steady attentive good conduct and alacrity, and regretting that the nature of the coast, in that part where we closed the enemy, enabled them to skulk from our further pursuit. I am, &c.

E. W. C. R. Owen.

P. S. From the manner in which  
our



our grape-shot covered the enemy's vessels, their loss in men must be very great. I never saw guns pointed better, or so coolly.

*Killed and wounded on board the Immortalité, October 23.*

Killed, J. Wilson, seamen.—Wounded, C. Burrough Strong, 3d lieutenant; G. Baker, J. Dawal, and W. Terrent, since dead; D. Brown, W. Hamilton, P. Humes, J. Watson, and W. Robinson, seamen; J. Allen and W. Cubbett, privates of marines.

(Signed) E. W. C. R. Owen.

Another letter transmitted by Lord Keith from captain Hancock, of the Cruizer, states, "that part of the enemy's flotilla, consisting of two praam ships, bearing the flag of chief of division, and both under French colours, with eighteen schuyts, put to sea from Ostend, on the 23d. At this time the Cruizer sloop, the Blazer, Conflict, Tigress, Admiral Mitchell, Griffin, and Escort gun-brigs, were standing in to reconnoitre that port. The Cruizer brought the headmost praam ship to close action at fifteen minutes past five, supported by the gun-brigs and cutters, and continued it with great apparent effect, till thirty-five minutes past six. It falling dark, and being in less than three fathom water, the Conflict took ground, and the tide left her so rapidly that every effort lieutenant Ormsby used to get her afloat was unsuccessful, and he was under the necessity of quitting her with his people, who came on board the Cruizer. Capt. H. immediately ordered him with his people back to the Conflict, to use every exertion to get her afloat when the tide made, or

to destroy her. He sent the Admiral Mitchell cutter to assist and protect him; and the Cruizer's boats were sent under M. Fothergill, master of the Cruizer, who very commendably volunteered his services. The ebb-tide prevented the boats getting in for a considerable time; when they had got near, they had the mortification to find the Conflict high and dry on the beach, and in complete possession of the enemy. His boats accordingly returned to the Cruizer at two A.M. making their report of the state of the Conflict. Capt. Hancock, still determined to prevent the Conflict from getting into the hands of the enemy, sent a party under lieutenant Forbes to attack her; but the enemy had got her up on the beach; and the party returned. On this occasion the cutter received very considerable damage, in standing in, from the howitzers and field artillery, which the enemy had collected on the beach during the night, by which one man was killed, and several wounded. Amongst the latter, lieut. A. Garland, acting lieutenant of the Cruizer, lost his right leg, very high up; he was, with admirable gallantry, with his party, getting into the boats to board the enemy, even under the discouraging circumstances of her being still aground, when he received the wound."

Capt. Hancock then says:—"I have directed lieutenant Hinton, with the gun-brigs, to watch the Conflict; and, should they succeed in getting her afloat, to attack her; but, from the appearance of the weather, and the wind being to the northward, I am of opinion she will go to pieces on the beach. I herewith inclose a list of the killed and wounded;

none



none of the gun-brigs have suffered in their masts, &c. nor has the Cruizer received any material injury, except her sails, and standing rigging, which are much cut. One of the praams was observed by the boats to be high and dry on the beach at ten o'clock this morning, to the westward of the Conflict, but she got off, I apprehend, at high water, and proceeded to the westward.

J. Hancock.

*List of killed and wounded.*

Cruizer, 1 lieutenant, 2 seamen, and 1 marine (badly) wounded.—Blazer, none killed or wounded.—Conflict, one seaman killed, 5 seamen wounded.—Griffin, 2 seamen wounded.—Tigress, no report.—Admiral Mitchell, none killed or wounded.—Escort, none killed or wounded.—Total, 1 seaman killed; 1 lieutenant, 9 seamen, and 1 marine, wounded. Name of officer wounded—Lieut. Abraham Garland, of the Cruizer.

Next follows in the Gazette which contains the above dispatches, a letter from lieutenant Ormsby, stating the loss of the Conflict, and which he thus concludes:—Our loss in the evening was one man badly wounded, one slightly; in the night one killed, and three wounded. The officers and crew in general behaved as brave men.

C. C. Ormsby.

J. Hancock, Esq. Cruizer.

*Keith, &c. dated at Sea, off Yarmouth, 10 A. M. October 17.*

My Lord,

I have the honour to acquaint your lordship, that being last night at nine P. M. with his majesty's sloop under my command, and the gun-brigs Bold and Ann, and Florence cutter, close in with Ostend, in five fathoms water, which station I had taken from the moment the wind came to the eastward, to follow with every possible efficacy and energy your lordship's instructions in the important duty entrusted to me, of watching the enemy's movements at that port and Flushing, we observed a strange sail standing in shore, which, on discovering us, wore and made all sail, steering at first with the wind abaft the beam: we immediately made all sail in chase, which continued during the whole night, in which the stranger displayed much skill and ability in all his manœuvres, and tried us on every point of sailing, with various success; he sometimes gaining on us, and we in our turn nearing him, till five A. M. in which time (eight hours) we had run 97 miles, by the log: during the latter part of the chase the wind freshened considerably; but this gave us not the advantage I expected, as he preserved his distance till a quarter before five A. M. when both his top-masts went away; he then attempted a masterly manœuvre to escape, which the haze, the darkness of the morning, and the lee tide, gave him a fair prospect of succeeding in, by clearing up his remaining sails, and coming instantly to an anchor, although in twenty-five fathoms water, in hopes we should pass him unperceived, or get to leeward. Although

I was

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*Account of the Capture of Le Contre-Admiral Magon French Privateer, commanded by the noted Captain Blackman, in a Letter from Captain Hancock, of his Majesty's Sloop Cruizer, to Lord*



I was not aware, to the full extent, of this accident and manœuvre, I never lost sight of him; and at the time it happened I observed we were nearing him so very fast, that I had begun to reduce the sail; but, as we were going then at more than eleven knots, I had but a few minutes time before I was up with him, and the wind blowing so fresh as to risk the loss of all our masts, if I attempted to haul to wind with the sail I had then set, I was under the necessity of passing him, which I did, however, within hail, and to windward, and not receiving any answer, except that he was from Philadelphia, in bad English, I ordered three guns to be fired into him. I then plainly discovered him to be a large armed brig, with nine ports on a side. Having in a few minutes taken two reefs in the top-sails, and cleared the decks of wrecked spars and split sails, we attacked, and ranged up within ten yards of his lee-quarter, he having cut his cable, and again attempted to make sail, when, just as I was on the point of hailing him, preparatory to giving him our broadside, he called out, and begged us not to fire, as he had struck. On boarding him, I was pleased to find my opinion confirmed, that I had captured captain Blackman, so well known during the late and present wars in these seas, having received information he was at sea in a brig. The ship he commanded proved to be *Le-Contre-Admiral Magon* French privateer brig, quite new, this being her first cruize, pierced for 18, and mounting 17 guns of different calibres: viz. 14 long six-pounders, two 18-pound carronades, and one long nine-pounder, and manned

with 84 men, French, Danes, Swedes, and Americans; had been out from Dunkirk eighteen days, and had captured during his cruize the ship *Belisarius*, of Newcastle, Matthew Hunter, master, on the 3d instant, off Tynemouth; the brig *Scipio*, Richard Robertson, master; and the *Content's Increase*, George Bell, master, both laden with coals, off Foley Bridge, on the 10th instant; the two former were immediately dispatched for Dunkirk, but the latter was re-captured about two hours after by an English man of war brig: she was proceeding for Dunkirk or Ostend, and had been laying to for some hours in the evening, waiting for water to cross the bank, and, I apprehend, little expected to find English cruizers within the *Stroom Sand*. The brigs and cutters in company, who bore up with the cruizer in chace, were run out of sight by 12 A.M. I beg to recommend to your lordship's notice lieut. J. Pearce, senior lieutenant; lieutenant Lusk, second; and Mr. Lash, master, with the whole of the warrant and petty officers, seamen, and marines, through whose united exertions this active and enterprising enemy has been prevented making farther depredations, which, from his local knowledge of our coasts, added to the ample means he possessed in this brig, from her superior sailing and force, must have been highly detrimental to the trade of this country; nor can I, in justice, omit availing myself of this opportunity to express to your Lordship my thanks to Johannes Whymmer, pilot of the Cruizer, who, on this and all former occasions, by his correct knowledge of the coast and shoals, and

zeal



zeal for his majesty's service, has afforded me the most essential confidence and assistance.

I am happy to add, that the masters of the captured vessels, as also their crews, amounting to twenty English seamen, were on board the Contre-Admiral Magon at the time of capture, and are now on board the cruizer.

John Hancock.

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*Particulars of the Attempt to destroy Fort Rouge and the Flotilla protected by it in the Harbour of Calais, contained in the following Letter from Lord Keith, &c. &c. to Mr. Marsden, Secretary to the Board of Admiralty.*

*Monarch, off Ramsgate,*

Sir, Dec. 11, 1804.

Divisions of the enemy's flotilla passing from the eastward towards Boulogne having frequently, when pursued by his majesty's ships and vessels, taken shelter in the harbour of Calais, their entry into which has been particularly covered and protected by the advanced pile battery of Fort Rouge, I considered it an object of some importance to effect the destruction of that work; and lately directed capt. Sir Home Popham, of the *Antelope*, amongst other objects, to hold in view a favourable opportunity for making this attempt. I now transmit, for their lordship's information, a letter, and the inclosures to which it refers, which I have received from that officer, reporting the result of an assault which he directed to be made upon it early on the morning of the 9th instant; and from which there is reason to conclude that the fort has sustained material damage; but

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that, from the unfortunate circumstance of its not having been possible, under the existing state of the weather and tide, to carry up two of the explosion vessels to the point of attack, the injury has been far less extensive than might have otherwise been expected. The conduct of lieutenant Hew Stewart, of the *Monarch*, on this recent occasion, will not fail, I am sure, to excite their lordships' admiration and praise. I have great pleasure in conveying to their lordships capt. sir Home Popham's testimony to his distinguished merit, and to the zealous and active assistance which he received from capt. Brownrigg, lieut. Lake, and Mr. Bartholomew.

Keith.

*Antelope, Downs,*

My lord, Dec. 10.

I avail myself of the first moment of my return to the Downs, to acquaint you, that towards noon on Saturday the 8th, the wind promising to come to the S. E. and knowing it to be your lordship's intention to attack the enemy at every assailable point, I sent the *Dart*, on the close of the evening, to an assigned station between Sengate and Fort Lapin, accompanied by the *Susannah* explosion vessel, and two carcasses, with a view of making an assault against Fort Rouge. Lieut. Stewart, of the *Monarch*, commanded the explosion vessel; Mr. Bartholomew, acting lieutenant of the *Antelope*, had the charge of the first carcass intended to be applied, and capt. Brownrigg requested to take the other. Your lordship is aware how difficult it is to ascertain the precise injury done to the enemy in an enterprise of this nature, which in most cases must be under-

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taken



taken in the night; but, that you may be possessed of the best information in that respect, I sent the Fox cutter, whose master is an active intelligent man, and well acquainted with Fort Rouge, to reconnoitre the place as close as possible without risk; and I annex his report to lieut. Stewart's, as the clearest account that can be given of the able and officer-like manner in which the Susannah was placed, and the evident consequences of such an application, even under circumstances of considerable disadvantage. I very much regret that Mr. Bartholomew could not fetch the port; for I am positive he would have lashed the carcass to the piles; he, however, very prudently returned with it to the Dart; and, although something prevented the second carcass from going off, which evidently had been striking against the piles, from the indention at one end, yet he recovered and brought it also on board. I am most perfectly satisfied with the zeal and activity which captain Brownrigg manifested on this occasion; the Dart was admirably placed, and every assistance afforded from her that could ensure the success of this service, which must now be considered as confined to the efforts of the Susannah: and I take this opportunity of most particularly recommending lieut. Stewart to your lordship's notice; which, I hope, will also be extended to Mr. Bartholomew, notwithstanding he could not fetch the battery; and your lordship must be alive to the enterprising conduct of these two officers on former occasions. I cannot conclude my report without assuring your lordship, that lieut. Lake, of the Locust gun-brig, who was appointed to cover the boats,

behaved in a most exemplary manner, by keeping so close in as to draw all the fire upon his own vessel; and I have great satisfaction in stating, that not an officer or man was hurt in this operation. I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

H. Popham.

Sir,

*Dart, Dec. 10.*

In pursuance of your instructions, and according to the arrangement you made for the attempt on Fort Rouge only, I left this ship at two A. M. and proceeded in shore with the explosion vessel in my charge, until the water shoaled to two and a half fathoms, when I tacked, and stood off so as to enable me to fetch the battery, which I did about half-past two, and, placing her bowsprit between the piles, left her in that situation. In a few minutes I observed her swing with her broadside to the battery, in consequence of the bowsprit being carried away; and as an anchor was dropped the instant she struck the piles, I had not the smallest doubt of her remaining there until the explosion took place, which was in a few minutes; I could not fetch the covering brig, and as it had every appearance of coming on to blow from the S. E. in which quarter it was when I left the Dart, I hope you will excuse my running in the galley to the Downs.

H. Stewart.

*Fox Cutter, off Calais,  
Dec. 9.*

Sir,

According to your order, I proceeded off Fort Rouge, and examined it very strictly. As I proceeded towards the shore, I saw a great quantity of plank and timber floating, and would have picked up some but was afraid I should lose the tide,



as I wished to examine it at low water. In standing in, I could discern a great number of people standing all round the S. W. end of the fort, and from the West head all the way to the Sand-hills. I did not discover any alteration on the east side of the fort; but when I got to the westward of the fort, I

could plainly discover the most part of it to be damaged, and the breast-work knocked down; and I have every reason to believe it was very much injured, by such a number of people being assembled there, and seeming at work upon it.

W. Blake.

*Sir Home Popham.*

O o 2

A GENERAL



## A GENERAL BILL

OF

## CHRISTENINGS AND BURIALS,

FROM DECEMBER 13, 1803, TO DECEMBER 11, 1804.

Christened { Males.....11390 } 21543. Buried { Males.....8605 } 17038.  
 { Females..10153 } { Females..8438 }

Decreased in Burials this Year, 2544.

Died under 2 years .....	4881	40 and 50.....	1935	100.....	0
Between..... 2 and 5.....	1924	50 and 60.....	1599	101.....	4
5 and 10.....	676	60 and 70.....	1198	103.....	1
10 and 20.....	458	70 and 80.....	810	105.....	1
20 and 30.....	1237	80 and 90.....	413	110.....	0
30 and 40.....	1824	90 and 100.....	77	120.....	0

DISEASES.		CASUALTIES.	
ABORTIVE and still born.....	601	BROKEN Back...	1
Abscess.....	55	Broken Limbs...	2
Aged.....	1420	Broken Neck....	1
Ague.....	2	Broken Ribs.....	3
Apoplexy and sudden.....	413	Bruised.....	2
Asthma and Phthisic.....	527	Burnt.....	25
Bedridden.....	7	Choaked.....	1
Bile.....	4	Drowned.....	126
Bleeding.....	12	Excessive Drink- ing.....	4
Bursten and rup- ture.....	14	Executed* .....	6
Cancer.....	56	Found dead....	13
Chicken Pox.....	3	Frighted .....	1
Childbed.....	230	Killed by a Boar	1
Colds.....	9	Killed by Falls,	
Colick, Gripes, &c. ....	4	&c. ....	55
Consumption..	3447	Killed by Fight- ing.....	1
Convulsions....	3115	Killed them- selves.....	23
Cough & Hoop- ing-Cough....	697	Murdered.....	1
Cow Pox .....	1	Poisoned.....	2
Cramp .....	2	Scalded.....	7
Croup .....	24	Shot.....	1
Dropsy .....	792	Smothered .....	2
Evil .....	4	Suffocated .....	6
All Fevers.....	1702		
Fistula.....	2		
Flux .....	13		
French Pox.....	69		
Gout.....	153		
Gravel, Stran- guary, and Stone .....	8		
Grief.....	6		
Head-ach .....	1		
Headmouldshot, Horseshoehead, and Water in the Head.....	148		
Jaundice.....	93		
Inflammation....	603		
Itch.....	1		
Leprosy.....	1		
Lethargy.....	2		
Livergrown.....	5		
Lumbago.....	1		
Lunatic.....	141		
Measles.....	619		
Miscarriage.....	0		
Mortification....	368		
Palpitation of Heart.....	0		
Palsy.....	146		
Piles.....	0		
Pleurisy.....	20		
Quinsy.....	1		
Rheumatism....	10		
Scurvy.....	1		
Small Pox.....	622		
Sore Throat.....	20		
Sores and Ul- cers.....	11		
St. Anthony's Fire.....	4		
Spasm.....	6		
Stoppage in Sto- mach .....	10		
St. Vitus's Dance	2		
Surfeit.....	1		
Swelling.....	3		
Teeth.....	404		
Thrush.....	102		
Tumour in womb	1		
Vomiting and Looseness.....	0		
Worms.....	10		

\* There have been executed in Middlesex and Surrey 10, of which number 6 only have been reported to be buried (as such) within the bills of mortality.

Table



TABLE of the Prices of the Quartern Loaf in London, from January to December, 1804, inclusive.

January.		Feb.		March.		April.		May.		June.		July.		August.		Sept.		Oct.		Nov.		Dec.	
Day.	Price.	Day.	Price.	Day.	Price.	Day.	Price.	Day.	Price.	Day.	Price.	Day.	Price.	Day.	Price.	Day.	Price.	Day.	Price.	Day.	Price.	Day.	Price.
2	d. 9 $\frac{1}{4}$	7	d. 9	7	d. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$	4	d. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$	2	d. 8 $\frac{1}{4}$	6	d. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$	5	d. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$	4	s. d. 9 $\frac{3}{4}$	3	d. 11 $\frac{1}{4}$	7	s. d. 1 0	5	s. d. 1 0 $\frac{1}{4}$	6	s. d. 1 4 $\frac{1}{2}$
10	9 $\frac{1}{4}$	14	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	14	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	11	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	9	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	13	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	12	8 $\frac{3}{4}$	11	10	10	11	14	1 0 $\frac{1}{4}$	12	1 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	13	1 4 $\frac{3}{4}$
17	9 $\frac{1}{4}$	21	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	21	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	18	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	16	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	20	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	19	9 $\frac{1}{4}$	18	10 $\frac{3}{4}$	17	11 $\frac{1}{2}$	21	1 0 $\frac{1}{4}$	19	1 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	20	1 4 $\frac{1}{2}$
24	9	28	8	28	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	25	8 $\frac{1}{4}$	23	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	27	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	26	9 $\frac{1}{4}$	25	1 0	24	11 $\frac{1}{2}$	28	1 0 $\frac{3}{4}$	26	1 4	27	1 4 $\frac{1}{4}$



Account of the Produce of the PERMANENT TAXES in GREAT BRITAIN, in the Years ending the 5th Jan. 1803, and 5th Jan. 1804, respectively.—Dated 27th April, 1804.

TOTALS.	In the Years ended					
	5th January, 1803.			5th January, 1804.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Total of customs, excise, stamps, and incidents, prior to the year 1793	12084333	16	5	11925320	15	5
Add proportionate part of sugar, now annually granted	2055803	10	6 $\frac{1}{4}$	1792846	11	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
Additional duty on malt ditto	842830	6	2 $\frac{1}{4}$	814396	17	3
Duty on tobacco ditto	442922	0	0	451940	0	0
Total of duties, pro anno 1793	310412	9	2	321280	16	4
Ditto — — 1794	796688	18	4	832477	15	4 $\frac{1}{4}$
Add proportionate part of sugar, now annually granted	444498	1	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	387642	10	0 $\frac{3}{4}$
Total of duties, pro anno 1795	1473577	2	11 $\frac{3}{4}$	1546315	7	11 $\frac{1}{4}$
Ditto — — 1796	1376892	9	7 $\frac{1}{4}$	1429797	18	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
Ditto — — 1797	2761616	15	8 $\frac{3}{4}$	2603065	10	1 $\frac{1}{4}$
Add proportionate part of sugar, now annually granted	416716	18	8 $\frac{3}{4}$	363414	16	11 $\frac{1}{4}$
Total of duties, pro anno 1798	683757	10	6 $\frac{1}{4}$	708945	3	3 $\frac{1}{2}$
Ditto — — 1799	133689	12	3 $\frac{3}{4}$	103128	14	0
Ditto — — 1800	697451	18	0 $\frac{1}{4}$	821309	0	0
Ditto — — 1801	1730753	19	10	1850377	7	3
Ditto — — 1802	1957340	12	10 $\frac{3}{4}$	4584445	7	8 $\frac{1}{2}$
Ditto — — 1803	—	—	—	139436	17	8
	28209286	2	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	30676141	8	10 $\frac{3}{4}$
Amount of custom duties outstanding	997903	1	0	1003609	7	10
Ditto of excise duties ditto	3057486	15	6	4163757	16	10 $\frac{1}{4}$
	4055389	16	6	5167367	4	8 $\frac{1}{4}$
	28209286	2	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	30676141	8	10 $\frac{3}{4}$
	32264675	18	11 $\frac{1}{2}$	35843508	13	7

Mem.—The computation of the excise duties in Scotland not having been received, their amount is included in the consolidated excise, except the articles of wines, British and foreign spirits, and salt, which are apportioned in the same proportions as in the year 1802.



*An Amount of the NOTES of the BANK OF ENGLAND, in Circulation on the 1st of June; 1st August; 1st October; and 25th November, 1803; —distinguishing the Amount of those that were below the Value of Five Pounds.*

Amount of Bank of England Notes of Five Pounds each, and upwards, including Bank Post Bills payable Seven Days after Sight.

On 1st June...1803	£.12,847,540	1st Oct....1803	£.12,570,500
1st Aug. ...1803	13,013,180	25th Nov. 1803	13,502,690

Amount of Bank of England Notes of 2*l.* and 1*l.* each.

On 1st June...1803	£.3,253,600	1st Oct....1803	£.4,052,010
1st Aug....1803	3,721,330	25th Nov. 1803	4,429,240

Bank of England, 2d Dec. 1803.

W. Walton, Acct. Gen.

*General Return of the Royal Army of Reserve; made up from the latest Returns received by the Inspector General.*

Inspector General's Office, Dec. 1803.

ENGLAND and WALES. — COUNTIES.	No. of Men.	Rejected.	Dead.	Deserted.	Effective, and Present.	No. due, includ- ing Casualties.
Anglesea .....	45	2		2	41	68
Bedford .....	173	2	2		169	87
Buckingham .....	348	9	3	13	323	112
Berks .....	392	32	5	36	319	124
Brecon .....	106	1		2	103	44
Cambridge .....	318	17	1	12	288	64
Cheshire .....	594	2	2	28	540	162
Cumberland .....	306	35	2	39	230	176
Cornwall .....	570	49	2	29	490	85
Cardigan .....	127	1		1	125	142
Carmarthen .....	230	2	3	2	223	25
Carnarvon .....	85	1			84	44
Durham .....	444	17	2	24	401	77
Devon .....	1216	69	4	10	1133	124
Dorset .....	332	2	3	3	324	61
Derby .....	587	4		53	530	84
Denbigh .....	130	8			122	104
Essex .....	819	31	19	77	692	287
Flint .....	83	2		1	80	55
Gloucester .....	675	3	3	7	662	114
Glamorgan .....	199		3	2	194	81
Hertford .....	307	13	4	18	272	129



General Return of the Royal Army of Reserve for England and Wales—continued.

ENGLAND and WALES. COUNTIES.	No. of Men.	Rejected.	Dead.	Deserted.	Effective, and Present.	No. due, includ- ing Casualties.
Huntingdon .....	123	4	1	56	62	57
Hants .....	597	2	12	48	535	253
Hertford .....	418	4	2	68	344	76
Kent .....	1040	26	7	73	934	492
Lancaster .....	2303	82	2	53	2166	258
London and Middlesex } .....	1376	28	4	84	1260	1883
Leicester .....	510	29	1	10	470	59
Lincoln .....	639	2	3	10	624	132
Merioneth .....	86	2	2		82	45
Monmouth .....	127		2		125	52
Montgomery .....	160	1	2	1	156	11
Northampton .....	452	7	3	1	442	166
Norfolk .....	802	32	14	22	734	193
Northumberland .....	530	45	1	14	470	155
Nottingham .....	519	32		24	463	97
Oxford .....	337	27	1	6	303	121
Pembroke .....	177	1		10	166	2
Rutland .....	42	2		1	39	15
Radnor .....	53	1			52	22
Shropshire .....	571	40	13	12	506	286
Suffolk .....	713	53	26	12	622	245
Surrey .....	571	10	3	103	455	508
Sussex .....	371	2	5	19	345	276
Somerset .....	890	33		72	785	198
Stafford .....	745	1		3	741	170
Warwick .....	595	3	1	8	583	130
Worcester .....	565	4	1	14	546	42
Westmoreland .....	166		2	6	158	22
Wilts .....	683	42	7	10	624	103
York { West Riding .....	1844	113	3	28	1700	289
York { East Ditto .....	343		1	2	340	237
York { North Ditto .....	304		1		303	149
Total for England and Wales } .....	26739	952	178	1129	24480	9004

General



*General Return of the Royal Army of Reserve for Scotland.*

SCOTLAND.  COUNTIES,	No. of Men.	Rejected.	Dead.	Deserted.	Effective and Present.	No. due, including Casualties.
Aberdeen .....	154			4	150	350
Argyle .....	76			6	70	203
Ayr .....	286	2	2	12	270	57
Banff .....	29				29	105
Berwick .....	94	2	1	16	75	41
Bute .....	3				3	43
Caithness .....	84	2		1	81	10
Clackmannon .....	41				41	1
Cromarty .....	9				9	3
Dumbarton .....	87	2		13	72	8
Dumfries .....	177	1		35	141	72
Edinburgh .....	358	16		39	303	180
Elgin .....	64	1			63	40
Fife .....	348			14	334	29
Forfar .....	293	2		2	289	94
Haddington .....	75	6		9	60	56
Inverness .....	122				122	166
Kincardine .....	70			4	66	36
Kinross .....	24				24	2
Kircudbright .....	66	1		7	58	55
Lanark .....	509			21	488	75
Linlithgow .....	67	6		7	54	16
Nairn .....	21			2	19	13
Peebles .....	31	1		2	28	6
Perth .....	462			25	437	53
Renfrew .....	279	1		25	253	50
Ross .....	171	3		3	165	38
Roxburgh .....	100	5		6	89	45
Selkirk .....	19				19	
Stirling .....	173	6		16	151	46
Sutherland .....	61	1			60	15
Wigtown .....	82			2	80	9
Total for Scotland .....	4435	58	3	271	4103	1897

*General*



*General Return of the Royal Army of Reserve for Ireland.*

IRELAND. COUNTIES.	No. of Men.	Rejected.	Dead.	Deserted.	Effective, and present.	No. due, including Casualties.
Antrim .....	245	No particular Return of Men rejected at the Receiving Quarters has been made, in consequence of no Expenditure for Pay, &c. having been incurred for such Men.	—	16	229	51
Armagh .....	241		—	21	220	60
Carlow .....	87		—	9	78	132
Cavan .....	203		—	23	180	30
Clare .....	44		—	1	43	167
Cork (City) .....	229		—	31	198	82
Do. (County) .....	310		—	19	291	279
Donegal .....	108		—	19	89	261
Down .....	375		—	16	359	66
Dublin (City) .....	283		—	28	255	25
Do. (County) .....	134		—	12	122	88
Fermanagh .....	189		—	9	180	30
Galway .....	166		—	11	155	195
Kerry .....	71		—	11	60	220
Kildare .....	130		—	22	108	102
Kilkenny .....	115		—	20	95	185
King's .....	206		—	7	199	81
Leitrim .....	111		—	14	97	113
Limerick (City) .....	110		—	6	104	176
Do. (County) .....	109		—	23	86	124
Londonderry .....	240		—	17	223	127
Longford .....	175		—	16	159	51
Louth .....	239		—	40	199	116
Mayo .....	349		—	42	307	193
Meath .....	206		—	31	175	105
Monaghan .....	240		—	18	222	58
Queen's .....	151		—	16	135	75
Roscommon .....	80		—	12	68	312
Sligo .....	207		—	8	199	11
Tipperary .....	181		—	39	142	208
Tyrone .....	313		—	21	292	58
Waterford .....	125		—	14	111	169
Westmeath .....	166		—	16	150	60
Wexford .....	17		—	2	15	335
Wicklow .....	34		—		34	176
Total for Ireland .....	6189			610	5579	4521

## RECAPITULATION.

England and Wales .....	26739	952	178	1129	24480	9004
Scotland .....	4435	58	3	271	4103	1897
Ireland .....	6189			610	5579	4521
Total for United Kingdom .....	37363	1010	181	2010	34162	15422

G. Hewitt, Lieut. Gen.

Abstract



*Abstract of a List of such Yeomanry and Volunteer Corps as have been accepted; and placed upon the Establishment in Ireland.*

*Dublin Castle, Dec. 5, 1803.*

COUNTIES.	Captains.	Subalterns.	Serjeants.	Drums, &c.	Establishment.	
					Rank and File.	
					Cav.	Inf.
Antrim . . . .	66	131	144	54	314	4674
Armagh . . . .	29	63	138	20	108	2670
Carlow . . . .	17	36	55	14	142	1008
Cavan . . . .	37	75	134	30	190	2505
Clare . . . .	17	31	41	14	335	499
Cork (County) . . . .	73	143	211	70	960	3382
Cork (City) . . . .	21	43	77	20	360	1120
Donegal . . . .	28	61	123	28	330	2250
Down . . . .	79	129	233	58	285	4589
Dublin (Country) . . . .	37	79	102	36	443	1700
Dublin (City) . . . .	87	170	192	66	440	3682
Fermanagh . . . .	39	75	160	25	188	3050
Galway . . . .	33	76	90	31	427	1413
Kerry . . . .	13	25	39	12	148	556
Kildare . . . .	17	34	49	14	273	630
Kilkenny . . . .	21	41	60	21	225	971
King's County . . . .	32	58	85	29	275	1395
Leitrim . . . .	12	31	58	12	180	950
Limerick . . . .	27	54	90	25	558	1244
Londonderry . . . .	25	55	137	46	266	2630
Longford . . . .	14	24	37	11	102	680
Louth . . . .	17	38	76	20	247	1140
Mayo . . . .	22	43	65	20	120	1140
Meath . . . .	24	46	76	20	263	1239
Monaghan . . . .	23	46	99	23	170	1800
Queen's County . . . .	33	51	92	26	337	1490
Roscommon . . . .	14	29	38	13	265	511
Sligo . . . .	19	35	46	17	115	892
Tipperary . . . .	52	93	172	56	796	2618
Tyrone . . . .	67	156	270	67	274	5372
Waterford . . . .	20	45	80	19	361	1216
Westmeath . . . .	16	33	61	15	139	1022
Wexford . . . .	45	67	138	31	371	2252
Wicklow . . . .	50	90	135	40	270	2466
	1126	2206	3573	1003	10277	64756

Grand Total.....82241

Whitehall, Dec. 13, 1803.



*Abstract of a List of such Yeomanry and Volunteer Corps as have been accepted and placed on the Establishment in Great Britain.*

	Cav.	Infan.	Art.	Rank and File.		Cav.	Infan.	Art.	Rank and File.
Aberdeen . . . . .		3400	120	3520	London . . . . .	560	13338		12460
Anglesea . . . . .		1000		1000	Middlesex . . . . .	82	8299		8370
Argyll . . . . .		2028	63	2091	Man, Isle of . . . . .		693		693
Ayr . . . . .	144	2677		2691	Merioneth . . . . .		464		464
Banff . . . . .		960	80	1022	Monmouth . . . . .	125	1624		1656
Bedford . . . . .	177	1801		1978	Montgomery . . . . .	120	1560		1680
Berks . . . . .	634	3006		3484	Nairn . . . . .		320		320
Berwick . . . . .	160	772		911	Norfolk . . . . .	1120	6511	180	6918
Brecon . . . . .		1196		1196	Northampton . . . . .	1037	3430		4089
Bucks . . . . .	1122	2426		3121	Northumberland . . . . .	517	4411		4726
Bute . . . . .		38		90	Nottingham . . . . .	472	3635		4107
Caithness . . . . .		1272		1320	Oxford . . . . .	591	3322		3516
Cambridge . . . . .	163	2485		2500	Orkney & Zetland . . . . .				
Cardigan . . . . .		567		531	Peebles . . . . .	52	480		532
Carmarthen . . . . .	120	2316		2347	Pembroke . . . . .	440	1852	70	2701
Carnarvon . . . . .		1100		1073	Perth . . . . .	160	3897	63	4036
Chester . . . . .	732	4841	105	5372	Radnor . . . . .		1000		1000
Clackmannon . . . . .	40	296		336	Renfrew . . . . .		2701		2414
Cinque Ports . . . . .					Ross . . . . .		1620		1620
Cornwall . . . . .	383	5432	2328	7772	Roxburgh . . . . .	108	960		1060
Cromarty . . . . .		160		164	Rutland . . . . .	160	335		495
Cumberland . . . . .	56	3431	330	3736	Salop . . . . .	940	5022		5852
Denbigh . . . . .	194	2344		2464	Selkirk . . . . .	50	100		142
Derby . . . . .	330	5277		5852	Somerset . . . . .	1544	7747		9080
Devon . . . . .	1873	13197	1325	15212	Stafford . . . . .	1090	5425		6072
Dorset . . . . .	515	2201		2340	Stirling . . . . .	308	1318	65	1667
Dumbarton . . . . .	88	605		630	Suffolk . . . . .	769	6837		7332
Dumfries . . . . .	84	1875		1879	Sutherland . . . . .		1092		1092
Durham . . . . .	573	3814	300	4440	Surrey . . . . .	944	7801		8105
Elgin . . . . .		770		784	Sussex . . . . .	1024	6114	637	6198
Essex . . . . .	1251	6335		7033	Tower Hamlets . . . . .		4173		3742
Fife . . . . .	350	2613	100	2906	Warwick . . . . .	708	3874		4146
Flint . . . . .	270	2429		2698	Westminster . . . . .	260	10438		10684
Forfar . . . . .	47	2692	70	2717	Westmoreland . . . . .		1420		1420
Glamorgan . . . . .	213	2488		2301	Wight, Isle of . . . . .	120	1732	184	2030
Gloucester . . . . .	644	6436	176	7161	Wigtown . . . . .	105	624		729
Hants . . . . .	1252	7164	336	9509	Wilts . . . . .	850	4524		5176
Hereford . . . . .	180	3720		3532	Worcester . . . . .	494	4046		4304
Hertford . . . . .	625	2319	50	2762	York, N. Riding . . . . .	267	4381		4683
Huntingdon . . . . .	166	840		1006	York, E. Riding . . . . .	382	3473	61	3890
Inverness . . . . .		3666		3320	York, W. Riding . . . . .	1606	12990	50	14006
Kent . . . . .	1530	8804	253	10295					
Kincardine . . . . .		824		824					
Kinross . . . . .		280		280					
Kircudbright . . . . .	200	746		946					
Lanark . . . . .	65	4448		4513	Total of effective Rank and File . . . . .				341,687
Lancaster . . . . .	586	13710	560	14273	Field Officers . . . . .				1,246
Leicester . . . . .	622	2916		3483	Captains . . . . .				4,472
Lincoln . . . . .	713	4560		7866	Subalterns . . . . .				9,918
Linlithgow . . . . .	80	800		638	Staff Officers . . . . .				1,100
Lothian, East . . . . .	205	700		905	Serjeants . . . . .				14,787
Lothian, Mid. . . . .	300	1574		1843	Drummers . . . . .				6,733
Loth. Mid. } . . . . .									
Edinb. city } . . . . .		4858	415	4737	Grand Total . . . . .				379,943



*An Account of the MEN for the ROYAL ARMY of RESERVE, in each Month since the Commencement of the Act passed for that Purpose; of the Number of the same who have engaged for general Service, and of the Number of ballotted Men and Substitutes who have been enrolled for the said Army; as far as the same can be ascertained.—Dated Inspector General's Office, 1st May, 1804.*

## I. ENGLAND AND WALES.

PERIODS.	Number of Men raised.	Number rejected, discharged, claimed by civil Law, &c. &c.	Dead.	Number deserted, claimed as Deserters from other Corps, &c. &c.	Number of effective Men.	Number due, including the Candidates.	Number volunteered for general Service, included in the Effectives.
1st August . 1803 . .	103			18	85	33795	
1st September . . .	19453	212	2	1473	17766	16029	
1st October . . .	5168	260	36	1132	3740	12289	1747
1st November . . .	2117	374	74	371	1298	10991	2014
1st December . . .	1496	172	84	259	981	10010	2747
1st January . 1804 . .	956	101	83	131	591	9419	706
1st February . . .	647	111	81	186	269	9150	235
1st March . . .	707	205	67	147	233	8362	565
1st April . . .	673	82	53	245	288	8574	348
1st May . . .	433	235	45	105	53	8521	874
Total . . .	31758	1752	530	4117	25359	8521	9236
Number of ballotted men . . .	2531		253		2273		
Number of substitutes . . .	29227		6141		23086		

## II. SCOTLAND.

1st August . 1803 . .							
1st September . . .	2984	8	1	101	2874	3126	
1st October . . .	999	4	1	77	917	2209	
1st November . . .	359	3	1	53	302	1907	
1st December . . .	227	52	1	32	142	1765	
1st January . 1804 . .	252	12	2	20	218	1547	
1st February . . .	215	7		21	187	1360	482
1st March . . .	234	14	2	25	193	1167	371
1st April . . .	193	53	3	25	112	1055	56
1st May . . .	74	8		10	56	999	63
Total . . .	5537	161	11	364	5001	999	972
Number ballotted . . .	294		3		286		
Number substitutes . . .	5243		528		4715		

## III. IRELAND.

1st August . 1803 . .							
1st September . . .	1508			22	1486	8514	
1st October . . .	2241	25		153	2063	6451	
1st November . . .	1367	32		200	1135	5316	
1st December . . .	1099	37		110	922	4394	
1st January . 1804 . .	653	19	1	176	462	3932	
1st February . . .	497	20		117	360	3572	1444
1st March . . .	330	18	34	201	77	3495	24
1st April . . .	232	25	3	52	202	3293	191
1st May . . .	215	27	10	109	69	3224	140
Total . . .	8197	203	48	1170	6776	3224	1799

Number of Ballotted . . . 43



Abstracts of the Subdivision Rolls in Great Britain.—Dated Whitehall, 7th May, 1804.

	No. in 1st Class effective.	2d effective.	3d effective.	4th effective.	Voluntary Service.	Army, Marines, Volunteer Corps, Sea Fencibles.	Clergy, licensed Teachers, Medical Men, & Constables.	Infirm.	Enrolled in Parishes out of the County.
Aberdeen - - - -	8210	1897	1784	7388	2585	3162	120	1461	5
Anglesea - - - -	1889	386	779	2499	1729	1729	133	137	
Argyll - - - -	5061	952	1176	6215	10989	1280	288	120	
Ayr - - - -	4885	1130	1532	5600	4458		217	1357	3
Banff - - - -	1491	393	154	1944	1108	902	4	96	3
Bedford - - - -	3511	678	1582	5226	5814				
Berks - - - -	6721	1771	2309	8617	2457	734	317	1160	23
Berwick - - - -	1810	123	445	2505	1471	337	67	142	
Brecon - - - -	2709	673	672	2605	1295		226	371	
Bucks - - - -	5557	1241	2448	8895	6034	1893	356	1353	8
Bute - - - -	792	84	175	1005		480	41	64	
Caithness - - - -	1010	160	294	1649		925	84	114	159
Cambridge - - - -	4991	1189	2669	8260		1404	333	1104	42
Cardigan - - - -	1858	445	794	2802	489	618	224	315	
Carmarthen - - - -	3771	751	1225	4862	531	371	179	357	
Carnarvon - - - -	2329	689	939	1982	632	1394	75	195	
Chester - - - -	10917	2386	5807	15689	7214	2641	499	2384	365
Clackmannan - - - -	396	77	209	678			3	155	
Cinque Ports - - - -	3279	626	1470	4830	445	4998	142	690	53
Cornwall - - - -	9486	2178	2814	12363	3213	4316	198	844	
Cromarty - - - -	393	50	88	510	180	209	8	31	3
Cumberland - - - -	7160	1875	2092	8556	1615	76	188	706	
Denbigh - - - -	3641	868	930	3937	518	1	12	107	
Derby - - - -	9242	1996	3785	12924	14985	319	303	2179	2
Devon - - - -	18114	3457	5675	23855	15919	10312	1308	4674	2
Dorset - - - -	6347	1503	2469	9747	4353	2306	451	1590	20
Dumbarton - - - -	1377	337	367	1714	716	554	7	161	3
Dumfries - - - -	3442	677	842	3409			43	408	
Durham - - - -	7787	1816	3047	10873	1101	6325	900	1768	
Elgin - - - -	1433	368	300	1980		717	57	267	1
Essex - - - -	11079	2838	5087	16439	3391	3926	504	2335	33
Fife - - - -	3942	951	1116	6269	3673	3035	171	1092	8
Flint - - - -	2361	640	921	2498	718	2561	128	270	49
Forfar - - - -	4627	1060	1230	8019	1021	1238	126	735	
Glamorgan - - - -	5649	1268	2155	6286	14441	234	53	250	
Gloucester - - - -	12845	3612	5217	13546	17440	390	6118		7
Hants - - - -	12022	3099	4190	14537	18457	2412	576	2813	35
Hereford - - - -	4945	1574	1130	5912	3494	502	283	1030	59
Hertford - - - -	6088	1421	2578	8174	6618	447	240	1232	55
Huntingdon - - - -	2069	395	1070	3357	753	133	125	646	
Inverness - - - -	3159	436	1258	4776	830	716	93	163	
Kent - - - -	12319	3159	4872	17579	4233	14373	566	4157	38
Kincardine - - - -	1475	422	360	1891	1397	266	10	307	
Kinross - - - -	372	124	67	549		18	52	131	
Kirkcudbright - - - -	997	334	274	1561		906	95	263	
Lanark - - - -	8154	2226	3548	14689	7356				
Lancaster - - - -	39210	7997	22097	62231	27728	13846	1053	14782	
Leicester - - - -	6749	1780	2928	9358	8755	918	445	2211	23



*Abstract of the Subdivision Rolls, &c. &c. continued.*

	No. in 1st Class effective.	2d effective.	3d effective.	4th effective.	Voluntary Service.	Army Marines, Volunteer Corps, Sea Fencibles.	Clergy, licensed Teachers, Medical Men & Constables.	Infirm.	Enrolled in Parishes out of the County.
Lincoln - - -	10149	3161	4543	14795	5122	4968	789	3080	15
Linlithgow - - -	738	181	223	1158	541	450	33	235	2
Lothian, East - - -	492	86	181	1020	2037	685	24	485	
Lothian, Mid. (co.) -	2539	534	1019	4041			97	376	
Lothian, Mid. (ci.) -	2519	833	867	3824	1011	2353	130	1084	12523
London - - -	7241	2621	2766	9848	957	7657	523	246	112
Middlesex - - -	24625	9949	12133	44593	91299	13200	1200	6235	262
Man, Isle of - - -									
Merioneth - - -	1609	479	531	1673	396	260	139	118	3
Monmouth - - -	4236	1320	1179	3609	1457				
Montgomery - - -	3426	643	759	3546	1867	1	5	140	1
Nairn - - -	212	66	87	431	767	473	30	26	
Norfolk - - -	15727	3128	7284	23186	15458	3019	813	3739	33
Northampton - - -	6579	1557	2329	10295	5494	562	415	1210	31
Northumberland - -	4842	1869	1588	7523	6916	4649	293	1066	171
Nottingham - - -	8347	1815	2568	12111	3079	1916	294	2126	1
Oxford - - -	6585	1642	2269	8373	8134		36	188	
Orkney and Zetland									
Peebles - - -	693	155	140	708	315	460	11	96	1
Pembroke - - -	2733	531	955	3996		737	283	414	1
Perth - - -	7631	2024	1273	9238	8694	814	374	1021	7
Radnor - - -	1514	319	417	1441			8		
Renfrew - - -	3259	766	1322	5306		247	40	528	7
Ross - - -	2142	397	820	3215	4239	394	271	426	2
Roxburgh - - -	2205	586	532	2527	3507	100	53	549	
Rutland - - -	1008	269	475	1337	1269	182	102	213	5
Salop - - -	10853	2812	3551	12580	3931	2971	380	2166	13
Selkirk - - -	373	88	98	400	464	150	20	53	1
Somerset - - -	14644	2896	4905	17433	9035	8249	611	3224	5
Stafford - - -	13256	3296	6258	19141	18497	780	430	3595	45
Stirling - - -	2904	713	831	3421	2135	421	29	512	1
Suffolk - - -	12392	2227	4817	18016	11217	2195	299	2401	21
Sutherland - - -	1616	741	521	555		1080	104		
Surrey - - -	11209	3909	5062	19231	1846	10337	530	4533	33
Sussex - - -	9235	2029	3947	12627	9510	3109	503	2109	38
Tower Hamlets - - -	3966	2351	3730	10117		2951	233	1139	1118
Warwick - - -	10689	2743	4514	17757	11644	213	258	2962	9
Westminster - - -	included in Middlesex.								
Westmoreland - - -	1334	439	410	2426	2702	3	28	297	1
White, Isle of - - -	619	245	285	1232	1223	2435	128	89	4
Wigtown - - -	1530	391	369	1962	1417	137	46	265	
Wilts - - -	9760	2188	3540	13829	12334	909	467	2501	17
Worcester - - -	8537	1846	2743	1069	3739	216	142	1827	11
York, (north rid.) -	9456	2322	2588	11032	7642	1356	367	1459	6
York, (east rid.) -	7688	1886	2328	9984	2534	803	479	531	7
York, (west rid.) -	31257	6624	13792	50854	9980	1396	1440	7562	28
Cornwall Stanner -	2079	365	764	3391		38		69	
Total	552619	133752	345653	794291	482761	176780	29878	118322	15534



PRICE OF STOCKS.

Date.	Bank Stock.	3 per Ct. Reduced.	3 pr Ct. Consol.	4 pr Ct. Consol.	5 pr Ct. Navy.	5 pr Ct. 1797.	Long Ann.	Short Ann.	India Stock.	Exch. Bills.	Omnium.	Irish 5 per Ct.	Imperial 3 per Ct.	Lottery Tickets.
Jan.	155 $\frac{1}{2}$	57 $\frac{1}{2}$	56 $\frac{7}{8}$	73 $\frac{1}{2}$	90 $\frac{1}{4}$	95 $\frac{5}{8}$	16 $\frac{7}{8}$	3 $\frac{3}{8}$	173 $\frac{1}{4}$	3s. par.	6 $\frac{1}{2}$ pr.	84	55 $\frac{1}{4}$	20
Feb.	145 $\frac{1}{2}$	54 $\frac{1}{2}$	55 $\frac{1}{8}$	70 $\frac{1}{8}$	89 $\frac{1}{8}$	90 $\frac{5}{8}$	15 $\frac{3}{8}$	3 $\frac{1}{8}$	169	1 do.	1 $\frac{3}{4}$ do.	81 $\frac{1}{2}$	53 $\frac{1}{4}$	17
March	155 $\frac{1}{4}$	56 $\frac{3}{8}$	56 $\frac{1}{4}$	73 $\frac{1}{8}$	89 $\frac{1}{2}$	94 $\frac{1}{8}$	16 $\frac{7}{8}$	3 $\frac{3}{4}$	173 $\frac{3}{4}$	3 do.	4 $\frac{3}{4}$ do.	83	55 $\frac{1}{4}$	17
April	151	54 $\frac{7}{8}$	54 $\frac{1}{2}$	71 $\frac{1}{2}$	87 $\frac{1}{2}$	92 $\frac{1}{4}$	16 $\frac{1}{8}$	3 $\frac{1}{4}$	168	par.	2 do.	83 $\frac{3}{8}$	53 $\frac{7}{8}$	17
May	152 $\frac{1}{2}$	56 $\frac{7}{8}$	57 $\frac{1}{4}$	73 $\frac{1}{4}$	90 $\frac{1}{4}$	95	16 $\frac{3}{4}$	3 $\frac{3}{8}$	173	2s. par.	3 $\frac{3}{4}$ do.	81 $\frac{3}{8}$	56 $\frac{3}{8}$	17
June	153	55 $\frac{3}{8}$	55 $\frac{1}{8}$	72 $\frac{1}{2}$	88 $\frac{1}{2}$	94 $\frac{3}{8}$	16 $\frac{1}{4}$	3 $\frac{3}{8}$	168 $\frac{3}{4}$	par.	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ do.	81 $\frac{1}{2}$	54 $\frac{1}{2}$	17
July	147	56 $\frac{3}{8}$	55 $\frac{5}{8}$	72 $\frac{3}{8}$	90 $\frac{1}{2}$	94 $\frac{3}{8}$	16 $\frac{3}{8}$	3 $\frac{1}{8}$	170 $\frac{1}{2}$	3s. par.	5 do.	85	55 $\frac{7}{8}$	18
August	153 $\frac{1}{2}$	55 $\frac{5}{8}$	57 $\frac{1}{8}$	71 $\frac{3}{8}$	92 $\frac{3}{8}$	95 $\frac{1}{8}$	16	3	167	1 do.	3 $\frac{3}{4}$ do.	82 $\frac{5}{8}$	54 $\frac{1}{2}$	17
September	149 $\frac{1}{2}$	54 $\frac{1}{2}$	55 $\frac{1}{8}$	73	90 $\frac{1}{4}$	94 $\frac{5}{8}$	16 $\frac{1}{4}$	3	173 $\frac{1}{4}$	5 do.	4 $\frac{1}{2}$ do.	85	53 $\frac{1}{8}$	17
October	154 $\frac{1}{2}$	54 $\frac{1}{2}$	58 $\frac{1}{8}$	71 $\frac{1}{2}$	92 $\frac{1}{8}$	99 $\frac{1}{2}$	17 $\frac{1}{4}$	3 $\frac{1}{8}$	171	2 do.	7 $\frac{1}{2}$ do.	86	56 $\frac{1}{4}$	17
November	152 $\frac{1}{2}$	57 $\frac{3}{8}$	56 $\frac{1}{2}$	75 $\frac{3}{4}$	92 $\frac{3}{4}$	99 $\frac{1}{8}$	17 $\frac{3}{8}$	3 $\frac{1}{4}$	169 $\frac{1}{2}$	par.	4 $\frac{1}{2}$ do.	84 $\frac{7}{8}$	54 $\frac{3}{4}$	17
December	157 $\frac{1}{2}$	55 $\frac{3}{8}$	58 $\frac{1}{2}$	72 $\frac{3}{4}$	92 $\frac{1}{2}$	99 $\frac{3}{4}$	17 $\frac{1}{2}$	3 $\frac{1}{8}$	177	2s. par.	7 do.	88 $\frac{3}{8}$	56 $\frac{3}{8}$	18
	154	57 $\frac{1}{8}$	56 $\frac{1}{8}$	75 $\frac{1}{8}$	91 $\frac{1}{8}$	97 $\frac{1}{4}$	17 $\frac{3}{8}$	3 $\frac{1}{4}$	175 $\frac{1}{4}$	1 do.	6 do.	87 $\frac{1}{4}$	57 $\frac{1}{4}$	17
	162	57 $\frac{3}{4}$	57 $\frac{1}{2}$	76	92 $\frac{5}{8}$	99 $\frac{5}{8}$	17 $\frac{1}{4}$	3 $\frac{1}{8}$	178	1 do.	7 do.	87	56 $\frac{1}{2}$	18
	159 $\frac{1}{4}$	57 $\frac{1}{4}$	56 $\frac{3}{8}$	75 $\frac{1}{4}$	91 $\frac{1}{4}$	99 $\frac{1}{4}$	17 $\frac{3}{8}$	3 $\frac{1}{4}$	176	par.	6 $\frac{1}{4}$ do.	84 $\frac{3}{4}$	57 $\frac{3}{4}$	17
	160	57 $\frac{5}{8}$	57 $\frac{3}{8}$	72 $\frac{1}{4}$	90 $\frac{5}{8}$	99 $\frac{5}{8}$	17 $\frac{1}{4}$	3 $\frac{1}{4}$	177	2s. par.	7 do.	84 $\frac{3}{8}$	56 $\frac{1}{2}$	18
	160 $\frac{1}{4}$	56 $\frac{1}{4}$	56 $\frac{3}{4}$	72 $\frac{3}{8}$	89 $\frac{1}{4}$	99 $\frac{1}{4}$	17 $\frac{3}{8}$	3 $\frac{1}{4}$	176 $\frac{1}{2}$	par.	5 $\frac{3}{4}$ do.	84 $\frac{1}{2}$	57 $\frac{1}{2}$	18
	169	57 $\frac{5}{8}$	58 $\frac{1}{8}$	74 $\frac{1}{4}$	91 $\frac{3}{4}$	99 $\frac{3}{4}$	16 $\frac{5}{8}$	2 $\frac{3}{4}$	180 $\frac{1}{2}$	2s. dis.	8 $\frac{1}{4}$ do.	86 $\frac{7}{8}$	56 $\frac{5}{8}$	18
	161 $\frac{1}{4}$	56 $\frac{3}{8}$	57 $\frac{1}{4}$	72 $\frac{1}{2}$	89 $\frac{3}{8}$	99 $\frac{3}{8}$	17 $\frac{1}{2}$	2 $\frac{1}{4}$	176	par.	6 $\frac{1}{4}$ do.	84 $\frac{3}{4}$	56 $\frac{1}{4}$	18
	168 $\frac{1}{2}$	58 $\frac{1}{2}$	59	75 $\frac{1}{8}$	—	98 $\frac{1}{2}$	16 $\frac{5}{8}$	2 $\frac{1}{8}$	182 $\frac{7}{8}$	9s. dis.	9 $\frac{3}{4}$ do.	87 $\frac{7}{8}$	57 $\frac{1}{2}$	18
	166 $\frac{1}{2}$	56 $\frac{7}{8}$	58 $\frac{5}{8}$	74 $\frac{1}{4}$	—	98	16 $\frac{1}{8}$	2 $\frac{1}{8}$	181 $\frac{1}{2}$	9s. dis.	8 $\frac{3}{4}$ do.	86 $\frac{1}{2}$	56 $\frac{1}{2}$	18

The above is the highest and lowest Prices of the Stocks for the Year 1804.



# SUPPLIES granted by Parliament for the Year 1804.

## NAVY, &c.

December 1, 1803.

That 100,000 men be employed for the sea service,  
for the year 1804; including 22,000 marines.

	£.	s.	d.
For wages for ditto - - - - -	2,405,000	0	0
For victuals for ditto - - - - -	2,470,000	0	0
For wear and tear of ships in which they are to serve	3,900,000	0	0
For ordnance sea service on board such ships -	325,000	0	0

December 3.

For the ordinary of the navy for 1804 -	1,020,670	9	9
For the extraordinary establishment of ditto -	948,520	0	0

December 6.

For hire of transports for 1804 - - - - -	709,249	9	8
For prisoners of war in health - - - - -	220,166	8	1
For sick prisoners of war - - - - -	42,000	0	0

July 3, 1804.

For increasing the naval defence of the country -	310,000	0	0
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£. 12,350,606    7    6

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## ARMY.

December 12, 1803.

That 129,039 effective men be employed in Great  
Britain and Ireland, from 25th December, 1803,  
to 24th December, 1804.

For guards, garrisons, and other land forces, in Great Britain and Ireland - - - - -	4,276,624	12	8
For forces in the plantations, including those serving at Gibraltar, in the Mediterranean, and New South Wales - - - - -	1,174,509	16	6



For five troops of dragoons, and seventeen companies of foot, stationed in Great Britain for recruiting regiments serving in India	£.	s.	d.
- - -	29,859	14	9
For recruiting and contingencies for the land forces in Great Britain	180,000	0	0
For general and staff officers, and officers of the hospitals, ditto	154,647	3	10

April 28, 1804.

For the charge of recruiting and contingencies for land forces in Ireland, from 25th December, 1803, to 25th December, 1804	98,635	12	2
For general and staff officers ditto	61,037	3	9
For full pay to supernumerary officers	33,464	7	0
For allowances to the principal officers of several public departments	167,059	1	3
For the increased rates of subsistence to innkeepers, &c.	455,464	9	3
For half pay and allowances to reduced officers	189,215	12	5
For military allowances to ditto	5,665	8	6
For half pay and allowances to reduced officers of American forces	50,000	0	0
For officers late in the service of the states general	1,000	0	0
For the in and out pensioners of Chelsea and Kilmainham hospitals	245,048	15	8
For pensions to widows of officers of the land forces in Great Britain and Ireland	27,801	11	5
For the barrack department in Ireland	461,887	6	10
For general and hospital expences in Ireland	23,538	9	3
For foreign corps in the service of Great Britain and Ireland	582,262	19	11
For the royal military college	11,280	1	2
For the royal military asylum	32,600	0	0
For garrison service in the West Indies and America	8,884	19	2
For an augmentation to the military establishment of Great Britain and Ireland	200,000	0	0
For the barrack department in Great Britain	2,183,930	0	0
For the extraordinary expences of the Army for 1803	339,207	18	7
Towards the extraordinary expences of the army for 1804	1,400,000	0	0
Ditto.....in Ireland	600,000	0	0
	£.12,993,625	4	1

## MILITIA AND FENCIBLE CORPS, &c.

December 12, 1803.

For the embodied militia and corps of fencible in-



Infantry in Great Britain and Ireland, from 25th	£	s.	d.
December, 1803, to the 24th December, 1804 -	2,791,623	7	6
For cloathing for the embodied militia of Great			
Britain - - - - -	215,793	14	6
For contingencies for the embodied militia and corps			
of Fencible infantry in Great Britain and Ireland -	61,129	7	0
For the volunteer corps in Great Britain and Ireland	2,020,567	13	11

April 16, 1804.

Making provision for the pay and cloathing of the militia of Great Britain, for 1804.

For making allowances to adjutants and serjeants of the militia disembodied, for 1804.

Ditto....to subaltern officers of the militia in time of peace.

Making provisions for the pay and cloathing of the militia of Ireland, and of allowances to subaltern officers in time of peace, for 1804.

April 28.

For the further charge of volunteers in 1803 - -	500,000	0	0
For the further charge of volunteers, from 25th of			
December, 1803, to 24th December, 1804 - -	570,000	0	0
	<u>£. 6,159,114</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>11</u>

## ORDNANCE.

December 12, 1803.

For ordnance land service in Great Britain, for 1804	2,954,141	5	0
Ditto....in Ireland - - - - -	304,615	7	8
For defraying the expences of services performed by			
the office of ordnance in Great Britain, and not			
provided for in 1803 - - - - -	413,719	4	2
To replace the sum advanced by the exchequer in			
Ireland, for ordnance services, to 31st December,			
1803 - - - - -	64,615	7	8
	<u>£. 3,737,091</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>6</u>

## MISCELLANEOUS SERVICES.

December 13, 1803.

For defraying the probable amount of bills drawn, and to be drawn, from New South Wales, for 1804. - - - - -

28,000 0 0



	£.	s.	d.
For relief of the suffering clergy and laity of France, Toulonese, Corsican, and Dutch emigrants, and American loyalists - - - -	149,121	0	0
For defraying the expence of confining, maintaining, and employing convicts at home - - -	40,847	9	0
To make good money issued for expences at the parliament office in session 1802—3 - - -	433	19	3 $\frac{1}{2}$
Ditto . . . . to Mr. Clementson for one year's rent of a house, in lieu of his apartments at the house of commons - - - -	219	6	0
Ditto . . . . for additional allowances to the clerks in the office for auditing public accounts - - -	5,300	9	6
Ditto . . . . to the chairman of the committees of the house of peers - - - -	2,701	9	0
Ditto . . . . to defray the expences of a plan for the more perfect security of Shipping in the port of London - - - -	649	2	0
Ditto . . . . to pay a bill drawn by lieutenant-general Vyse, for the repairs of port Patrick - - -	248	11	6
Ditto . . . . for making an index to the journals of the house of lords - - - -	439	18	0
Ditto - - - - pursuant to addresses - - - -	6,523	1	8
To be paid to the board of first fruits in Ireland -	4,615	7	8 $\frac{1}{2}$
For defraying the expence of civil buildings in Ireland - - - -	23,076	18	6
Ditto - - - - of printing public general acts of the fourth session of the united parliament - - -	830	15	6
Ditto - - - - of proclamations and advertisements in the Dublin Gazette - - - -	6,485	19	11
For defraying the expence of printing, stationary, and other disbursements for the public offices in Ireland - - - -	18,840	0	0
Ditto - - - - of treasury incidents in Ireland - - -	1,846	3	1
Ditto - - - - of apprehending public offenders in Ireland - - - -	4,615	7	8 $\frac{1}{2}$
Ditto - - - - of criminal prosecutions, &c. in Ireland	23,076	18	6
Ditto - - - - of pratique in the port of Dublin - - -	966	18	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
Ditto - - - - of the gold mine in the county of Wicklow - - - -	1,293	7	10
To the accountant general for preparing and stating the public accounts of Ireland - - - -	313	16	11
To the deputy accountant general for ditto - - -	221	10	9
To the examiner of corn bounties - - - -	184	12	4
To the inspector general of imports and exports of Ireland for ditto - - - -	230	15	5
To the first clerk in the office of ditto - - -	184	12	4
To the examiner of excise - - - -	184	12	4
To the assistant examiner ditto - - - -	138	9	3



	£.	s.	d.
To the clerk in the office of auditor of the exchequer	184	12	4
For cloathing the battle axe guards in Ireland -	683	1	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
Ditto - - - the heralds, pursuivants, and state trumpeters for Ireland, for three years, from the 17th of March 1804 - - - - -	1,002	9	3
For defraying the charge of the incorporated society for promoting English protestant schools in Ireland - - - - -	18,580	18	2
Ditto - - - of the office of commissioners of charitable donations - - - - -	369	4	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
Ditto - - - of the society for promoting the knowledge and practice of the christian religion - - -	923	1	6
Ditto - - - of the female orphan house, near Dublin	1,118	12	8 $\frac{3}{4}$
Ditto - - - of fitting up and supporting a penitentiary in Dublin for young criminals - - -	1,615	7	8 $\frac{1}{2}$
Ditto - - - of the foundling hospital in Dublin -	20,769	4	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
Ditto - - - of the Hibernian marine society in Dublin - - - - -	1,788	13	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
Ditto....of the Hibernian school for soldiers' children - - - - -	4,153	16	11
For defraying the charge of supporting the Westmoreland Lock hospital in Dublin - - -	6,671	1	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
Ditto - - - of the fever hospital in Dublin - - -	475	16	2 $\frac{3}{4}$
Ditto - - - of the house of industry in Dublin -	16,984	8	8 $\frac{1}{2}$
Ditto - - - of the Roman catholic seminary in Ireland - - - - -	7,384	12	4
To be paid to the commissioners for making wide and convenient streets in Dublin - - -	4,153	16	11
Ditto - - - to the corporation for paving, &c. Dublin - - - - -	9,230	15	5
Ditto - - - to the society for promoting husbandry and other useful arts in Ireland - - -	5,076	8	6
To be applied towards compleating additional buildings at the repository of the Dublin society - - -	4,153	16	11
For defraying the expences of the farming society in Ireland - - - - -	1,846	3	1
Ditto - - - of the lying-in hospital in Dublin -	2,136	18	11 $\frac{1}{4}$

December 19.

For the linen and hempen manufactures of Ireland -	19,938	9	3
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March 29, 1804.

To be distributed to the officers, seamen, and marines on board the fleet under the command of lord Hood, being the value of ships taken at Toulon -	265,336	14	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
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	£	s.	d.
April 16.			
For foreign and other secret services - -	150,000	0	0
For defraying sums awarded to be paid pursuant to seventh article of American treaty - -	412,000	0	0
For the British museum - - - -	3,000	0	0

April 28.			
For defraying the expence of printing Journals, &c. of the house of commons - - -	16,623	0	0
Ditto . . . of printing the 57th volume of ditto - -	2,500	0	0
Ditto . . . of reprinting journals, &c. of ditto - -	10,000	0	0
Ditto . . . of publishing records in 1803 - -	1,767	15	10
Ditto . . . of the superintendence of aliens - -	8,589	5	0
Ditto . . . of prosecutions relating to the coin in 1803 - - - -	1,609	19	4
Ditto . . . in 1804 - - - -	1,700	0	0
Ditto . . . of the works and repairs of the military roads in North Britain - - -	5,000	0	0
Towards defraying the expence of the Scotch Inland Navigation - - - -	50,000	0	0
For defraying the expence of works done at the two houses of parliament, and the speaker's house, be- tween 31st May 1803, and 24th April 1804 - -	12,345	0	0
Ditto . . . at the Old Chapter House, Westminster - -	741	12	0
Ditto . . . of repairs at the king's bench prison - -	3,010	0	0
Ditto . . . of completing the works at Chetney Hill Lazaret - - - -	30,000	0	0
For the board of agriculture - - - -	3,000	0	0
Plantations: { For civil establishment of Upper Canada in 1804 - -	8,050	0	0
{ Ditto . . . of Nova Scotia - - -	7,165	0	0
{ Ditto . . . of New Brunswick - - -	4,650	0	0
{ Ditto . . . of Prince Edward's island - -	2,300	0	0
{ Ditto . . . of Cape Breton - - -	2,040	0	0
{ Ditto . . . of Newfoundland - - -	1,715	0	0
{ Ditto . . . of the Bahama islands - -	4,100	0	0
{ Ditto . . . of the Bermudas - - -	580	0	0
{ Ditto . . . of the island of Dominica - -	600	0	0
{ Ditto . . . of New South Wales - - -	10,049	4	5

July 3.

To make good the deficiency of money granted for de- fraying the expence of convicts, for 1803 - -	3,269	2	0
For affording relief to the inhabitants of the Shetland islands - - - -	10,000	0	0
Ditto . . . of the Orkney islands - - -	10,000	0	0
To be applied towards repairing and maintaining roads and bridges in the Highlands of Scotland - -	10,000	0	0

To



To make good money issued for making further provision for the Presbyterian ministers of Ulster and Munster	£	s.	d.
	4,160	13	6
Ditto....for expences attending the digesting and abstracting poor returns	1,100	0	0
Ditto....for additional allowances to clerks in the office for auditing public accounts	5,285	18	9
Ditto....for the furniture of a house lately used as an Irish office, given up to the commissioners of naval abuses	2,099	19	9
Ditto....for expences of the Thames police office	649	4	0
To make good money issued for publishing the average price of sugar	454	0	0
Ditto....to pay fees on passing public accounts	3,000	0	0
Ditto....to the first commissioner under the sixth article of the American treaty	5,387	4	0
Ditto....for contingent expences in the execution of act for enquiring into naval abuses	1,060	10	0
Ditto....in consequence of orders from a select committee for the improvement of the port of London	560	0	0
For maintaining and supporting British forts and settlements on the coast of Africa	18,000	0	0
For support of the veterinary college	1,500	0	0
For making compensation for the purchase of lands at Weedon Beck for the service of the ordnance	5,531	17	6
To the executors of the late sir James Wright for his losses as an American loyalist	4,871	1	4

## July 10.

To make good the like sum issued pursuant to addresses	8,798	11	0
For supplying exchequer court and officers with stationary	745	6	10
For printing and stationary for the houses of parliament for 1804	11,600	0	0
For defraying law charges for 1804	7,500	0	0
To be paid to officers of houses of lords and commons	3,905	0	0
For the expence of the public office in Bow-street	9,000	0	0
For protestant dissenting ministers	5,945	10	0
For defraying the extra charge of messengers of three secretaries of state	5,250	0	0
For contingencies for three secretaries of state	6,965	0	0
To be paid to sheriffs for conviction of felons	7,371	15	0 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
For the ministers of the Vaudois churches	914	0	0
For the British museum	8,000	0	0
For the civil establishment of Sierra Leone	28,000	0	0



	£	s.	d.
To enable his majesty to take such measures as the exigency of affairs may require	-	-	- 2,500,000 0 0
For making compensation for purchase of lands at Woolwich and Charlton, for the use of the ordnance	-	-	- 57,066 6 1
	£4,217,295	14	8 $\frac{1}{4}$

For paying off and discharging treasury bills in Ireland	<i>Irish Currency.</i>
	- 1,700,000 0 0
To enable his majesty to take such measures as the exigency of affairs may require, for Ireland	- 800,000 0 0

## EXCHEQUER BILLS.

April 16, 1804.

For paying off exchequer bills issued per act of last session for raising £5,000,000	-	- 5,000,000 0 0
Ditto....for raising £4,000,000	-	- 3,000,000 0 0
Ditto....for raising £1,500,000	-	- 1,500,000 0 0
Ditto....for raising £2,000,000	-	- 1,500,000 0 0
	£11,000,000	0 0

## CIVIL LIST.

July 3, 1804.

To discharge arrears and debts upon the civil list on 5th July, 1804	-	- 591,842 3 10 $\frac{1}{2}$
For granting the additional yearly sum of £60,000 out of the consolidated fund of Great-Britain, for the better support of his majesty's household.		

## RECAPITULATION.

Navy	-	-	-	12,350,606	7	6
Army	-	-	-	12,993,625	4	1
Militia and fencible corps	-	-	-	6,159,114	2	11
Ordnance	-	-	-	3,737,091	4	6
Miscellaneous services	-	-	-	4,217,295	14	8 $\frac{1}{4}$
Ditto extra	-	-	-	2,500,000	0	0
Exchequer bills	-	-	-	11,000,000	0	0
Civil list	-	-	-	591,842	3	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
Additional, annual, to his majesty	-	-	-	60,000	0	0
Total of supply	-	£53,609,574	17	6 $\frac{3}{4}$		

WAYS



## WAYS and MEANS for raising the SUPPLY.

## GRANTS.

December 3, 1803.

£. s. d.

For continuing the duties on malt, mum, cyder, and perry - - - -

For raising four shillings in the pound upon pensions, officers, and personal estates - - - -

For continuing certain duties on sugar, malt, tobacco, and snuff - - - -

For raising £.5,000,000 by loans or exchequer bills 5,000,000 0 0

March 13, 1804.

For raising £.2,000,000 by loans or exchequer bills 2,000,000 0 0

March 22.

For applying £.1,370,664 4s. 8½d. being the surplus of the grants for 1803 - - - -

1,370,664 4 8½

April 20.

For raising £.8,000,000 by loans or exchequer bills 8,000,000 0 0

For raising £.1,500,000 by loans or exchequer bills 1,500,000 0 0

That the charge of the pay and cloathing of the militia of Great Britain be defrayed out of the land tax.

That the charge of allowances to adjutants and serjeant majors of the militia of England, disembodied, be defrayed out of the land tax.

That the allowances to certain subaltern officers of the militia in Great Britain be defrayed out of the land tax.

That the charge of the pay and cloathing of the militia of Ireland, and allowances to subaltern officers, be defrayed out of the consolidated fund of Ireland.

April 28.

For raising £.1,153,846 3s. 1d. by annuities or debentures for the service of Ireland - - - -

1,153,846 3 1

May 2.

For raising £.14,500,000 by annuities, whereof £.10,000,000 are to be defrayed on the part of Great Britain, and £.4,500,000l. on the part of Ireland. - - - -

14,500,000 0 0

For applying £.5,000,000 out of the monies that shall arise of the surplus of the consolidated fund 5,000,000 0 0

For



July 7.

£. s. d.

For raising a certain sum of money by three lotteries, to be applied to the services of Great Britain and Ireland, in the proportion of two-thirds for Great Britain, and one-third for Ireland.

July 10.

For raising £.2,500,000, by loans or exchequer bills, to be charged on the first aids in the next session for Great Britain	-	-	-	2,500,000	0	0
For raising £.800,000 (Irish currency) by treasury Bills, ditto..... for Ireland	-	-	}	Irish currency. 800,000.	0	0
Estimated duties, land tax, &c.	-	-	-	11,585,064	9	9 $\frac{1}{4}$
Total ways and means -				£.53,509,574	17	6 $\frac{3}{4}$

### *Taxes imposed in the Year 1804.*

May 2, 1804.

For charging additional duties of customs on goods, wares, and merchandize, imported into Great Britain, not being imported by the East India Company.

Ditto ..... imported by the East India Company.

Ditto ..... carried coastwise.

For allowing additional drawbacks and bounties on the exportation of sugar.

For charging additional countervailing duties on refined sugar, manufactured in Ireland, imported into Great Britain.

For allowing additional drawbacks and bounties on refined sugar, manufactured in Great Britain exported to Ireland.

For charging additional duties and drawbacks of excise upon wine.

June 22.

For charging additional duties in Ireland upon spirits, malt, sugar, wine, tea, tobacco, snuff, stamps, advertisements, licences, and imports, and the same, together with certain other duties composing part of the public revenues of Ireland, to be paid in British currency; and also, for granting certain countervailing duties on goods, the product or manufacture of Great Britain.

July 3.

For repealing the several duties under the management of the commissioners of Stamps in Great Britain, and granting other duties in lieu thereof.

July



July 10.

For charging certain duties on stamps in Scotland.

For charging a stamp duty on medicines in Great Britain.

For charging a duty on spirits distilled from corn in Ireland, which shall be warehoused for exportation.

*A List of the Public Bills which received the Royal Assent in the Course of the present Session of Parliament, from its opening on Tuesday, Nov. 22, to the 30th of July, when it terminated, inclusive.*

December 15, 1803.

An act to continue, until six months after the ratification of a definitive treaty of peace, the restrictions contained in several acts made in the 37th, 38th, 42d, and 43d years of the reign of his present majesty, on payments of cash by the bank of England.

An act for granting to his majesty the sum of 8,000l. for the relief of certain curates in England.

An act to regulate the bonds issued by the East India Company, with respect to the rate of interest, and the duty payable thereon.

An act to continue several laws relating to the suspending the operation of two acts of the 15th and 17th years of his present majesty, for restraining the negotiation of promissory notes and bills of exchange, under a limited sum, in England, and to the prohibiting the importation from, and permitting the exportation to Great Britain, of corn; and for allowing the importation of other articles of provision, without payment of duty, until the 25th day of March, 1805; and to the regulating the trade and com-

merce to and from the island of Malta, until 6 months after the ratification of a definitive treaty of peace.

An act to continue, until the 25th day of March, 1805, an act, passed in the last session of Parliament, for discontinuing certain drawbacks and bounties on the exportation of sugar from Great Britain, and for allowing other drawbacks and duties in lieu thereof.

An act for suspending, until the last day of August, 1804, the operation of an act, made in the last session of parliament, to continue and amend two acts, made in the last parliament of Ireland, for restraining the negotiation of promissory notes and inland bills of exchange, under a limited sum, within Ireland.

An act to indemnify such persons in the united kingdom as have omitted to qualify themselves for offices and employments; and for extending the times limited for those purposes respectively until the 25th day of December, 1804; and to permit such persons in Great Britain as have omitted to make and file affidavits of the execution of indentures of clerks and attornies and solicitors, to make and file the same on or before the first day of Michaelmas term, 1804.

An act to continue, until six weeks after the commencement of the next session of parliament, an act



act made in the last session of parliament, intituled "An act to empower the lords lieutenant, or other chief governor or governors of Ireland, to apprehend and detain such persons as he or they shall suspect, for conspiring against his majesty's person and government, until six weeks after the commencement of the next session of parliament."

An act to continue until six weeks after the commencement of the next session of parliament, an act passed in the last session of parliament, intituled, "An act for the suppression of rebellion in Ireland, and for the protection of the persons and property of his majesty's faithful subjects there, to continue in force until six weeks after the commencement of the next session of parliament."

An act to continue until the 25th day of March, 1805, several acts of the 41st, 42nd, and 43rd years of his present majesty's reign, for regulating the bounties and drawbacks on the exportation of sugar from Ireland.

An act for enabling the lord lieutenant or other chief governor or governors of Ireland, to prohibit, until the 25th day of March, 1805, the distillation of spirits from oats or oatmeal in Ireland; and for indemnifying such persons as have acted in advising or carrying into execution a proclamation of the lord lieutenant and council of Ireland for prohibiting such distillation.

An act to continue until the 25th day of March, 1805, so much of an act made in the 41st year of his majesty's reign, as relates to the prohibiting the exportation from Ireland of corn or potatoes, or other provisions; and to the permitting the importation into Ireland of corn,

fish, and provisions, without payment of duty.

An act to prevent the desertion and escape of petty-officers, seamen, and others from his majesty's service, by means, or under colour of any criminal or civil process.

An act to amend two acts passed in the 41st and 43rd years of his present majesty, for permitting Portugal wine to be landed and warehoused in the united kingdom; and to allow Spanish wine to be so landed and warehoused.

An act for raising the sum of five millions, by loans or exchequer bills, on the credit of such aids or supplies as have been or shall be granted by parliament for the service of Great Britain, for the year 1804.

An act for continuing and granting to his majesty certain duties upon malt, in Great Britain, for the service of the year 1804.

An act for continuing and granting to his majesty a duty on pensions, offices, and personal estates, in England; and certain duties on sugar, malt, tobacco, and snuff, in Great Britain, for the service of the year 1804.

An act to explain and amend two acts passed in the 42nd and 43rd years of his present majesty, relating to volunteers and yeomanry corps in Great Britain.

*March 9.*

An act for punishing mutiny and desertion; and for the better payment of the army and their quarters.

An act for the regulation of his majesty's royal marine forces, while on shore.

An act to continue until three months after any restriction imposed, by an act of the present session



of parliament on the bank of England from issuing cash in payments shall cease. An act made in the parliament of Ireland in the 37th of his present majesty, for confirming and continuing the restrictions on payments in cash by the bank of Ireland, and also an act made in the 43rd of his present majesty for amending the said act.

An act to indemnify all persons who have been concerned in issuing or carrying into execution an order of the lords commissioners of his majesty's treasury, for permitting the exportation of seed corn to Portugal, from Great Britain.

An act for allowing vessels employed in the Greenland whale-fishery, and clearing out from any port in Great Britain, to complete their full number of men at certain ports for the present season.

An act for further continuing, until the 25th of March 1806, an act made in the 33rd of his present majesty, for rendering the payment of creditors more equal and expeditious in Scotland.

An act to enable his majesty to grant the inheritance in fee-simple, of certain manors, messuages, lands, and hereditaments, in the parishes of Bysfleet, Weybridge, Walton, Walton Leigh, and Chertsey, in the county of Surry, to his royal highness Frederick duke of York and Albany, for a valuable consideration.

#### *March 22.*

An act for charging, until the 25th day of March, 1805, certain rates and drawbacks, and for allowing certain bounties and drawbacks upon goods, wares, and merchandize, imported into and exported from Ireland; and also, for

charging certain inland duties of excise and taxes in Ireland, in lieu of former rates, duties, taxes, bounties, and drawbacks.

An act for charging, until the 25th day of March, 1805, certain increased countervailing duties on the importation into Ireland of the several goods, wares, and merchandize therein mentioned, being the growth, produce, or manufacture of Great Britain; and for allowing increased drawbacks on the exportation to Great Britain of the several articles therein mentioned, being the manufacture of Ireland.

An act for granting to his majesty a duty upon malt made in Ireland, for the year 1804.

An act for permitting, until the 5th day of May, 1805, the importation of hides, calve skins, horns, tallow, and wool, (except cotton wool,) in foreign ships, on payment of the like duties as if imported in British or Irish ships.

An act to revive and continue, until eight months after the ratification of a definitive treaty of peace, an act made in the 42nd of his present majesty, for repealing several acts relating to the admission of certain articles of merchandize in neutral ships, and to the issuing orders in council for that purpose, and for making other provisions in lieu thereof; and also, to indemnify all persons who have been concerned in issuing or carrying into execution orders of council for permitting the importation of certain goods from America in neutral ships.

An act for raising the further sum of two millions by loans or exchequer bills, on the credit of such aids or supplies as have been or shall be granted by parliament for  
the



the service of Great Britain, for the year 1804.

*May 3.*

An act for empowering his majesty, for a time and to an extent therein limited, to accept the services of such parts of his militia forces in Ireland as may voluntarily offer themselves to be employed in Great Britain.

An act for empowering his majesty to direct the augmentation of his militia forces in Ireland, to an extent therein limited.

An act to amend an act passed in the last session of parliament, for making provision for the wives and families of militia-men in Ireland.

An act to amend and continue several laws relating to the allowing the importation of rape seed and other seeds used for extracting oil, whenever the prices of middling British rape seed shall be above a certain limit; to the allowing the importation of seal skins cured with foreign salt, free of duty, to the 24th June, 1809; and to the encouragement of the Greenland whale fisheries, to the 25th December, 1806; and to continue several laws relating to the allowing the use of salt, duty free, in the preserving of fish in bulk or in barrels; and to the discontinuing the bounty payable on white herrings exported, to the 25th March, 1809; to the permitting sir William Bishop, George Bishop, and Angles Bishop, to carry on the manufacture of Maidstone geneva, to the 5th July 1809; and to the admission to entry of oil and blubber of Newfoundland, taken by his majesty's subjects carrying on the fishery from and residing in the said island, to 25th December, 1805.

An act to amend and continue until the 25th March 1807, so much of an act made in the 41st year of his present majesty, as relates to allowing plantation sugar to be warehoused.

An act to repeal so much of an act, passed in the last session of parliament, for granting to his majesty a contribution on profits arising from property, professions, trades, and offices, as requires attornies, agents, and factors, to retain and pay the duties chargeable upon public annuities; and to extend the times for hearing appeals on assessments or surcharges made in pursuance of the said act.

An act for increasing the rates of subsistence to be paid to innkeepers and others on quartering soldiers.

An act for defraying the charge of the pay and clothing of the militia in Great Britain for the year 1804.

An act to revive and further continue, until the 25th March 1805, and amend so much of an act, made in the 39th and 40th years of his present majesty, as grants certain allowances to adjutants and serjeant-majors of the militia of England, disembodied under an act of the same session of parliament.

An act for defraying, until the 25th of March 1805, the charge of the pay and clothing of the militia of Ireland; for holding courts martial on serjeant-majors, serjeants, corporals, and drummers, for offences committed during the time such militia shall not be embodied; and for making allowances in certain cases, to subaltern officers of the said militia during peace.

An act to amend an act, made in the 42nd year of his majesty, to amend the laws for the better regulation



lation of the linen manufacture of Ireland.

An act to enforce the due observance of the canons and rubrick respecting the ages of persons to be admitted into the sacred orders of deacon and priest.

An act to exempt vessels in the Newfoundland trade from the provisions of an act passed in the last session of parliament, for regulating vessels carrying passengers from the United States.

An act for raising the sum of eight millions by loans or exchequer bills, for the service of Great-Britain for the year 1804.

An act for raising the sum of one million five hundred thousand pounds, by loans or exchequer bills, for the service of Great-Britain for the year 1804.

*May 16.*

An act for raising the sum of fourteen millions five hundred thousand pounds, by way of annuities.

An act for raising a certain sum of money by way of annuities or debentures, for the service of Ireland.

An act for granting to his majesty, until twelve months after the ratification of a definitive treaty of peace, additional duties of excise on wine imported into Great-Britain.

An act to revive and continue, until the ratification of a definitive treaty of peace, an act, made in the last session of parliament, for providing for the more speedy completion of the establishment of officers in the militia of Great-Britain; and for facilitating the filling up of vacancies therein.

An act for making allowances, in certain cases, to subaltern officers of

the militia in Great-Britain while disembodied.

An act to alter and amend so much of an act, passed in the 34th year of his present majesty, as relates to the amount of the sums to be paid by persons compounding for the performance of the statute duty.

*May 18.*

An act for granting to his majesty, during the present war, and for six months after the expiration thereof by the ratification of a definitive treaty of peace, additional duties on the importation of certain goods, wares, and merchandise, into Great-Britain; and on goods, wares, and merchandise, brought or carried coastwise within Great-Britain.

*June 5.*

An act to consolidate and amend the provisions of the several acts relating to corps of yeomanry and volunteers in Great-Britain; and to make further regulations relating thereto.

An act for more effectually preventing the sale of excisable liquors in Scotland by persons not duly licensed; and for altering the times of granting licenses to sell such excisable liquors by retail.

*June 29.*

An act for establishing and maintaining a permanent additional force for the defence of the realm; and to provide for augmenting his majesty's regular forces; and for the gradual reduction of the militia in England.

An act to exempt from duties on export all linens of the manufacture of the united kingdom.

An



An act for directing certain public accounts of Ireland to be laid annually before parliament.

An act to indemnify solicitors, attornies, and others, who have neglected to enter certificates within the time limited by an act made in the 37th year of his present majesty; and to amend so much of the said act as relates to the entering such certificates.

An act for the preventing of bribery and corruption in the election of members to serve in parliament for the borough of Aylesbury, in the county of Buckingham.

An act to amend two acts, made in the 18th and 39th years of his present majesty, for the erecting a court-house for the holding of sessions of the peace in the city of Westminster; and for purchasing certain buildings and grounds between St. Margaret-street, Union-street, and King-street in the said city, for the use of the public.

An act for making further provision for making and maintaining an inland navigation, commonly called the Caledonian Canal, from the eastern to the western sea by Inverness to Fort William, in Scotland.

An act for vesting the capital messuage, with the appurtenances, situate in Kevin-street, in the city of Dublin, called the palace of the archbishop of Dublin, at St. Sepulchre's, in his majesty, his heirs, and his successors; and for applying the purchase-money, together with another sum therein mentioned, in manner and for the purposes therein mentioned.

*June 30.*

An act to continue, until the 1st of July 1805, the operation of an

act, passed in the last session of parliament, to suspend proceedings in actions, prosecutions, and proceedings under certain acts relating to the woollen manufacture; and also under an act of the reign of queen Elizabeth, so far as the same relates to certain persons employed or concerned in the said manufacture.

*July 3.*

An act to continue until 1st July 1805, an act passed in the last session, for continuing two acts, the one passed in the 42d of his majesty, for regulating the prices at which grain, meal, and flour, may be exported from Great-Britain to Ireland, and from Ireland to Great-Britain; and the other, made in the last session, for permitting the exportation of seed corn from Great-Britain to Ireland, and the importation of malt into Great-Britain from Ireland.

*July 10.*

An act for establishing and maintaining a permanent additional force for the defence of the realm, and to provide for augmenting his majesty's regular forces; and for the gradual reduction of the militia of Scotland.

An act for granting to his majesty, until 25th March 1805, certain duties on the importation of the goods, &c. herein mentioned, into Ireland, and also certain duties of excise on spirits, malt, and tobacco, in Ireland; and for the increase of certain public revenues in Ireland, by making the same payable in British currency.

An act for granting to his majesty certain stamp duties in Ireland.

AN



An act to amend the laws for regulating the linen manufacture of Ireland.

An act to enable his majesty to authorise the exportation of the machinery necessary for erecting a mint in the dominions of the king of Denmark.

An act to prevent the counterfeiting of silver coin issued by the governor and company of the bank of England, called dollars, and silver coin which may be issued by the governor and company of the bank of Ireland, called tokens.

An act for allowing the sale of certain East-India prize goods in the port of Liverpool.

An act to enable the lords commissioners of the treasury of Great-Britain to issue exchequer bills on the credit of such aids or supplies as have been or shall be granted by parliament for the service of Great-Britain for 1804.

*July 14.*

An act for establishing and maintaining a permanent additional force to be raised in Ireland, for the defence of the realm, and to provide for augmenting the regular forces.

An act for enabling subjects of foreign states to enlist as soldiers in his majesty's service, and for enabling his majesty to grant commissions to subjects of foreign states to serve as officers or as engineers, under certain restrictions.

An act for settling and securing a certain annuity on the viscountess Kilwarden, and on the family of the late lord Kilwarden.

An act to render valid certain marriages solemnised in certain churches and chapels in which banns had not usually been published before, on, or at the time of passing

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an act, made in the 26th of George II. intituled "An act for the better preventing of clandestine marriages."

An act for making compensation to the proprietors of certain lands and hereditaments situate at Weedon Beck, in the county of Northampton, purchased for the service of his majesty's ordnance.

An act to vest certain messuages, lands, &c. in trustees, for better securing his majesty's docks, ships, and stores, at Chatham, and for the use of his majesty's ordnance at Warley common and Woolwich.

*July 20.*

An act for the better support of his majesty's household, and of the honour and dignity of the crown of the united kingdom; and for preventing accumulation of arrears in the payments out of the civil list revenues.

An act for enabling his majesty to raise the sum of two millions five hundred thousand pounds, for the use and purposes therein mentioned.

An act to obviate certain inconveniences which have been experienced in the accountant-general's office in the court of chancery, in the execution of an act for granting a contribution on the profits arising from property, professions, trades, and offices.

An act for regulating the appointment of commissioners to act in the execution of an act for granting to his majesty a contribution on the profits arising from property, professions, trades, and offices.

An act to permit certain persons in the office of ordnance, and the quarter-master-general, to send and receive letters free from the duty of postage; and to enable the board of ordnance, the adjutant-general



general, quarter-master general, and barrack-master general, to authorise persons in their offices to send letters free from the said duty.

An act for further continuing for seven years, an act, made in the 12th year of his majesty, for encouraging the manufacture of leather, by lowering the duty payable upon the importation of oak bark.

An act for reviving, amending, and continuing several laws relating to the more effectual encouragement of the British fisheries, until 5th April 1806; and to the encouragement of the trade and manufactures of the Isle of Man, to the improving the revenue thereof, and the more effectual prevention of smuggling to and from the said island, until 5th July 1805.

An act to amend an act passed in the 39th and 40th of his majesty, intituled, "An act for settling disputes that may arise between masters and workmen engaged in the cotton manufactory of England.

An act for explaining and amending several acts relating to hackney-coaches employed as stage-coaches.

An act for confirming the provisions of an act, made in Ireland in the 32d of his majesty, so far as the same prohibits the import of malt into Ireland; and for repealing the power given to the lord lieutenant and council of Ireland, prohibiting the use of oats and oatmeal in the distillation of spirits in Ireland.

An act to continue, until seven years after the passing thereof, an act, made in the parliament of Ireland in the 27th of his majesty, intituled, "An act for the better execution of the law and preservation of the peace within the counties at large."

An act to permit the issue and negotiation of certain promissory notes, under a limited sum, by registered bankers in Ireland; and to restrain the issue and negotiation of certain other notes.

An act to render more easy the apprehending and bringing to trial, offenders escaping from one part of the united kingdom to the other.

An act for granting to his majesty a sum of money to be raised by lottery.

*July 28.*

An act to explain an act of the present session, for consolidating and amending the provisions of the several acts relating to corps of yeomanry and volunteers in Great-Britain, so far as respects the accounting for monies received by volunteer officers.

An act to amend certain of the provisions of an act, made in the 43d of his majesty, to enable his majesty to provide for the defence and security of the realm, which respect the purchase of lands and hereditaments for the public service.

An act to alter, amend, and render more effectual, an act, passed in the present session, intituled, "An act for establishing and maintaining a permanent additional force for the defence of the realm, &c." so far as the same relates to the city of London.

An act for raising the sum of eight hundred thousand pounds Irish currency, by treasury bills, for the service of Ireland, for 1804.

An act to repeal the several duties under the commissioners for managing the duties upon stamped vellum, parchment, and paper, in Great-Britain, and to grant new and additional duties in lieu thereof.

An



An act for granting additional annuities to the proprietors of stock created by two acts, passed in the 37th and 42d of his majesty.

An act for warehousing goods within the limits of certain docks made under an act, passed in the 39th and 40th of his majesty, intituled, "An act for making wet docks, basons, cuts, and other works, for the greater accommodation and security of shipping, commerce, and revenue, within the port of London; and to make regulations relating to the said docks.

An act for permitting, until the 1st of August 1807, the exportation of salt from the port of Nassau, in the island of New Providence, the port of Exuma, and the port of Crooked Island, in the Bahama Islands, in ships belonging to the inhabitants of the United States in America, and coming in ballast.

An act for the more effectual administration of justice in those parts of the united kingdom of Great-Britain and Ireland called England and Ireland, by the issuing of *habeas corpus ad testificandum*, in certain cases.

An act for making further regulations for the better collection and security of his majesty's revenue of customs and excise in Ireland, and for preventing frauds therein.

An act to permit, until 25th March 1805, the warehousing of

spirits in Ireland for exportation; for charging a duty on the same when taken out for home consumption, and to regulate the exportation to Great-Britain of such spirits as shall not be warehoused.

An act to continue, until 29th Sept. 1805, several acts for the better collection and security of his majesty's revenue in Ireland, and for preventing frauds therein.

An act for appointing, until 1st August 1805, commissioners to inquire into the fees, gratuities, perquisites, and emoluments, which are or have been lately received in the several public offices in Ireland therein mentioned; to examine into any abuses which may exist in the same; and into the present mode of receiving, collecting, issuing, and accounting for public money in Ireland.

An act for making compensation to the proprietors of certain lands and hereditaments, situate at Woolwich and Charlton, in the county of Kent, purchased for the service of his majesty's ordnance.

July 30.

An act for the relief of certain insolvent debtors.

An act to regulate the importation and exportation of corn, and the bounties and duties payable thereon.

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STATE.



## STATE PAPERS.

*His Majesty's Speech to both Houses of Parliament, on the Meeting of the second Session of the second Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and of the Kingdom of Great Britain the nineteenth; on the 22nd Day of November, (44th of the King,) 1803.*

My lords and gentlemen,

**S**INCE I last met you in parliament it has been my chief object to carry into effect those measures, which your wisdom had adopted for the defence of the united kingdom, and for the vigorous prosecution of the war. In these preparations I have been seconded by the voluntary exertions of all ranks of my people, in a manner that has, if possible, strengthened their claims to my confidence and affection: they have shewn that the menaces of the enemy have only served to rouse their native and hereditary spirit; and that all other considerations are lost in a general disposition to make those efforts and sacrifices which the honour and safety of the kingdom demand, at this important and critical conjuncture. Though my attention has principally been directed to the great object of internal security, no opportunity has been lost of making an impression on the foreign posses-

sions of the enemy. The islands of St. Lucia, of Tobago, of St. Pierre, and Miquelon, and the settlements of Demerara and Issiquibo have surrendered to the British arms. In the conduct of the operations by which these valuable acquisitions have been made, the utmost promptitude and zeal have been displayed by the officers employed on these services, and by my forces acting under their command by sea and land. In Ireland the leaders and several inferior agents in the late traitorous and atrocious conspiracy, have been brought to justice, and the public tranquillity has experienced no further interruption. I indulge the hope that such of my deluded subjects as have swerved from their allegiance, are now convinced of their error; and that having compared the advantages they derive from the protection of a free constitution, with the condition of those countries which are under the dominion of the French government, they will cordially and zealously concur in resisting any attempt that may be made against the security and independence of my united kingdom.

Gentlemen of the house of commons,

I have a perfect reliance on your public spirit for making such provision



vision as may be necessary for the service of the year. The progressive improvement of the revenue cannot fail to encourage you to persevere in the system which has been adopted for defraying the expences of the war, with as little addition as possible to the public debt, and to the permanent burthens of the state.—I lament the heavy pressure which, under the present circumstances, must unavoidably be experienced by my people: but I am persuaded that they will meet it with the good sense and fortitude which so eminently distinguish their character, under a conviction of the indispensable importance of upholding the dignity, and of providing effectually for the safety of the empire.

My lords and gentlemen,

I have concluded a convention with the king of Sweden, for the purpose of adjusting all the differences which have arisen on the subject of the 11th article of the treaty of 1661. I have directed that a copy of this convention should be laid before you; and you will, I trust, be of opinion that the arrangement, whilst it upholds our maritime rights, is founded on those principles of reciprocal advantage which are best calculated to maintain and improve the good understanding which happily subsists between the two countries. In the prosecution of the contest in which we are engaged, it shall be, as it has ever been, my first object to execute as becomes me the great trust committed to my charge. Embarked with my brave and loyal people in one common cause, it is my fixed determination, if the occasion should arise, to share their exertions and their dangers in the defence of our

constitution, our religion, our laws, and independence. To the activity and valour of my fleets and armies, to the zeal and unconquerable spirit of my faithful subjects, I confide the honour of my crown, and all those valuable interests which are involved in the issue of this momentous contest.—Actuated by these sentiments, and humbly imploring the blessing of Divine Providence, I look forward with a firm conviction, that if, contrary to all just expectation, the enemy should elude the vigilance of my numerous fleets and cruizers, and attempt to execute their presumptuous threat of invading our coasts, the consequence will be to them discomfiture, confusion, and disgrace; and that ours will not only be the glory of surmounting the present difficulties, and repelling immediate danger, but the solid and permanent advantage of fixing the safety and independence of the kingdom, on the basis of acknowledged strength, the result of its own tried energies and resources.

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*Message from his Majesty to the House of Commons, March 26th, 1804, on the voluntary Offer of the Irish Militia.*

His majesty thinks proper to acquaint the house of commons, that the officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates of the several regiments of the militia of Ireland have made a voluntary tender of their services, to be employed in Great Britain during the war. His majesty has received with great satisfaction this striking proof of their affection and attachment towards his person and government, and of their patriotic zeal for the general interests



interests of his united kingdom, and conceiving that his being enabled to avail himself of this distinguished instance of public spirit may be attended with the most important advantages at the present conjuncture, he recommends it to his faithful commons to adopt such regulations as may enable him to accept the services of such parts of the militia forces of Ireland as may voluntarily offer themselves to be employed in Great Britain, for such time and to such extent as to the wisdom of parliament may seem expedient.

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*His Majesty's Message to the House of Commons on the 7th of July, 1804, for a Supply by Way of Vote of Credit.*

“ His majesty, relying on the experienced zeal and affection of his faithful commons, and considering that it may be of the utmost importance to provide for such emergencies as may arise, is desirous that this house will enable him to take all such measures as may be necessary to disappoint or defeat any enterprize or design of his enemies, and as the exigencies of affairs may require.”

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*Address of the Right Hon. the Speaker of the House of Commons to his Majesty, on the Prorogation of Parliament, July 31, 1804.*

Most Gracious Sovereign,  
We, your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the commons of Great Britain and Ireland in parliament assembled, approach the foot of your majesty's throne with senti-

ments of unfeigned joy and reverence. The bill which I hold in my hand completes the supply of the present year. These, sire, we have appropriated to the farther support of your majesty's household, and the honour and dignity of your crown, to the military and naval defence of the realm, and to the various services of your extended empire. In providing for these grants, large in their amount, and commensurate with the extraordinary demands of the times in which we live, we have, nevertheless, steadily persevered in our former course, by raising a large proportion of our supplies within the year; and we have now the proud satisfaction to see, that the permanent debt of the nation is rapidly diminishing, at the same time that the growing prosperity of the country has strengthened and multiplied all its resources.—Contemplating the war in which we are engaged, the character and the means of our enemy, and the possible duration of the contest, although we are fearless of its issue, we have nevertheless deemed it our indispensable duty to deliberate with unremitting solicitude upon the best system for our military defence; and the voluntary spirit of your people, seconding the views of parliament, has at the same time animated all ranks of men with an active desire of attaining to such a state of discipline in arms as may enable them successfully to co-operate with your majesty's regular and veteran forces. Thus formidably armed and powerfully sustained, we trust, that, with the blessing of God, we shall victoriously maintain your majesty's throne, and transmit, unimpaired, to our descendants, the most perfect form of government which the world



world has ever experienced for the practical happiness of mankind; firmly persuaded that this empire will long outlast the storms which have overwhelmed the continent of Europe; and earnestly hoping that other nations, now fallen, may witness the destruction of a tyranny founded on fraud and violence, and cemented with innocent blood, and again recover their ancient power and independence, as the best guarantees for the future welfare and tranquillity of the civilized world.

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*Speech of his Majesty on the Prorogation of Parliament, July 31, 1804.*

My Lords and Gentlemen,

Before I put an end to the present session of Parliament, I am desirous of expressing my entire approbation of the zeal and assiduity with which you have applied yourselves to the great objects of public concern which have come under your consideration. You have wisely continued to direct your attention to the encouragement and improvement of that respectable and powerful force, which the ardour and spirit of my subjects have enabled me to establish to an extent hitherto unexampled. You have at the same time endeavoured to combine an additional establishment for our domestic defence with the means of augmenting our regular army, and of maintaining it on such a scale as may be proportioned to the circumstances of the times, and to the rank which this country ought ever to hold among the powers of Europe.

Gentlemen of the house of commons,

You are entitled to my warmest acknowledgments for the fresh proof

which you have given me of your constant and affectionate attachment to my person and family, and your regard to the honour and dignity of my crown, by the liberal provision which you have made for the payment of the debt on my civil list revenues, and for furnishing me with the additional means of defraying the increase which has unavoidably taken place in different branches of my expenditure.

I must also return you my warmest thanks for the extensive provision which you have made for the exigencies of the public service; and especially for the just and prudent attention which you have shewn to true economy, and to the permanent credit and welfare of the country, by the great exertions you have made for preventing, as far as possible, the accumulation of debt, and for raising so large a proportion of the expences of the war within the year.

My lords and gentlemen,

I have now only to recommend to you, to carry into your respective counties the same zeal for the public interest which has guided all your proceedings. It will be your particular duty to inculcate, on the minds of all classes of my subjects, that the preservation of all that is most dear to them requires the continuance of their unremitted exertions for the national defence.

The preparations which the enemy has long been forming for the declared purpose of invading this kingdom are daily augmented, and the attempt appears to have been delayed only with the view of procuring additional means for carrying it into execution.

Relying on the skill, valour, and discipline of my naval and military force,



force, aided by the voluntary zeal and native courage of my people, I look with confidence to the issue of this great conflict; and I doubt not that it will terminate, under the blessing of Providence, not only in repelling the danger of the moment, but in establishing, in the eyes of foreign nations, the security of this country on a basis never to be shaken.

In addition to this first and great object, I entertain the animating hope that the benefits to be derived from our successful exertions will not be confined within ourselves; but that, by their example and their consequences, they may lead to the re-establishment of such a system in Europe, as may rescue it from the precarious state to which it is reduced; and may finally raise an effectual barrier against the unbounded schemes of aggrandizement and ambition which threaten every independent nation that yet remains on the Continent.

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*Extract of a Letter from Lord Harrowby, his Britannic Majesty's Secretary of State for the Foreign Department, to P. Colquhoun Graf, Esq. relative to the Navigation of small Craft, between Tonningen and Hamburgh.—Dated Downing-street, July 8, 1804.*

That the lighters be permitted to navigate between the rivers Weser and the Elbe. Orders have accordingly been sent to his majesty's ships of the blockade, to permit the passage of lighters, barges, and other small craft, answering the above description, and carrying unexceptionable goods for neutral account, and to suffer the same to pass

without molestation to and fro, along the Danish side of the Elbe, through the Watten, between Tonningen and Hamburgh. His majesty hopes, that this permission will be properly attended to, and not abused, and that no unfair advantages shall be taken of it, by which his majesty should see himself forced to order the blockade to be resumed with greater strictness. I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) Harrowby.

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*Circular Note from Lord Hawkesbury, principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, to the Ministers of Foreign Courts, resident at the Court of London.*

*Downing-street, April 30, 1804.*

Sir,

The experience which all Europe has had of the conduct of the French Government would have induced his Majesty to pass over in silence, and to treat with contempt, all the accusations which that government might have made against his majesty's government, if the very extraordinary and unauthorized replies which several of the ministers of the foreign powers have thought proper to make to a recent communication from the minister for foreign affairs at Paris, had not given to the subject of that communication a greater importance than it would otherwise have possessed.\* His majesty has, in consequence, directed me to declare, that he hopes he shall not be reduced to the necessity of repelling, with merited scorn and indignation, "the atrocious and utterly unfounded calumny, that the government of his majesty have been a party to plans of

\* Vide the replies complained of in the subsequent pages of the State Papers.



of assassination :”—an accusation already made with equal falsehood and calumny by the same authority against the members of his majesty's government during the last war; an accusation incompatible with the honour of his majesty, and the known character of the British nation; and so completely devoid of any shadow of proof, that it may be reasonably presumed to have been brought forward at the present moment for no other purpose than that of diverting the attention of Europe from the contemplation of the sanguinary deed which has recently been perpetrated, by the direct order of the first consul, in France, in violation of the right of nations, and in contempt of the most simple laws of humanity and honour.\*

That his majesty's government should disregard the feelings of such of the inhabitants of France as are justly discontented with the existing government of that country, that it should refuse to listen to their designs for delivering their country from the degrading yoke of bondage under which it groans, or to give them aid and assistance, as far as those designs are fair and justifiable, would be to refuse fulfilling those duties which every wise and just government owes to itself, and to the world in general, under circumstances similar to the present. Belligerent powers have an acknowledged right to avail themselves of all discontents that may exist in countries with which they may be at war. The exercise of that right (even if in any degree doubtful) would be fully sanctioned in the present case, not only by the present state of the French nation, but by the conduct of the government of that country, which, since the com-

mencement of the present war, has constantly kept up communications with the disaffected in the territories of his majesty, particularly in Ireland; and which has assembled, at this present moment, on the coasts of France, a corps of Irish rebels, destined to second them in their designs against that part of the united kingdom.

Under these circumstances, his majesty's government would be unjustifiable if they neglected the right they have to support, as far as is compatible with the principles of the law of nations, which civilized governments have hitherto acknowledged, the efforts of such of the inhabitants of France as are hostile to the present government. They ardently desire, as well as all Europe, to see an order of things established in that country, more compatible with its own happiness, and with the security of the surrounding nations; but, if that wish cannot be accomplished, they are fully authorised by the strictest principles of personal defence, to endeavour to cripple the exertions, to distract the operations, and to confound the plans of a government, whose system of warfare, as acknowledged by itself, is not only to distress the commerce, to diminish the power, and to abridge the dominions of its enemy, but also to carry devastation and ruin into the very heart of the British empire.

In the application of these principles, his majesty has commanded me to declare, besides, that his government have never authorised a single act which could not stand the test of the strictest principles of justice and of usages recognised and practised in all ages. If any minister, accredited by his majesty at  
a foreign

\* The murder of the Duke D'Enghien.



a foreign court, has kept up correspondence with persons resident in France, with a view to obtain information upon the designs of the French government, or for any other legitimate object, he has done nothing more than what ministers under similar circumstances have always been considered as having a right to do with respect to the countries with which their sovereign was at war; and he has done much less than that which it could be proved the ministers and commercial agents of France have done towards the disaffected in different parts of his majesty's territories: thus, in carrying on such a correspondence, he would not in any manner have violated his public duty. A minister in a foreign country is obliged, by the nature of his office, and the duties of his situation, to abstain from all communication with the disaffected of the country where he is accredited, as well as from every other act injurious to the interests of that country; but he is not subject to the same restraints with respect to countries with which his sovereign is at war. His actions to them may be praiseworthy or blameable, according to the nature of the actions themselves; but they do not constitute any violation of his public character, except in as far as they militate against the country, or the security of the country, where he is accredited.

But of all the governments which pretend to be civilized governments, that of France is the one which has the least right to appeal to the law of nations. With what confidence can it appeal to that law? a government which, from the commencement of hostilities, has never ceased to violate it! It promised

protection to the British subjects resident in France, and who might be desirous of remaining there after the recall of his majesty's ambassador. It revoked that promise without any previous notice; it condemned those same persons to be prisoners of war; and it detains them still in that quality, in contempt of its own engagements, and of the usages universally observed by all civilized nations. It has applied that new and barbarous law, even to individuals who had the authority and protection of the French ambassadors and ministers at foreign courts, to travel through France on their return to their own country. It commanded the seizure of an English packet-boat in one of the ports of Holland, though its ambassador in that country had previously engaged to let the packet-boats of the respective countries pass in perfect safety until notice should be given to the contrary. It has detained and condemned in one of the ports of France, a vessel which had been sent thither as a matter of indulgence, in order to carry to France the French governor of one of the different islands which had been conquered by his majesty's arms. Its conduct relative to the garrison of St. Lucia has not been less extraordinary: the principal fort of that island had been taken by assault; yet the garrison had been allowed all the privileges of prisoners of war, and had been permitted to return to France, with an understanding, that an equal number of English prisoners should be released. Yet, notwithstanding that indulgence on the part of the British commander, to which, by the nature of the case, the French garrison could not have the slightest pretension, not a single prisoner



soner has been restored to this country.

Such have been the proceedings of the French government towards the power with which it is at war. What has its conduct been to those powers with which it remained at peace? Is there a treaty which it has not broken? Is there an adjoining territory whose independence it has not violated? It is for the powers on the continent to determine how long they will tolerate these unexampled outrages. Yet is it too much to say, that, if they do suffer, without controul or resistance, the continuance of such a course of proceedings on the part of any government whatever, they will soon see an end to that salutary system of public right, in virtue of which the societies of Europe have maintained and enforced for ages the sacred obligations of humanity and justice?

(Signed) Hawkesbury.

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*Circular Letter from Lord Hawkesbury to the Lords Lieutenants of Counties in Great Britain, dated Whitehall, Aug. 20, 1804.*

My Lord,

I have received his majesty's commands to communicate to your lordship the inclosed particulars of an arrangement to be adopted in the several counties of Great Britain, in the event of the invasion of the country in force by the enemy. His majesty relies on your zeal and exertions in giving effect, within the county committed to your charge, to those regulations, which in the supposed crisis may become indispensable, for the purpose of preventing the confusion which, in

the first moment of alarm, might otherwise arise, and of the utmost importance with a view to the operations of his majesty's army, to the protection of individuals, and to the internal peace and tranquillity of the country. I request that your lordship would inform me, with as little delay as possible, of the names of the magistrates to whom you would propose to entrust the different divisions of the county of —, and that you would communicate to them the heads of the proposed arrangements, and concert with them as to the most effectual means of carrying them into complete execution. It is essential, that the magistrates who are thus employed, should, if possible, be persons not holding commissions as volunteer officers, nor liable on any other account to be removed from the county in which they reside. His majesty has the fullest reliance that, in the event of the enemy succeeding in making good a landing on the coast of this kingdom, the loyalty and public spirit of all classes of his subjects will induce them to submit to every sacrifice, and to concur in every exertion which the safety of the country may render necessary; and that they will be impressed with the conviction that the peace and good order of those districts which shall not be attacked by the enemy, will contribute most effectually to assist the exertions of his forces in those parts of the country which may become the theatre of the war, and of enabling him thereby to bring the contest in which we may be engaged to a speedy and glorious termination. I have only to add, that directions will be given to the general, or other officer commanding the district in which the county of —



is included, to communicate with your lordship on the subject of these regulations, and to afford you every assistance in carrying them, if necessary, into execution. I have the honour to be, &c.

Hawkesbury.

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*Regulations for the Preservation of good Order, to be adopted in case of actual Invasion, in each County in Great Britain, dated Aug. 12, 1804.\**

The magistrates of each division of the county remaining at home, to sit daily at a place to be appointed in each division for that purpose. To procure the trust-worthy housekeepers and others to enrol themselves to serve as special constables under their orders, where the same has not been already done pursuant to the secretary of state's circular letter of the 8th of November last. To be attended at the place appointed for each division by an officer of the volunteer force, if any should remain in that division, and by the chief or superintendant of the special constables enrolled for that division. Such volunteer officer and chief of the special constables to receive and execute the orders of the magistrates, in preventing and quelling disturbances, in taking up and conveying offenders to prison, in supplying escorts for all military purposes required by the general or other officer left in command of the district, and in furnishing a guard for the county gaol or other prisons, if required. If, contrary to expectation, any impediments should occur in the regular supply of the different markets, every assistance to be afforded to

the persons who are accustomed or who offer to supply them, and escorts to be granted in cases where it may be necessary for the secure passage and conveyance of cattle and provisions. The constables within each division, assisted by patrols of volunteers, if requisite, to see that all public houses within the same are orderly and regularly conducted, and, if thought necessary by the magistrates, to be shut up at such hours as they may direct; and to bring all unknown persons, who cannot give a satisfactory account of themselves, before the magistrates. A certain portion of the constables and volunteers, in rotation, to go such different rounds in the night, as shall from time to time be prescribed by the magistrates of the division, to whom they are to make their report each morning. The magistrates of each division to report daily to the lieutenant of the county, or deputy lieutenants within the division appointed to receive the same. The lieutenant, or deputy lieutenants so appointed, to report all matters of importance immediately to the secretary of state for the home department, and to the general or officer who shall be left in command of the district, or to the officer who shall be appointed by him within the county to receive the same, to whom they are to apply in case of wanting further military aid.

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*Speech delivered by Governor Nugent to the Legislature of the Island of Jamaica, in December 1803.*

Gentlemen of the council,—Mr. speaker and gentlemen of the assembly,—I am happy to have it in my power

\* Referred to in the preceding article.



power to grant you a recess at this season of the year, when your presence is so essentially necessary upon your respective properties.—Mr. speaker and gentlemen of the assembly,—I am much concerned that you have not given me an opportunity of thanking you for the supplies required at this eventful period in aid of the mother-country, for your own defence; but I trust that, upon more mature consideration, you will feel the propriety of supporting government in the most effectual manner at your next meeting, and thereby restore to yourselves its fullest confidence in your loyalty and patriotism.—Gentlemen of the council, Mr. speaker and gentlemen of the assembly,—I have to recommend to you, in the most particular manner, on your return to your several parishes, the pursuit of such provident measures as may best promote the security and tranquillity of the island.—I do therefore now, in his majesty's name, prorogue this general assembly to the 24th January next; and it is hereby prorogued accordingly.

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*Treaty of Peace between the Honourable the East India Company and its Allies on the one Part, and Ragooee Bhounsla on the other; settled by Major-Gen. Wellesley on the Part of the Company and its Allies, and by Jeswumb Rao Ramchunder on the Part of Senah Saheb Subah Ragooee Bhounsla, who have each full Authority from their respective Powers: dated in the Camp at Deogaun, December 17th, 1803.*

I. That there shall be perpetual peace and friendship between the

East India company and Senah Saheb Subah Ragooee Bhounsla, rajah of Berar. II. Senah Saheb Subah Ragooee Bhounsla cedes to the company in perpetual sovereignty, the province of Cuttack, including the port and district of Balasore.—III. He likewise cedes to the company and their allies, in perpetual sovereignty, all the territories of which he has collected the revenues jointly with the soubah of the Dekan, and those of which he may have possession, which are to the westward of the river Wurda.—IV. It is agreed that the frontier of Senah Saheb Subah Ragooee Bhounsla towards the territories of his highness the soubah of the Dekan, shall be formed to the west by the river Wurda, from its issue from the Injardy hills to its junction with the river Godavery.—V. The hills on which the forts of Nernallah and Gawalghur stand, are to remain in possession of Ragooee Bhounsla; and all places to the southward of those hills, and to the west of the westward of the river Wurda, to be given up to the British government.—VI. Districts amounting to four lacks of rupees per annum, contiguous to, and to the southward of the above-mentioned forts, are to be given up to the rajah, and to be given up at the same time as the forts.—VII. Senah Saheb Subah Ragooee Bhounsla, on the part of himself, his heirs and successors, entirely renounces all claims of every description on the territories of the British government ceded as above, and upon all the territories of the soubah of the Dekan.—VIII. The East India company engages to mediate and arbitrate any disputes that now exist, or may hereafter exist, between the company's allies, Seumder



der Jah Bahauder and Rao Pundit Purdham Bahader, and the rajah of Berar.—IX. Senah Saheb Subah Ragoonjee Bhounsla engages never to take or retain in his service any Frenchmen, or the subjects of any other European or American power that may be at war with the British government, or any British subjects either European or native, without the consent of the company.—X. The East India company engage on their part, that they will not assist or countenance any discontented relations, rajahs, zemindars, or other subjects of the Senah Saheb Subah Ragoonjee Bhounsla, who may fly from, or rebel against his authority.—XI. In order to secure and improve the relations of peace and friendship hereby established, the respective governments agree, that accredited ministers from each shall reside at the court of the other.—XII. And whereas certain treaties have been made by the British government with feudatories of Senah Saheb Subah Ragoonjee Bhounsla, it is hereby agreed, that the said treaties shall be confirmed. Lists of these treaties to be delivered over when the treaty is ratified by the governor general in council.—XIII. The Senah Saheb Subah Ragoonjee Bhounsla hereby renounces for himself, his heirs and successors, all adherence to the confederacy formed by him and Dowlut Row Scindia, and other Mahratta chiefs, to attack the company and their allies, and engages not to assist those chiefs, if the war between them and the honourable company should still continue.—XIV. This treaty of peace and amity to be ratified by Senah Saheb Subah, within eight days from the present time, and the ratification is to be deliver-

ed to major-gen. Wellesley, at which time the orders for the cession of the ceded territories are to be delivered over, and the troops are to withdraw.—XV. Major-gen. Wellesley engages that the treaty shall be ratified on the part of the hon. company, by his excellency the most noble the governor-gen. in council, and that the said ratification shall be delivered two months from this date.

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*Treaty of Peace and Amity between the Maharajah Ali Jah Dowlut Rao Scindia, on one Part, and the hon. the East India Company, on the other Part. Dated Dec. 30th, 1803.*

I. That there shall be perpetual peace and friendship between the honourable the East India company and their allies, on the one part, and Maharajah Ali Jah Dowlut Rao Scindia on the other part.—II. That Maharajah cedes to the hon. East India company and their allies, in perpetual sovereignty, all his forts, territories, and rights, in the Dooab, and country situated between the Jumma and the Ganges, and all the forts, territories, rights, and interests in the countries which are to the northward of the rajahs of Jeypoor and Joodepoor, and of the rajah of Gohud, such countries formerly in the possession of Maharajah, situated between Jeypoor and Joodepoor, and to the south of the former, are to belong to the Maharajah.—III. The Maharajah likewise cedes to the hon. East India company and their allies, in perpetual sovereignty, the fort of Broach and the territory depending thereon, and the fort of Ahmednugger and territory depending thereon,



thereon, excepting those lands which it is hereafter agreed that the Maharajah is to retain.—IV. The Maharajah likewise cedes to the hon. East India company and their allies, all the territories which belonged to him previous to the breaking out of the war, which are situated to the southward of the Adjunttee hills, including the fort and districts of Jalnapoor, the town and district of Gandapoor, and all other districts between that range of hills and the river Godavery.—V. The Maharajah Ali Jah Dowlut Rao Scindia, for himself, his heirs and successors, hereby renounces all claims to the forts, territories, rights, and interests ceded by the foregoing articles, and all claims of every description upon the British government and their allies, the soubah of the Dekan, the peishwa and Anaud Row Guickwar.—VI. The fort of Asser Ghur, the city of Berhampore, the forts of Powanghur and Dohud, and the territories in Candeish and the Guzerat, depending on these forts, shall be restored to Maharajah Ali Jah Dowlut Rao Scindia.—VII. Whereas the Maharajah Ali Jah Dowlut Rao Scindia has represented that his family have long held an Enaum as a gift from the king of Hindostan, the districts of Dhoolpoor, Baree, and rajah Kerrah, which are situated to the northward of the countries of the rajahs of Jeypoor and Joodepoor, and of the rajah of Gohud, and that lands in Hindostan, ceded by the articles in this treaty to the hon. East India company and their allies, are held in Jacquin by the family of the late Mahadgie Scindia, and others, who would suffer much distress if deprived of the advantages they enjoy in that country: it is

agreed the Maharajah shall continue to hold in Enaum the lands of Dhoolpoor, Baree, and rajah Kerrah, and that Balah Baye Sahel, and Munsoor Sahel Moonsha Ravel Nyne, Boogagee Jamdah Amragie, Jadhoo, and Wurda Charie, shall continue to hold their lands in Jaghir, under the protection of the company; and farther, in order that no individuals may incur loss, or even suffer distress in consequence of these arrangements, it is agreed that the honourable East India company shall either pay pensions or grant lands in Jaghir, according to the plan laid down by the British government, for certain other sirbans and others to be named by Maharajah, provided that the total amount of the sums paid, and Jaghirs granted, does not exceed seventeen lacks of rupees per ann.—VIII. That the following lands, villages, &c. in the territories of Rao Pundit Pundham, in Enaum, lately taken possession of by the British government, be restored to the Maharajah, provided that no troops are introduced there on the pretence of collecting revenues, or any other pretence whatsoever, viz. Choomargondy Purgunnah, Jamgaun, Ranjengaun, half of Siengaun Purgunnah, six villages in Umbir Purgunnah, five villages in Pytan Purgunnah, five villages in Newag Purgunnah, five villages in Kurloh Purgunnah, six villages in Poona Purgunnah, two villages in Wahy Purgunnah, six villages in Palwood Purgunnah, five villages in Pandy Peergaum Purgunnah, five villages in Pagoon Purgunnah, two villages in Parnena Purgunnah.—IX. Whereas certain treaties with feudatories of Maharajah have been made by the British government,



ment, it is agreed that the same be confirmed. Maharajah hereby renounces all claims on the persons with whom such treaties have been made, and preclaims them to be independent of his Government.—

X. No person whatever is to be molested on account of the part which he may have taken in the present war.—XI. It is agreed that the rights of his highness, the peishwa, to cultivate certain lands in Meluah and elsewhere, shall be established as heretofore.—XII.

The Maharajah hereby renounces all claims upon Shah Allum, and engages not to interfere any further in the affairs of his majesty.—

XIII. The Maharajah agrees never to engage in his service any Frenchman, or other European, or nations at war with Great Britain.—XIV.

For the better carrying into execution this treaty of peace and amity, it is agreed that accredited ministers reside at each court from each of the contracting powers.—XV. This treaty of peace and amity to be ratified by the Maharajah Ali Jah Dowlut Rao Scindia, within eight days from the present time, and the ratification is to be delivered to major-gen. Wellesley, at which time the orders for the cession of the ceded territories are to be delivered over, and the troops are to withdraw.

—XVI. Major-gen. Wellesley engages that the treaty shall be ratified on the part of the hon. company, by his excellency the most noble the governor-general in council, and that the said ratification shall be delivered two months from this date.

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*Orders of Council relative to the Detention of Spanish Ships, and Ships*

*bound to Spain. Dated at the Court at the Queen's Palace, the 19th of Dec. 1804. Present the King's most excellent Majesty in Council.*

Whereas information has been received that an embargo has been ordered to be laid upon all British ships in the ports of the kingdom of Spain: it is this day ordered by his majesty, by and with the advice of his privy council, that no ships or vessels belonging to any of his majesty's subjects be permitted to enter and clear out for any of the ports of Spain, until further orders: and his majesty is further pleased to order that a general embargo or stop be made of all ships and vessels whatsoever, now within, or which hereafter shall come into any of the ports, harbours, or roads, within the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, together with all persons and effects on board the said ships and vessels; but that the utmost care be taken for the preservation of all and every part of the cargoes on board any of the said ships, so that no damage or embezzlement whatever be sustained.

(Signed)

S. Cottrell.

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*Exposé of the State of the French Republic, laid before the Legislative Body, on the 25th Nivose, 12th Year (16th Jan. 1804).*

The republic has been forced to change its attitude, but it has not changed its situation; it continues to preserve in the consciousness of its strength the pledge of its prosperity. Every thing was calm in the interior of France, when, at the commencement of the last year, we still entertained



tertaind the hope of a durable peace. Every thing has remained calmer since a jealous power has rekindled the torches of war; but in this last epoch, the union of interests and sentiments has shewn itself more full and entire; the public mind has developed itself with more energy. In the new departments which the first consul has traversed, he has heard, as well as in the old, the accents of a truly French indignation; he recognized in their hatred against a government hostile to our prosperity, even more than in the bursts of public joy and personal affection, their attachment to the country, and their devotion to his destiny. In all the departments, the ministers of worship have exerted the influence of religion to consecrate this spontaneous movement of the minds of individuals. Depôts of arms, which fugitive rebels had committed to the earth, in order to take them up again at a future opportunity, which a culpable foresight suggested to them, have been disclosed at the first signal of the danger, and delivered to the magistrates for the purpose of arming our defenders. The British government will attempt to throw, and perhaps has already thrown, on our coasts some of these monsters whom it nourished in its bosom during the peace, in order to tear in pieces the land which gave them birth; but they will no longer find in it those impious bands which were the instruments of their former crimes; terror has dissolved them, or justice has purged our territory of them; they will find neither that credulity which they abused, nor that animosity the poniards of which they whetted. Experience has enlightened every mind; the

moderation of the laws, and the administration of them has reconciled every heart. Surrounded every where by the public force, overtaken every where by the tribunals, these dreadful men will in future neither be able to make rebels, nor to re-organize with impunity their hordes of brigands and assassins.— It is but now that a miserable attempt has been made in La Vendée; the conscription was made the pretext for it; but citizens, priests, soldiers, all classes exerted themselves for the common defence; those who in other times were the movers of disturbances, came to offer their aid to the public authority, and to give their persons and their families, as pledges of their fidelity and devotion. Finally, what characterizes, above all things, the security of the citizens, the return of social affections, is that, beneficence displays itself every day more and more. On every side donations are offered to the unfortunate, and foundations are made for useful establishments. The war has not interrupted the intentions of the peace; and the government has pursued with constancy every thing that tends to establish the constitution in the manners and disposition of the citizens, every thing likely to attach all interests and all hopes to its duration. Thus, the senate has been placed in that elevation to which its institution called it; an endowment such as the constitution had fixed, encircles it with an imposing grandeur. The legislative body will no longer appear, except surrounded with the majesty which its functions demand; it will no longer be looked for in vain, except in its sitting. An annual president will be the centre of its



motion and the organ of its thoughts and its wishes, in its relations with the government. This body will have at length that dignity which could not exist with forms changeable and undetermined. The electoral colleges have conducted themselves every where with that calmness and wisdom which secures happy elections. The legion of honour exists in the higher parts of its organization, and in a part of the elements which are to compose it. These elements, still equal, await from a final choice, their functions, and their places. How many honourable traits have been displayed by the ambition of being admitted into it. What treasures will the republic have in this institution to encourage and recompense service and virtues. In the council of state, another institution proposes for the choice of the government men for all the superior branches of administration: auditors are formed there in the laboratories of regulations and laws; they perpetuate themselves there with the maxims and principles of public order. Always surrounded with witnesses and judges, often under the eyes of the government, often on important missions, they will arrive at the public functions with the maturity of experience, and with the security which is given by a character, a conduct, and a skill proved by repeated trials. Lyceums and secondary schools are erecting on every side, and are not yet erected with sufficient rapidity to satisfy the impatience of the citizens. Common regulations, a common discipline, the same system of instruction, are forming in the generations which will support the glory of France by their talents, and its

institutions by their principles and their virtues. A single prytaneum, the prytaneum of St. Cyr, receives the children of those citizens who died for their country. Education already breathes forth there a military enthusiasm. At Fontainebleau, the special military school numbers many hundreds of soldiers who are rendered pliant to discipline, and inured to fatigue, and who acquire with the habits of the profession the knowledge of the art. The school of Compiègne presents the aspect of a vast manufactory, where five hundred young persons pass from their studies to the workshops, and from the workshops to their studies. After a few months they execute with the precision of skill, works which could not have been obtained from them after years of a common apprenticeship; and in a short time commerce and industry will enjoy the benefit of their labour, and of the cares of the government. The engineers and the artillery have now but one school, and one common institution. Medicine is every where submitted to the new regime, which the law prescribed to it. By a salutary reform, means have been found to simplify the expence and to add to the instruction. The exercise of pharmacy has been put under the care of skill and probity. A regulation has placed between master and workman judges who terminate their differences with the rapidity which their interests and their wants require; and at the same time with the impartiality which justice demands. The civil code is approaching to completion; and in the course of this session the last projects of laws which are to complete it altogether, will be in a state to be



be submitted to the deliberations of the legislative body. The judicial code, called for by every wish, is at this moment undergoing the discussions which are to conduct it to its maturity. The criminal code is in a state of advancement; and that part of it which circumstances appear to call for most imperiously, are in a condition to receive the seal of the law in the next session. New *chefs d'œuvre* are come to embellish our museums; and, whilst the rest of Europe envies our treasures, our young artists continue still to go into the bosom of Italy to kindle the fire of their genius, with the view of its great monuments, and to respire the enthusiasm which produced them. In the department of Marengo, under the walls of that Alexandria, which will be one of the strongest bulwarks of France, the first camp of our veterans is formed. There they will keep up the recollection of their exploits, and the pride of their victories. They will inspire their new fellow-citizens with love and respect for that country which they have extended, and which has rewarded them. They will leave in their children heirs of their courage, and new defenders of that country whose benefits they will enjoy. In the ancient territory of the republic, in Belgium, old fortifications, which were no longer any thing but useless monuments of the misfortunes of our forefathers, or of the progressive growth of France, will be demolished. The lands which had been sacrificed to their defence, will be restored to culture and commerce; and with the funds arising from these demolitions, and these lands, new fortresses will be constructed on our new frontiers. The

tax for the support of the public roads has received a new increase, under a better system of adjudication. Farmers, from year to year, were without emulation; farmers of too small portions were without fortune, and without security. Triennial adjudications, and adjudications of a number of barriers together, have invited a greater number of bidders, richer and more enterprising. The tolls on the highway have produced fifteen millions in the year eleven: ten millions more have been appropriated within the same year to the repairs and completion of the roads. The old roads have been kept up and repaired: some of the roads have been connected with others by new roads. From this year forth carriages can pass the Simplon and Mount Cenis. Three broken arches have been rebuilt in the bridge at Tours. New bridges are erecting at Cabel, Boanne, Nemours, and on the rivers Isere, Roubion, Durance, and Rhine. A communication is to be opened between Avignon and Villeneuve, by a bridge undertaken by a private company. Three bridges were begun at Paris with funds contributed by some of the citizens; two have been in part completed with the public money; and the tolls to be collected thereon afford a security for the payment of the interest and principal of the sum advanced in a certain number of years. The third, the most interesting of all (that of the botanic garden), is in progress, and will soon be completed. It will relieve the interior of Paris from a fatiguing circuitous communication, and will lead to a splendid space or square, a long time ordered for sale, which is to be ornamented with plantations,



tions, and the waters of the river Ourcq, and on which the street St. Antoine, and that of its suburb, are to terminate in a direct line. The bridge alone will constitute a source of expence, which the tolls proposed to be collected on it will rapidly cover. The square and all its appurtenances will cost the state only the ground and the ruins on which it is to be formed. The works of the canal of St. Quintin are carrying on in four different points at the same time. A subterraneous cut, a thousand meters in extent, has already been completed, two locks are finished, eight more are in a state of forwardness, some others are rising from their foundations, and this vast undertaking will in some years afford a complete navigation. The canals of Arles, Aigues-Mortes, the Soane, and the Yonne, the canal that is to connect the Rhone with the Rhine, and that which is to extend the navigation by the Blavet to the centre of ancient Britany, are all begun, and will all be completed within a period proportioned to the labour they require. The canal which is to connect the Scheldt, the Meuse, and the Rhine, is yet only in contemplation of the government: compensation has been made for the scite: funds are already provided for the execution of an undertaking, which will open Germany to us, and restore to our commerce and industry such parts of our own territories as were by their situation consigned to the industry and commerce of foreigners. The junction of the Rance with the Vilaine, will connect the channel with the ocean, will convey prosperity and civilization to districts, in which agriculture and the arts languish, in which their rustic man-

ners are still unacquainted with our refinements. From this year, considerable sums are appropriated to this operation. The draining of the marshes of Rochfort, often undertaken, and as often abandoned, goes on without interruption. A million will be applied this year to promote the salubrity of this port, which used to destroy our sailors and its own inhabitants. Culture and population will extend themselves over tracts devoted for ages to diseases and desolation. A project of draining, in the centre of the Cotentin, no less important, the plan of which is formed, and the expence of which, calculated on a great scale, will unavoidably be repaid by the result of the undertaking, will transform into rich pasture lands other marshes of a vast extent, which are at present only an everlasting source of contagion. The funds requisite for this operation are comprehended in the budget for the year twelve. At the same time a bridge over the Vire will unite the departments of La Manche and Calvados, will put a stop to a passage always dangerous, and often fatal, and will shorten the route from Paris to Cherbourg by some myriameters. A canal is planned in another quarter of the department of La Manche (the Channel), which will convey the sea and land fertility to a barren district, and will yield to public buildings, and to the marine, timber, that now decays without being used a few myriameters from the coast. On all the canals, on every part of the coast of Belgium, the banks which had been undermined by time, or impaired by the sea, are in a state of repair, of being extended and strengthened. The bank and bason of Ostend are secured



secured from waste: a bridge will open a communication of importance to the city; and agriculture will draw riches from a valuable tract recovered from the sea. Antwerp has seen a military post, an arsenal, and ships of war upon the stocks, produced at once by a decree. Two millions, secured on the sale of national domains situated in the departments of the Scheldt and Deux-Nethes, are appropriated to the restoration and augmentation of its ancient port. On the credit of this security, commerce makes advances, the works are begun, and will be completed next year. At Boulogne, at Havre, in every point of this coast, which our enemies have heretofore called an iron coast, great works are in progress or completed. The Mole of Cherbourg, a long time given up, long the object of solicitude and doubt, rises at length from the bosom of the waters, and is already a source of destruction to our enemies and a protection to our own mariners. Under shelter of this Mole, at the extremity of an immense road, an haven is now digging, where, in a few years, the republic will have its arsenals and its fleets. At Rochelle, at Cette, at Marseilles, and at Nice, the ravages of carelessness and of time are repaired with well secured funds. It is in our maritime cities in particular, where the stagnation of commerce has multiplied misfortunes and wants, that the wisdom of government has employed itself in creating resources by useful and necessary works. The navigation in the interior was in a state of decay, from a forgetfulness of principles and regulations; it is henceforth subject to a tutelary and conservative re-

gime. A duty is appropriated to its support, to the works it requires; to the improvements which the public interest demands: submitted to the superintendence of the prefects, it has also in the chamber of commerce useful guardians, witnesses, and estimators of the proper application of the funds it produces; in short, enlightened men, to appreciate the plans formed for its preservation or extension. The right of fishing in navigable rivers has again become, what it ought always to be, a public property. It is committed to the care of the administration of the forests; and the triennial adjudications give it, in the farmers, still more active guardians, because they are more interested. The last has been a year of prosperity for all our finances: the collection has happily disappointed the calculation that had been made before-hand of their produce. The direct contributions have been collected with more ease. The operations which were to establish the respective proportions of the tax on property of the different departments, proceed with rapidity. The subdivision will become invariable. We shall never again witness that opposition of different interests which corrupted public justice, and that jealous rivalry which threatened the industry and prosperity of all the departments. The prefects, the general council, have requested that the same operation should extend to all the communes of their departments, for the purpose of ascertaining amongst them the grounds of a proportional subdivision. An arrêté of government has authorised this general operation, become more simple, more economical by the success of the



partial operation. Thus, in a few years, all the communes of the republic, which have each, in a particular table, the plan of its territory, the divisions are the proportions of the properties that compose it; and the general councils, and the councils of the arrondissements will find in the junctions of all those plans, the elements of a division just in its principles and constant in its proportions. The sinking fund fulfils with constancy and fidelity its destination. Already in possession of a portion of the public debt, it every day accumulates a treasure, which secures to the state a speedy liquidation: a rigid responsibility and inviolable fidelity have rendered the administrators worthy of the confidence of government, and insures to them the interest of the citizens. The melting down of the coin is carried on without bustle or shock; it was a scourge while the principles were misunderstood; it is become the most simple operation, since public faith and the rules of good sense have adjusted its conditions. At the treasury, the public credit has maintained itself in the midst of the shocks of war, and the rumours of interested individuals. The public treasury supplied the expences of the colonies, either by direct remittances, or by operations on the continent of America. The administrators were enabled, if the remittances proved insufficient, to obtain a supply by drafts on the public treasury; but conformable to prescribed forms, and to a limited extent. A mass of drafts (amounting to two millions) had been suddenly created at St. Domingo, without the consent of government, and out of all proportion to present or future wants.—Men without

character have hawked them at the Havannah, at Jamaica, in the United States; they have been every where exposed in the markets to shameful reduction, delivered up to men who had not deposited either money or merchandize, and who were not to furnish value till the payment should have been made at the public treasury. Hence a scandalous reduction in America, hence a jobbing still more scandalous in Europe. Here the government imposes on itself a rigorous duty, to put a stop to the course of this imprudent measure, to save the nation the losses with which it was menaced, and above all to redeem its credit by a just severity. An agent of the public treasury was dispatched to St. Domingo, charged to check the books, and the chest of the pay-master general; to ascertain how many drafts had been created, on what authority, and in what form; how many had been negociated, and on what conditions: whether they had been negotiated for real value, or without effective value; or whether to discharge real debts, or to fulfil feigned contracts.—Eleven millions in drafts which were not yet in circulation were cancelled; some information has been obtained as to the others. The drafts whose full value had been received, were paid off with interest from the day they became due to the day of payment. Those that were issued without effective value, have been proved false, in as much as the bills bear the words for money advanced, though the procès-verbal of payment proves that none had been advanced: these have been submitted to a severe examination. Thus the government will satisfy the justice which it owes



to the lawful creditors, and which it owes to the nation, whose rights it is bound to defend. Peace was in the wishes and in the intentions of the government. It had wished for it amidst the yet uncertain chances of war; it had wished for it in the midst of victories. It was to the prosperity of the republic that it henceforth attached all its glory. At home it awakened industry, it encouraged the arts, it undertook either useful works, or monuments of national grandeur. Our vessels were scattered over every sea, and reposed on the faith of treaties. They were employed only in restoring our colonies to France and to happiness; there was no armament in our ports, nothing menacing on our frontiers. And this was the moment which the British government chose to alarm its nation, to cover the channel with ships, to insult our commerce by injurious inspections, and our coasts and ports, as well as those of our allies, by the presence of its menacing forces.—If on the 17th Ventôse of the 11th year (March 8, 1803), there existed an extraordinary armament in the ports of France and Holland; if a single preparation was made in them to which the most remote suspicion could give a sinister interpretation, then we are the aggressors; the message of the king of England, and his hostile attitude, have been rendered necessary, by a legitimate precaution; and the English people had a right to believe that we threatened their independence, their religion, their constitution: but if the assertions of the message were false, if they were contradicted by the opinion of Europe, as well as by the conscience of the British

government, then that government have deceived their nation; they have deceived it by precipitating it, without reflection, into a war, the terrible effects of which now begin to be felt in England, and the results of which may be decisive of its future destiny. The aggressor, however, ought alone to answer for the calamities which afflict humanity. Malta, the cause of this war, was in the power of the English; it remained with France to arm to effect its independence; France waited in silence for the justice of England; and it was England who began the war, even without a declaration.—By the dispersion of our ships, and the security of our commerce, our losses might have been immense: we foresaw these circumstances, and we would have supported them without discouragement or weakness, but happily they have been less than we apprehended: our ships of war have returned to European ports, one only excepted, which had long been employed merely as a transport, has fallen into the hands of the enemy. Of two hundred millions, which the English cruizers might have ravished from our commerce, more than two-thirds have been preserved. Our privateers have avenged these losses by important captures, and they will complete their revenge by others more important. Tobago and St. Lucia were defenceless, and were obliged to surrender to the first force which appeared; but our great colonies are yet preserved, and the attacks made against them by the enemy have proved fruitless. Hanover is in our power; 25,000 of the best troops of the enemy have laid down their arms and become prisoners of war. Our ca-



valry has been remounted at the expence of that of the enemy; and a possession which was dear to the king of England, is in our hands, a pledge of that justice which he will be compelled to render to us.—On the seas, British despotism daily adds to its usurpation; in the last war it struck terror into the neutral nations, by arrogating to itself an inimical and revolting pretension of declaring whole coasts in a state of siege: in the present war, it has augmented its monstrous code by the pretended right of blockading rivers and canals.—If the king of England has sworn to continue the war till he shall have reduced France to sign such dishonourable treaties as ill fortune and weakness formerly signed, then the war will be long. France consented in the treaty of Amiens to moderate conditions; she will never acknowledge any less favourable—nay more, she will never acknowledge in the British government the right of fulfilling its engagements only as may suit the progressive calculations of its ambition, nor the right of requiring further guarantees after the guarantee of faith plighted. But if the treaty of Amiens has not been executed, how can we expect, in regard to a new one, a faith more holy, or oaths more sacred? Louisiana is henceforth united to the American states; we shall preserve friends there whose remembrance of a common origin will always attach them to our interest, while favourable commercial relations will unite their prosperity with ours. The United States are indebted to France for their independence; they will henceforth owe to us their strength and grandeur. Spain remains neutral. Helvetia is re-established in

her constitution, which has suffered no change, but what has been rendered necessary by lapse of time, and change of opinions. The retreat of our troops from that country is a proof of its internal security, and of the end of its dissensions. The ancient treaties have been renewed, and France has regained her oldest and most faithful ally. Peace reigns in Italy; a division of the army of the Italian republic is at this time crossing France to encamp with our own on the sea coast. These battalions will there meet with innumerable vestiges of that patience, bravery, and heroism which distinguished their ancestors. The Ottoman empire, fatigued by undermining intrigues, will gain by the interests of France the support which ancient alliances, a recent treaty, and its geographical position give it a right to demand. The tranquillity given to the Continent by the treaty of Luneyville is secured by the last acts of the diet of Ratisbon. The enlightened interest of the great powers, the fidelity of the French government, in cultivating with them relations of good will and friendship; the justice, the energy of the nation, and the forces of the republic, will guarantee it.

(Signed) Buonaparté.

By order of the First Consul,

H. B. Maret.

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*Report of the Grand Judge, Minister of Justice, to the Government, 17th February, 1804.*

Citizen First Consul,

New plots have been hatched by England; this was the case even amidst the peace which she swore to



to maintain, and when she violated the treaty of Amiens, she counted less on her strength than on the success of her machinations. But government was vigilant; the steps of the agents of the enemy were followed by the eye of justice: the people of London were no doubt expecting to hear the explosion of that mine which had been dug under our feet. At any rate, the most ominous reports were spread, and they were indulging the most criminal hopes; on a sudden the agents of the conspiracy were arrested; proofs have accumulated, and they are so strong and so evident, that they carry with them convictions to every mind. Georges and his band of assassins had remained in the pay of England; their agents were still traversing La Vendée, Morbilian, the Côtes du Nord, and were endeavouring, but in vain, to find partisans of whom they were deprived by the moderation of government and of the laws.—Pichegru, unmasked by the events which preceded the 18th Fructidor, year 5, (Sept. 5, 1797), and unveiled, in particular, by that correspondence which general Moreau had addressed to the directory, had carried with him to England his hatred against his country. In the year eight he and Villot were in the train of the armies of our enemies, in order to unite with the brigands of the south. In the year nine he conspired with the committee of Baireuth, and since the peace of Amiens he has still been the hope and the counsellor of the enemies of France. The British perfidy associated Georges with Pichegru, the infamous Georges, with that Pichegru whom France had esteemed, whom she wished for a long time to consider as incapable of

treachery! In the year eleven a criminal reconciliation united Pichegru and Moreau, two men between whom honour ought to place eternal hatred. The police seized at Calais one of their agents, at the moment when he was returning a second time from England. This man had in his possession documents which confirmed the reality of a reconciliation at that time inexplicable, had not the bonds which united them been formed by criminality. On the arrest of this agent, general Moreau appeared for a moment to be agitated. He took some private steps to ascertain whether government was informed of it; but it was passed over in silence, and he himself, when he recovered his tranquillity, concealed from government an event which could not but awaken its vigilance. He observed silence even when Pichegru was publicly admitted into the councils of the British ministry, when he united in a notorious manner with the enemies of France. Government was disposed to consider his silence as arising from the dread of a confession, which would have humbled him, as it considered his retirement from public affairs, his suspicious connexions, and his imprudent language, as the effect of peevishness and discontent. General Moreau, who could not fail of being suspected, since he maintained a secret correspondence with the enemies of his country, and who, in consequence of this suspicion, which was too well founded, would at any other period have been arrested, was suffered to enjoy in tranquillity his honours, an immense fortune, and the kindness of the republic. Events, however, rapidly succeeded each other: Lajollais, the friend and confidant of Pichegru,



Pichegru, went privately from Paris to London, returned to Paris, carried to Pichegru the ideas of general Moreau—carried back to Moreau the ideas and designs of Pichegru and his associates; the brigands of Georges were preparing, even in Paris, every thing that was necessary for the execution of their common designs. A place was assigned between Dieppe and Treport, at a distance from molestation or the eye of vigilance, where the brigands of England, brought over in English ships, landed without being observed, and where they found corrupted men to receive them—men paid to conduct them during the night from fixed stations, previously agreed on, and thus to convey them to Paris.—At Paris lurking places were procured for them in houses hired before-hand, where they had confidants to protect them: they had some of these in different quarters and streets at Chaillot, in the Rue de Bacq, in the Fauxbourg St. Marceau, in the Marais. A first debarkation was effected, consisting of Georges himself, and eight of his brigands. Georges returned to the coast to assist at the landing of Coster St. Victor, condemned by a sentence passed in the affair of Nivôse 3, and of ten other brigands. In the commencement of the present month a third landing was effected, it consisted of Pichegru, Lajollais, Armand, Gaillard, brother of Raould, John Marie, one of the first confidants of Georges, and some other brigands of the same stamp. Georges with Joyau, called d'Assar, Saint Vincent and Picot, went to receive this third debarkation: the whole assembled at the farm de la Poterie. A fourth landing was expected; the

vessels were in sight, but contrary winds prevented them from approaching: a few days ago they were still making signals. Georges and Pichegru arrived at Paris, where they lodged in the same house surrounded by about thirty brigands, under the command of Georges; an interview took place between them and Moreau: the place, the day, and the hour, were the first conference was held, are known—a second was agreed on, but did not take place; a third and a fourth took place, even in the house of general Moreau. The presence of Georges and Pichegru at Paris, these conferences with general Moreau, are confirmed by incontestable and numerous proofs. Georges and Pichegru have been traced from house to house. Search has also been made for those who assisted at their landing; those who, under the cloud, conducted them from post to post; those who gave them an asylum at Paris: their confidants and accomplices. Lajollais, their principal agent, and general Moreau, are arrested; the effects and papers of Pichegru have been seized, and the police is employing the greatest activity to find him. England wishes to overthrow our government, and by this overthrow to effect the ruin of France, to deliver it up to ages of civil war and confusion. But to overturn a government, maintained by the affection of thirty million of citizens, and surrounded by a brave, powerful, and faithful army, was a task, not only superior to the strength of England, but of all Europe. England, therefore, had no hopes of accomplishing her design, but by the assassination of the first consul, and by covering this assassination under



under the shadow of a man who was still protected by the remembrance of his service. I must add, that the citizens need be under no uneasiness. The greater part of the brigands have been arrested; the rest have fled, and are closely pursued by the police. No suspicion attaches to any class of citizens, or to any branch of administration. I shall not give any further details in this report; you have seen all the papers; you will, therefore, give orders for their being laid before the eyes of justice.—Signed by the grand judge, minister of justice,

Regnier.

Certified in due form, the secretary of state,

H. B. Maret.

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*First Report of the Grand Judge Regnier to the First Consul, on the alledged Conspiracies against him, fomented by the English Ambassador at Munich.*

Citizen First Consul,

I think it my duty to separate from the information respecting the vile conspiracy, which public justice will shortly bring to public view and punish, those pieces of additional correspondence, which, in this great affair, and, as far as concerns the police, is but trifling; but, in its political point of view, seems to me of a nature that cannot fail to open the eyes of Europe to the despicable character of the English ministry, the meanness of its agents, and the miserable expedients it has recourse to for accomplishing its views.—An English minister is accredited at a court bordering on France: the manners of the people attach distinctions and privileges to this place,

and not without reason. The residence of a foreign minister is every where designed for the ascertaining and maintaining those bonds of friendship, confidence, and honour, that unite states, and whose preservation constitutes the glory of a government, and the happiness of the people.—But these are not the views of the diplomatic agent of the British government. I shall lay before you, citizen consul, the direct correspondence which Mr. Drake, the English ambassador to the elector of Bavaria, has held for these four months with agents sent, paid, and employed by him in the heart of the republic. This correspondence consists of ten original letters, written in his own hand.\*—I shall also lay before you the instructions which that gentleman is charged to distribute to his agents, and an authentic account of the sums already paid, and of those promised, as an encouragement and reward of crimes, which the mildest laws every where punish with death. It was not as the representative of his Sovereign that Mr. Drake came to Munich, with the title of plenipotentiary. This is merely his ostensible character, a pretence for sending him: the genuine object of his mission is to recruit for agents of intrigue, revolt, and assassination: to stir up a war of plunder and murder against the French government, and to wound the neutrality and the dignity of the government where he resides.—It is premised, though Mr. Drake appears ostensibly as a public character, he is in reality (as his private instructions prove) the secret director of English machinations on the continent; the sinews of which are gold, corruption, the foolish hopes of those concerned in the

\* Those pieces which follow in the original, it is impossible from their length to insert here.



plot, and of all the ambitious people of Europe. His aim is plainly pointed out in the 18 articles of instructions with which Mr. Drake furnishes his agents, and which form the first of the pieces added to this report.—Art. 2. The principal point in view being the overthrow of the present government, one of the principal means of accomplishing this is, the obtaining a knowledge of the plans of the enemy; for this purpose it is of the utmost importance to begin by establishing a correspondence with the different bureaus, for the obtaining particular information of all the plans, both as to the exterior as well as to the interior. The knowledge of these plans suggests the best mode of rendering them abortive, and the want of success is the most effectual means of discrediting the government, the first, and most important step towards the end proposed.—7. To gain over those employed in the powder-mills, so as to be able to blow them up, as occasion may require.—8. It is indispensibly necessary to gain over a certain number of printers and engravers, that may be relied on, to print and execute every thing that the confederacy may stand in need of.—9. It is very much to be wished, that a perfect knowledge may be gained of the situation of the different parties in France, and particularly in Paris:—13. It is well understood, that every means must be tried to disorganize the armies, both in and out of the republic. Thus you see that the real objects of Mr. Drake's mission are to bring fire and flames into the republic, to blow up the powder-mills, to procure trusty printers and engravers for the purposes of forgery, to penetrate into the heart

of every assembly, to arm one party against the other; and, in fine, to disorganize the armies. But, happily, this evil genius is not so powerful in its means, as it is fertile in illusions and sinister projects; were it otherwise, there would be an end of society. Hatred, craft, gold, and a total indifference as to the means employed, are neither wanting to Mr. Drake nor the immoral policy of the government whose agent he is. But they do not possess power enough to shake the organization of France, which is of the strongest nature, having its foundation in the affections of thirty millions of citizens, cemented together by their joint strength and interest, and animated by the wisdom and genius of the government.—Those who consider nothing of any value besides gold, whose only abilities consist in low intrigue, are not able to conceive the strength and power of a combination of circumstances, the result of ten years of sufferings, and ten years of victories, of a concurrence of events, and of the establishment of a noble nation, founded on the dangers and efforts of a glorious war, and a terrible revolution.—In the midst of these means, Mr. Drake sees nothing but opportunities for intrigue, and the efforts of spies. “During my stay in Italy,” he says to one of his correspondents, (Munich, Jan. 27.) “I had connection with the interior of France:—I should continue to have them, as I am at this moment, of all the English ministers, the nearest to the frontiers.”—This is his pretence for exercising his utmost endeavours for the overthrow of France. But his means are not better than his right.—He has agents in whom he dares not confide. His  
doubtful



doubtful correspondents write to him *via* Switzerland, Strasburg, Kehl, Offenbourg, and Munich. He has subalterns in these cities, to take especial care of his correspondence. He makes use of forged passports, of fictitious names, of sympathetic ink. These are the modes of communication through which he transmits his ideas, projects, and rewards; and, by these means, he is informed of the schemes planned by his orders for raising insurrections, in the first place, in four departments; for raising an army, increasing the number of the disaffected, and overthrowing the consular government:—These efforts and promises are too mad, and the vile miserable methods employed are too disproportioned to the difficulties of the enterprize, to give any uneasiness as to their success. But it is not with regard to what may occasion fear, nor with a view of punishing, that the operations of that interior arrangement, called the police, acts; its principal object is, not alone to prevent crimes as that of the exterior is to confine ambition, but to remove even the very occasion of vice and weakness.—In those countries that are the best governed, there are always to be found certain persons who suffer themselves to be led astray by a sort of innate inconstancy. In the best regulated commonwealths there are to be found perverse and weak men. It has always been considered by my predecessors as a duty to watch over such persons, not in the vain hope of rendering them good, but to stop the developement of their vices; and as, on this head, all civilized nations have the same interests to watch over, and the same duty to fulfil, it has always been a received maxim, that no government should suffer a standard to

be created, around which hirelings of every country or profession might gather, for the purpose of planning a general disorganization, and much less should they permit an infamous school for bribery, and recruiting, to the prejudice at once of the fidelity, constancy, affections, and conscience of the citizens.—Mr. Drake had an agency at Paris; but other ministers, the instruments of discord, and excitors of mischief, like him, may also have agencies. Mr. Drake, in his correspondence, unmasks all those that exist in France, by the very measures he takes to deny that he knows any thing of them.—“I repeat, that I have no knowledge of the existence of any other society besides yours.—But I repeat to you, (he observes in several places) that if there does, I do not doubt but that your friends will take the necessary measures, not only not to embarrass one another, but to be mutually serviceable to each other.” In fine, he adds, (Munich, Dec. 9, 1803) with a brutal fury, and worthy of the part he plays—“It is of very little consequence by whom the beast is brought to the ground, it is sufficient that you are all ready to join in the chace.”—Pursuant to this system, on the first breaking out of the conspiracy, that now employs the hand of justice, he writes: “If you see any means of extricating any of Georges’ associates, do not fail to make use of them;” and as his evil genius is never discouraged, even in his disgrace, Mr. Drake will not have his friends give themselves up for lost in this unexpected reverse of fortune.—“I earnestly request you,” he writes (Munich, 25th Feb. 1804,) “to print and distribute a short address to the army, immediately (both to the officers and soldiers.) The main point is to gain  
partisans



partisans in the army; for I am thoroughly persuaded, that it is through the army alone that one can reasonably hope to gain the change so much desired." How vain these hopes were, is sufficiently characterized by the striking unanimity that prevails every where, now that the danger is discovered with which France was menaced.—But the attempt to commit a crime, the bare idea of which is an outrage to humanity, and the execution of which would not only have been a national calamity, but, I may add, a calamity for all Europe, demands not only a reparation for the past, but a guarantee for the future.—A solitary scattered banditti, a prey to want, without harmony, and without support, is always weaker than the laws which are to punish it, or the police which ought to intimidate it. But if they have the power of uniting, if they could correspond with each other, and the brigands of other countries, if in a profession the most honourable of all, in as much as the tranquillity of empires and the honour of sovereigns depend thereon, there should be found men authorized to make use of all the power their station affords, to practise vice, corruption, infamy, and villainy, and to raise from out of the refuse of human nature an army of assassins, rebels, and forgers, under the command of the most immoral and most ambitious of all governments; there would be no security in Europe for the existence of any state, for public morality, nor even for the continuance of the principles of civilization. It is not my duty to discuss the means you may possess to secure Europe, by guaranteeing her against such dangers. I con-

tent myself with informing and proving to you, that there exists at Munich an Englishman, called Drake, invested with a diplomatic character, who, profiting of this guise and of the vicinity of that place, directs dark and criminal efforts to the heart of the republic; who recruits for agents of corruption and rebellion; who resides beyond the environs of the town, that his agents may have access to him without shame, and depart without being exposed; and who directs and pays men in France, charged by him with paving the way to an overthrow of the government.—This new species of crime, escaping, from its nature, the ordinary means of suppression, which the laws put in my power, I must confine myself to the unmasking it to you, and pointing out to you, at the same time, the sources, circumstances, and consequences. Health and respect.

Regnier.

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*Second Report of the Grand Judge, respecting the Plots of the Person named Drake, Minister from England at Munich, and of the Person named Spencer Smith, Minister from England at Stutgard, against France and the Person of the First Consul: dated Paris, April 11th, 1804, and signed Regnier.*

Citizen First Consul,

My conjectures are verified; Mr. Drake is not the only agent of England, whose political mission is merely the plausible mask of a hidden ministry of seduction and insurrection. I have the honour to place before your eyes, papers, which prove that Mr. Spencer Smith, diplomatic



diplomatic agent of England in the states of Wurtemburgh, after the example of Mr. Drake, has occupied himself since his arrival at his place of residence, only in prostituting his public character, his influence, and the gold of his government, to that infamous ministry.—Mr. Spencer Smith has suffered a discovery of the secret part which formed the real object of his diplomatic mission. I present to the first consul an enigmatical letter, which this minister has written to M. Lelievre de Saint Remi, one of his agents in Holland; this agent, spy, emigrant, and who has received his pardon, was already known to the police; but before I had any of the parts of his correspondence with Mr. Spencer Smith, I knew, by other reports, that when he was about to obtain his amnesty, which he procured in Pluviose, year 11, he quitted Sééz, his place of birth, in Nivôse, the same year, in order to go to Cambray; and that on the 2nd of last Frimaire he had gone to Holland, there to serve under the name of Pruneau, and to follow there the double direction of a Frenchman and a spy, named Le Clerc, whom the British ministry supported at Abbeville, and that of an accredited spy, named Spencer Smith; whom, for the purpose of covering his designs, that same ministry had invested with a diplomatic character. I further knew, by papers equally numerous, and not less instructive, seized on the spy at Abbeville, that Mr. Spencer Smith, before he quitted London, had entered into such intimate connexions with a general committee of Espionage, established by the above administration, and the direction of which was entrusted

to the Abbé Ratel, that he had demanded and obtained of that committee a confidential secretary named Pericaud, who was to follow the secret correspondence, and to receive and communicate all the necessary documents to the agents in Holland, the spies on the coast, and the conspirators in Paris. The letters to Lelievre, the credit for 2000 louis d'ors given on the house of Osy at Rotterdam, the cypher, the enigmatical letter, are of the hand writing of this Pericaud; and thus it will be seen that Mr. Spencer Smith is gone to his residence with all the exterior of a diplomatic minister from England; that is to say, with sympathetic inks, watch-words to communicate with all the spies, bills of exchange to reward their services, and a confidential intermediate agent, to follow up their proceedings and to direct them, without committing himself.—It is necessary to recur once more to Mr. Drake. The two reports which I lay before you, citizen first consul, will give you an account of a mission to that minister, by citizen Rosey, captain and adjutant-major of the 9th regiment of the line, in garrison at Strasburgh, whom Mr. Drake was very willing to employ as agent of a pretended general, who was to stir up four departments, to draw around him the French army, to overthrow your government, to instal in its stead a democratic directory, and, finally, to put this phantom of power and all France at the discretion of the English government.—I should hesitate to present to you these monstrous absurdities, if I had not to lay before you an original letter from Mr. Drake, backed by considerable sums of gold,



gold, counted by Mr. Drake and deposited at my office by citizen Rosey. This letter serves as a proof of the accuracy of the reports of the French agent, and ought to be published, because the odious particulars which it contains, give additional colouring to the picture of infamy which Mr. Drake has himself delineated of his incendiary diplomacy, in the first part of his correspondence.—Mr. Drake replied to the pretended general. He acknowledges the receipt of his envoy with his credentials. He congratulates him on the harmony subsisting between him and the committee of disorganization, over which the general presides. ‘Your views,’ says he, complacently, ‘are quite conformable to mine, and I need not enlarge further on this point’—But he requires, (and here he follows the first vagaries of his predecessor Wickham) that provisionally they should secure two strong places; Huningen by all means, and Strasbourg if possible. By this means only could they depend upon a sure communication. Then would Mr. Drake take his residence near the Rhine, and it will suffice to inform him immediately of the moment fixed for commencing the operations, and of the precise periods when farther assistance will be necessary, as well as of the amount of the succours required, that he may have time to take measures to provide for the same, and that the operations may not fail for want of support. However, the most important point is not the taking of places, and securing stages for the safe arrival of subsidies. First of all, we must disorganize the army. Mr. Drake complains of being left uninformed of the progress which the

agents of the committee may have made to gain over some among them; but he trusts to their zeal. He supposes, with confidence, that the attempts tried with this view have completely succeeded, and that they are certain of a powerful diversion from that quarter; without this aid, he solemnly declares your operations will be confined to cause three or four departments to rise, which can never succeed upon the long run, on the supposition that the first consul retains a power over his troops sufficient to make them march against you.—The disquietude, it will be easily believed, is the prevailing idea of Mr. Drake; it seizes him, it occupies him continually; however, he has found an admirable expedient to recover his courage. ‘You should,’ says he, ‘offer the soldiers a small increase of pay beyond what they receive of the present government.’—Worthy discovery of a corrupt minister, of a government which weighs with gold every action, and every human affection! Nothing, according to them, can resist this gold, which is above every thing; and the French army, making honour its idol, attached to it by the glory of a thousand battles, and of ten years victories; this army, which spurns seduction, because the seducers and seduced are the greatest cowards: this army, I say, yielding to the attraction of a wretched increase of pay, shall sacrifice whatever is most dear to it, all its most honourable recollections; in short, its government, its liberty, to the irreconcilable enemy of their country! What horror! what madness!—I shall not be more prolix on these disgusting details; besides, to insist long on the indignation



nation which the political and military projects of Mr. Drake inspire, is to do them too much honour; they are both ridiculous and absurd in an eminent degree; and I think it is a very appropriate punishment for him, to give up to the contempt and ridicule of the public the enterprises of this minister, still more credulous, more awkward, and more weak than wicked.—An English minister, such as Mr. Drake, cannot be punished by obloquy. This can only mortify men who feel the price of virtue, and know that of honour; but Mr. Drake is proud and vain. The profits of his secret missions must have made him wealthy and covetous. He will be punished, when he shall know, that the revolt of the four departments, the capture of Huningen, the seduction of the army, the liberation of Pichegru, Moreau, of Georges and his confederates; the existence of the diplomatic committee, in short, the talents, the credit, and projects of this demagogue general, by nature endowed with a sublime eloquence, an imposing figure, and who is quite disposed to effect, at his call, the overthrow of France, are chimeras with which the prefect of Strasburgh has liked to feed his simple credulity. He will be punished when he learns that all his bulletins which were sent to London by extraordinary messengers, communicated to every court, hawked about by the English ministers as far as Constantinople, and of which traces are found even in the discussions of parliament, were fabrications, and contained nothing either true or probable; that before they were transmitted to him, they had been communicated to the agents of the police of Paris,

who blushed on reading them: and could not recover from their surprise on seeing, that fables, framed with so little care and trouble, could charm Mr. Drake, and serve as a basis for the operations and calculations of the cabinet——Mr. Drake will be punished when he shall know, that his bills, his gold, his correspondence, those of his colleagues, the spies at Rotterdam, Abbeville, Paris, and Munich, are the sport of men, who, by approaching him and his colleague at Stutgard, by watching their steps, and by studying their character, have learned and can teach Europe, that a ministry which renders itself despicable by the choice and by the conduct of its diplomatic agents, cannot inspire either fear or confidence in the governments of the continent; and that the insolence and corruption, which that ministry employ as weapons to intimidate or lead astray the councils of sovereigns, do now find a powerful antidote in the discovery of the meanness, the immorality, and stupidity of their diplomacy.—Concerning Mr. Spencer Smith, I have strong reasons to think that the operations entrusted to him are not confined to these plots; that he directs the events which are taking place in the canton of Zurich; and that the disturbances, by which that miserable district is again agitated, are owing to his gold and his intrigues.—Citizen first consul, perhaps I transgress the bounds of my function; but I must tell you, with that truth which you love to hear, France cannot suffer a hostile power to establish on neutral territory, accredited agents, whose principal mission is to carry discord to the bosom of the republic. You are at



the head of a nation great enough, strong, and brave enough, to obtain as your right an absolute neutrality. You have constantly commanded me not to suffer, that conspiracies be framed in any part of our immense territory, against any existing government; and already, during the short space of time elapsed since I have been entrusted with the administration of the police, have I repeatedly annulled machinations which threatened the king of Naples and the holy see; I have pursued as far as Strasburgh the forgers of Vienna bank notes. All these facts have proved how sincere your wish is to secure established governments against every kind of propagandas and plots. Why should you not have the right to demand an entire reciprocity from the states of the Germanic empire? Why should Munich, Stutgard, Ettenheim, and Friburgh, have the right of remaining the centre of the conspiracies, which England never ceases to form against France and Helvetia?—These objects deserve your utmost solicitude, citizen first consul, and I dare to tell you so, because this privilege belongs to the chief of justice, and the most serious attention in this respect forms part of your first duties. It may be objected, I know, that England as a friendly power has a right to send ministers to the electors of Bavaria, Baden, and Wirtemburgh. But English diplomacy is composed of two sorts of agents, whom all the continent well know how to distinguish. Such ministers as Cornwallis and Warren, are never accredited but for honourable missions, to maintain a good understanding between nations, and to regulate the grand interests of po-

licy or of commerce; whilst the Wickhams, the Drakes, and the Spencer Smiths, are known throughout Europe as the artificers of crimes, whose cowardice is protected by a sacred character. I will say more; the presence of these contemptible agents is very mortifying to the princes in friendship with France; and the courts of Munich and Stutgard cannot support, without disgust, Drake and Spencer Smith, whom numberless reasons render suspected of a very different mission from that which is announced by their official title. In consequence of the demand that you have made of them, the electors of Bavaria and Wirtemburgh have driven from their states the impure remains of the French who are enemies to their country, and whose hatred has survived the calamities of civil war, and the pardon which you have granted them. Let them equally drive away these artificers of conspiracy, whose mission has no other object but to reanimate the intestine dissensions of France, and to sow fresh discord on the continent. Ought not our neighbours to suffer an equal alarm with ourselves at the return of political troubles, and of all those horrors of war which can be profitable only to that nation which is the enemy of every other! I demand in the most earnest manner;—and every duty I owe you, citizen first consul, impels me to make the request, that the cabinet may take such effectual measures, that the Wickhams, the Drakes, and the Spencer Smiths, may not be received by any power in friendship with France, whatever may be their title or character; men who preach up assassination, and foment domestic troubles; the  
agents



agents of corruption, the missionaries of revolt against all established governments, are the enemies of all states, and of all governments. The law of nations does not exist for them. I have fulfilled my duty, citizen first consul, in exposing to your view, the facts, which prove, that Drake and Spencer Smith exercise upon the continent the same mission with which Wickham was charged during the last war. Your supreme wisdom will do the rest.\*

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*Account of the Arrest of the Duke D'Enghuieu, from the French Official Paper, the Moniteur.—Strasburgh, March 16, 1804.*

On the evening of the 14th instant, general de Caulincourt, aide-camp of the first consul, lately arrived here, caused the gate leading into Germany to be opened, and passed through it with general Levat, of the fifth military division, towards the right bank of the Rhine. A little before this a body of infantry, and a strong division of the regiment of cavalry lying in garrison at this city, besides a division of the national guard, had been stationed on the banks of the Rhine. They crossed this river in the night, and directed their march through Kehl to Offenbourg, which was immediately perceived by our troops. Their commandant ordered to be pointed out to him the habitations of the emigrants who resided there, whom they wished to seize. They were immediately put under arrest. Some of this description were arrested also at Kehl. This expedition

was conducted in the greatest order, and executed with the greatest propriety. It is reported that general de Caulincourt and Levat have themselves returned to Offenbourg. During the whole of the morning of yesterday the passage of the Rhine was shut. Nobody was permitted to cross the river, even with passports. About mid-day the column of Offenbourg again entered our city by the citadel, after having committed to the commandant their prisoners, the number of whom amounted to about fifteen. They are provisionally detained. Among them are the baron de Reich, and the abbé d'Eymar. On the same night another column of our troops, composed of infantry, of cavalry, of artillery and gend'armes, crossed also the Rhine at Rhenau, about six leagues distance from this upon the road to Brisack. We are assured, that their object was to reconnoitre the city of Ettenheim, and to arrest such conspirators as might be found there. Besides, by the consent of the court of Baden, a counsellor of Baden arrived here the day before yesterday; and during the two last days, several couriers had been dispatched to Carlsruhe, and had returned. Kehl is already evacuated by our troops, and the communication has been again established since yesterday. Yesterday morning were arrested here about ten persons, who are said to be implicated in the conspiracy. Among them are the ci-devant count of Toulouse Lautree, madame de Klengling, sister-in-law of the general of that name, the curé of Ernbheim, and others, mostly emigrants who had returned. There

\* Here follows, in the original, the proofs referred to, but which, from their great length, we cannot insert.



was also arrested here about mid-day, general Desnoyes, who had presided three years ago in the council of war, which acquitted the accomplices of Pichegru. Madame Lajolais, the brother of the ex-general Lajolais, Demongés and his wife, have been conducted to Paris under the escort of the gendarmerie. The most conspicuous person arrested on this occasion is the duke d'Enghuieu, son of the duke of Bourbon, and grandson of the prince of Condé.

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*Official Report of the Trial of the Duke d'Enghuieu, at Vincennes, Paris, March 24, 1805.*

Special military commission constituted in the first military division, in virtue of a decree of the government, dated the 29th Ventôse (20th of March) in the year twelve of the republic, one and indivisible.

*Judgment.*—In the name of the French republic, this 30th Ventôse (March 21) in the 12th year of the republic.—The military and special commission formed in the first military division, in virtue of a decree of the government, dated the 29th Ventôse (March 20), composed, agreeably to the law of the 19th Fructidor, (Sept. 6), in the year five, of seven members, consisting of citizens Hulen, gen. of brigade, Guiton, col. com., Bazancourt, col. com., Ravier, col. com., Barrois, col. com., Rabbe, col. com., d'Autancourt, capt. Major, Molin, capt. —The whole of these were named by Murat, the general in chief, governor of Paris, and commander of the first military division. The said president, members reporting, capt. and register, neither being relations nor persons connected within the degrees of affinity prohibited by the

law, met according to appointment. By the orders of the general in chief, governor of Paris, the commission was opened at the castle of Vincennes, in the house of the commander of the place, for the purpose of proceeding in the trial of Louis Antoine Henry de Bourbon, duke d'Enghuieu, born at Chantilly the 2d day of August, 1772; of light hair and eye-brows, black eyes, small mouth, aqueline nose, and of a handsome figure. The accusations against him included six charges; which six charges were as follows:—He was accused, First: of having carried arms against the French republic. Second: of having offered his services to the English government, the enemy of the French people. Third: of receiving and having, with accredited agents of that government, procured means of obtaining intelligence in France, and conspiring against the internal and external security of the state. Fourth: that he was at the head of a body of French and other emigrants, paid by England, formed on the frontiers of France, in the districts of Fribourg and Baden. Fifth: of having attempted to foment intrigues at Strasbourg, with a view of producing a rising in the adjacent departments, for the purpose of operating a diversion favourable to England. Sixth: that he was one of those concerned in the conspiracy planned by the English for the assassination of the first consul, and intending, in case of the success of that plot, to return to France. The commission being opened, the president ordered the officer appointed to conduct the accusation, to read all the papers which went either to the crimination or the acquittal of the prisoner. After the reading of these papers



was finished, the accused was introduced by the guard, free and unfettered, before the commission. He was interrogated as to his name, surname, age, place of birth, and abode. In his answer, he stated, that his name was Louis Antoine Henry de Bourbon, duke d'Enghuieu, aged 32 years; that he was born at Chantilly, near Paris, and that he had left France in the year 1789.—After the president had finished his interrogatories respecting all the points contained in the accusation, and after the accused had urged all that he could alledge in his defence, the members were next asked if they had any observations to offer on the subject? They all replied in the negative, and the accused was ordered to be taken out of court, and conducted back to the prison. The officer conducting the prosecution, and the register, as well as the auditors, were then ordered to withdraw by the president. The court deliberated for some time, with closed doors, on the respective charges as already stated. The question was put by the president on each of the charges separately. Each of the members in succession delivered his opinion. The president was the last in delivering his judgment. The result was, that the court unanimously found the prisoner guilty of all the six charges. The next question put was to the punishment to be inflicted. The question was here again put in the same way as before, and the following was the sentence of condemnation:—The special military commission condemns unanimously to death Louis Antoine Henry de Bourbon, duke d'Enghuieu, on the ground of his being guilty of acting as a spy, of correspondence with the enemies of

the republic, and of conspiracy against the external and internal security of the republic.—This sentence is pronounced in conformity to the second article, title four, of the military code of offences and punishments passed on the 11th of January, in the year 5, and the second section of the first title of the ordinary penal code, established on the 6th of October, 1791, described in the following terms:—Art. II. (11th Jan. year 5). Every individual, whatever be his state, quality, or profession, convicted of acting as a spy for the enemy, shall be sentenced to the punishment of death. Art. I. Every one engaged in a plot or conspiracy against the republic, shall, on conviction, be punished with death.—Art. II. (6th October, 1791). Every one connected with a plot or conspiracy tending to disturb the tranquillity of the state, by civil war, by arming one class of citizens against the other, or against the exercise of legitimate authority, shall be punished with death.—Orders were given to the officer who conducted the accusation, to read the above sentence to the prisoner, in presence of the guard drawn up under arms. It was at the same time ordered, that a copy of the sentence should, as soon as was consistent with the forms of law, be transmitted, signed by the president and the accuser, to the minister at war, to the grand judge, minister of justice, and the general in chief, governor of Paris.—Signed and sealed the same day, month, and year, aforesaid,

Guiton, Bazancourt, Ravier,  
Barrois, Rabbe, d'Autancourt,  
Captain Reporter;  
Molin, Captain Register;  
and Hulen, President.—

*Moniteur.*



*Copy of the Requisition transmitted by the French Minister for Foreign Affairs to Baron Edelsheim, Minister of the Elector of Baden, for the Purpose of arresting the Duke D'Enghuien.—Signed, C. M. Talleyrand, and dated at Paris, March 10, 1804.*

Sir,

I had formerly sent you a note, the purport of which was to request the arrest of the French emigrants which met at Offenbourg, as the first consul, from the successive arrests of the banditti which the English government has sent to France, and from the result of the trials which have been here instituted, has obtained a complete knowledge of the extensive part which the English agents at Offenbourg have had in those horrible plots which have been devised against his own person and against the safety of France. He has at the same time learned that the duke d'Enghuien and general Dumouriez were at Ettenheim. As it is impossible that they should be in that city without the permission of his electoral highness, the first consul, therefore, could not see, without the deepest concern, that a prince whom he had distinguished by every mark of friendship, should give an asylum to the most determined enemies of France, and permit them so tranquilly to project such unprecedented conspiracies. From these extraordinary occurrences the first consul has found it necessary to order two small detachments of troops to repair to Offenbourg and Ettenheim, to seize there the authors of a crime, the nature of which was such as to place those who are proved to have had a share in it out of the protection of the

law of nations. It is general Caulincourt who is charged with the execution of those orders of the first consul, and who there is no doubt will employ every care and attention in fulfilling the same, which his electoral highness can wish. He will have the honour to deliver your excellency the letter I have been directed to write you. Accept, sir, the assurance of my high consideration.

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*Circular Letter of the French Minister of Foreign Affairs to the Foreign Ministers' resident at Paris.—Signed C. M. Talleyrand, and dated at Paris, March 24, 1804.*

The first consul has ordered me to address to your excellency, a copy of the report presented to him by the grand judge on the incidental conspiracy planned in France, by Mr. Drake, minister of his Britannic majesty at the court of Munich, and which, as to its object and date, was connected with the infamous plot that is now before the tribunals. The printed copy of the letters and authentic papers of Mr. Drake, is annexed to the report. The originals will be immediately sent, by order of the first consul, to his serene highness the elector of Bavaria.—Such a prostitution of the most honourable trust which could be confided in man, was unexampled in the history of civilized nations. It will astonish and afflict Europe as an unheard of crime, and which, until the present moment, the most perverse government had not dared to attempt. The first consul is too well acquainted with the sentiments and good qualities which distinguish the members



bers of the diplomatic body, accredited by him, not to be convinced that they will behold, with profound sorrow, the profanation of the sacred character of ambassador, so basely metamorphosed into an agency of plots, stratagems, and corruption.

*Answer of the Imperial Minister.*  
Citizen Minister,

I return many thanks to your excellency for the communication which you have been pleased to make me of the report of the grand judge, of which you have sent me a copy, and which I shall immediately transmit to Vienna, for the information of my court. The opinion manifested by the first consul of the sentiments and good qualities of the diplomatic body, which has the honour of being accredited to him, proves the justice he does to all the members of whom it consists; and unquestionably, he is not deceived in thinking that there is not one among us who does not decidedly condemn every thing which a diplomatic agent and his government undertake contrary to the laws of nations, and the rules of right and good faith generally adopted among civilised nations. (Signed) Count Cobenzel.  
*Paris, March 25, 1804.*

*Answer of the Russian Chargé d'Affairs.*

Sir,

I have the honour of acknowledging the receipt of the letter which you addressed to me by order of the first consul, and of the report which was presented by order of the grand judge, and I have hastened to transmit it to my court. His imperial majesty will see with

satisfaction, that his agents to the French government participate in the justice which the first consul does to the diplomatic body accredited to him, and that their care to observe, on all occasions, the most rigorous principles of the rights of nations, are honourably appreciated by the chief of the government. (Signed) Pierre d'Oubril.  
*Paris, March 25, 1804.*

*Answer of the Prussian Minister.*  
Citizen Minister,

I took the earliest opportunity of transmitting to my court the letter your excellency did me the honour of writing to me on the 4th instant, and the copy of the report of the grand judge on the incidental conspiracy fortunately discovered by the vigilance of the police.—You know, citizen minister, the lively interest with which the king, my master, is inspired for the preservation of the life of the first consul, and for the maintenance of order and tranquillity in the state of which he is the worthy head. You may therefore anticipate the effect which this communication will have on the mind of his Prussian majesty, whoever may have been the authors and agents of this conspiracy; and your excellency will easily foresee all the satisfaction which his majesty will feel at the entire cessation of so many subjects of alarm for the friends of France. For in discharging the commission entrusted to me, I have considered it my duty to assure his majesty of the perfect union existing between the august chief of the republic and all the servants of the state, between the whole nation, and its representatives or defenders.—It is by such a conduct that I shall endeavour



vour to conciliate for the sacred character with which I am invested, the confidence and the regard of the government to which the king, my master, has been graciously pleased to send me.

(Signed) Marquis de Lucchesini.  
*Paris, March 26, 1804.*

*Answer of the Danish Minister.*

Citizen Minister,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of the report of the grand judge, respecting the conspiracy carried on in France by Mr. Drake, and I have hastened to transmit it to my court. The perusal of the letters and authentic papers issued by Mr. Drake, must sincerely afflict all the members of the diplomatic body. It is a subject of concern, to observe that a minister has practised those intrigues which ought to be foreign to his character, and to the dignity of his functions. Every foreign minister must regret with me, that a public man can be accused of such conduct; and do not doubt but all the foreign ministers will partake my sentiments and opinions respecting the conduct of Mr. Drake.—

(Signed) Dreyer.

*March 25, 1804.*

*Answer of the American Minister.*  
Sir,

I have received the note which you did me the honour to address to me, with a copy of the report of the grand judge, relative to papers which prove that Mr. Drake, the British minister at Munich, has held a culpable correspondence with traitors, for objects which all civilized nations must regard with horror; and that horror must be redoubled, when we see that it is a

minister that thus prostitutes his sacred character. When a subaltern agent commits a base or atrocious act, it may be supposed that he is influenced by personal interest, but the actions of a minister are generally attributed to the government he represents; and even when he acts against his orders (which I hope is the case in this instance) his conduct is so much identified with his government, that such acts tend to overturn social order, and to bring back nations to barbarism. I beg your excellency to offer to the first consul, in the name of my government, the most sincere felicitations for having happily escaped the attempts of his enemies, directed not only against his life, but against an object more dear to his heart, the happiness of the nation of which he is the chief; a happiness which is the result of his noble labours in the field of honour, and in the cabinet, and which is not yet sufficiently established, not to be deeply shaken by his loss.—

(Signed) Livingston,  
*Paris, March 26, 1804.*

*Answer of the Bavarian Minister.*  
Citizen Minister,

I have received the letter by which you have communicated to me the report of the grand judge on the scandalous and criminal intrigues of Mr. Drake, minister of his Britannic majesty at my court. I do not hesitate to assure your excellency, that the elector will manifest, by measures the most severe, the most efficacious, and most conformable to his personal friendship for the first consul, the grief and indignation which this prince must feel, in consequence of the vile and iniquitous designs which have been



so daringly meditated and followed up, within his states, under the mask of a sacred character.—I should in vain endeavour to express to you, Citizen minister, how deeply I deplore the outrage resulting from the transaction against the respectable functions which I exercise. It impresses me, however, with the strongest sense of your attention, in informing me of the justice done by the first consul to the sentiments of all those who have the honour of being accredited near his person. I shall ever be ambitious to obtain his approbation, as a flattering recompense for my zeal, and as the most honourable means of meriting the regard of my sovereign.

(Signed) Cetto.

*Paris, March 26, 1804.*

*Answer of the Minister of the Ligurian Republic.*

Citizen Minister,

The communication, which by order of the first consul, you have done me the honour to make me of the letters and authentic papers of the correspondence in France of Mr. Drake, his Britannic majesty's minister at the court of Munich, has caused so great an astonishment, that I have hardly recovered from it.—I trust, without such convincing proofs, it was hardly possible to conceive that a person representing at a respectable court his sovereign, could debase the most honourable functions with which a man can be invested, in making them the instruments of fomenting and organizing secret and perfidious plots, which tended to nothing less, than to overturn, if possible, the republic, to replunge France into all the horrors of internal divisions, and to overwhelm Europe with

those misfortunes which would inevitably have succeeded this fatal revolution in France.—Every man to whom, by his government is confided the honour of representing it at foreign courts, ought to be, as well as myself, justly irritated by the proceedings of Mr. Drake, and to denounce him to Europe, as unworthy of being counted among the number of those persons called by their government to exercise the sacred functions of diplomacy.—This sentiment ought to be general, especially among the distinguished members of the diplomatic corps, who have the honour of being accredited near the first consul, to whom, I pray you, citizen minister, to submit the particular expression of the profound grief which I have felt, from the communication which you have deigned to make me in his name.—My government, to whom I have transmitted your letter, with the report of the grand judge, and the annexed papers, will take, I doubt not, a lively interest in this event, and will always be watchful in case the enemies of France and its allies should ever attempt to disseminate in Liguria, criminal insinuations, they may produce no other effect, than to cover with shame the perfidious men who shall dare to spread them.

(Signed) Ferreri.

*Paris, March 26, 1804.*

*Answer of the Envoy of the Republic of Lucca.*

I have had the honour of receiving the letter which your excellency addressed me, under the date of 3 Germinal, and the copy of the report presented by the grand judge to the first consul, on the conspiracy

racy



racy that Mr. Drake, his Britannic majesty's minister at the court of Munich, has formed against the French republic.—It certainly will inspire great regret in all the members of the diplomatic corps, to see prostituted in so high a degree, the most sacred and honourable character; the plots of Mr. D. should excite the indignation of all those governments which desire the tranquillity of Europe. The government of Lucca, which has never ceased to wish the prosperity of France, and the happiness of the first consul, and which felt the greatest horror on hearing of the attempts against the life of the first consul, will learn with still greater affliction, the new machinations which in endangering the safety of the French republic would have deprived the republics of Italy, of the peace and happiness which she enjoyed under its auspices.—I hasten consequently to entreat your excellency to present to the first consul, in the name of my government, the most sincere congratulations, on the fortunate discovery of this plot, which will have no other effect than to cover with dishonour, its agents and its authors.

(Signed) J. Belluoni.  
*Paris, March 26, 1804.*

*Answer of the Envoy of the Swiss Confederacy.*

The undersigned envoy extraordinary of the Swiss confederacy near the first consul, has received with gratitude the communication, which, by order of the first consul, his excellency the minister of foreign relations, has addressed to him the 3d Germinal.—He hastens to transmit to the landamman of the Swiss, who as well as all the Swiss will learn with deep regret this new

conspiracy against the gracious ally.—The undersigned, highly flattered by the expressions contained in the letter with which his excellency the minister of foreign relations has been pleased to honour him, entreats his excellency to renew to the first consul the homage of his profound respect and the expedition of his sincere wishes for the preservation of his precious life.

(Signed) C. de Maillardôz.  
*March 26, 1804.*

*Answer of the Portuguese Minister. Citizen Minister,*

I have received the letter which your excellency did me the honour to address to me of the 3d Germinal, with a copy of the report presented by the grand judge, to which are annexed copies of the papers and letters of Mr. Drake, his Britannic majesty's minister at the court of Munich. I thank your excellency for this communication, and I shall hasten to transmit it to my court. You render justice, citizen minister, to my sentiments, in believing the profound grief that I feel by the profanation of the sacred character of an ambassador.

(Signed) J. M. De Souza.  
*Paris, March 26, 1804.*

*Answer of the Legate of the Sovereign Pontiff.*

Sir,

I have received with the letter of your excellency of the 3d Germinal, a copy of the report of the chief judge, relative to the correspondence of Mr. Drake, minister of his Britannic majesty at the court of Bavaria, with a list of those who have conspired in the interior of France against the government. The tender attachment of his holiness for



for the person of the first consul, the respect which I know he entertains for him, in consideration of the important services he has rendered to religion, and the special protection he has extended to the church, the gratitude which, not only French catholics, but likewise those of neighbouring countries, owe him, have excited in me the most lively sorrow when I learned that his life was in danger, and the public tranquillity had been so near being disturbed. I was then very far from thinking that any of the diplomatic agents could be implicated in this conspiracy; the public and sacred character with which they are clothed, shelter them from such a suspicion. I perceive with great regret, by the correspondence which your excellency has transmitted to me, that one of these agents has permitted himself to address to the enemies of the French government in the interior, instructions, means, and plans. I am persuaded that his holiness will feel as sensibly as myself this melancholy intelligence. Deign to assure the first consul that the pontiff has viewed, and will always continue to view, with horror, whatever shall tend to disturb the interior peace of his government, on which rests the entire edifice for the re-establishment of the catholic religion in France. Every attempt against his precious life will be viewed by his holiness as a crime as atrocious in itself as it is fatal to the church and to the repose and tranquillity of France. I have no doubt but that the diplomatic corps of Europe will participate with me in these sentiments, and that they will openly disavow whosoever, among the members that compose it, shall

abuse his character to propagate discord, and foment disturbances.

(Signed) J. B. Cardinal Caprara.  
*Paris, March 26, 1804.*

*Answer of the Minister of Saxony.*  
Citizen Minister,

I have received the note which your excellency did me the honour to address to me, of the date of 3d Germinal, with a copy of the report which has been presented to the first consul by the grand judge on the conspiracy formed by Mr. Drake, minister of his Britannic majesty at the court of Munich; also the printed copies of letters and other authentic papers of the said Mr. Drake, and I have hastened to transmit the whole to my court. There is no one, citizen minister, who will not learn with grief that Mr. Drake, invested with the most honourable public character, should descend to such a profanation of it.

(Signed) Ct. De Bunau.  
*Paris, March 26, 1804.*

*Answer of the Minister of the Arch  
Chancellor of the German Em-  
pire.*

Citizen Minister,

The undersigned minister plenipotentiary of his highness the elector and arch chancellor of the Germanic empire, having received with respectful acknowledgment the letter which your excellency had been pleased to address to him, of the date of the 3d instant, in which is enclosed a copy of the report presented to the first consul on the conspiracy formed in France by Mr. Drake, minister of his Britannic majesty at the court of Munich, he has hastened to send the above pieces to his highness the elector.

The



The more necessary, fidelity, honour, and probity are in the actions of a man to whom has been entrusted the honourable function of diplomacy, the deeper is the sorrow which must be felt at the contemplation of this perfidious plot.—The unbounded sentiments of attachment, and the high consideration which the elector and arch chancellor has expressed for the first consul, are so well known, that the indignation which he will feel at this news, may be easily conceived. The undersigned, who by the express order of his highness the elector, his master, has already had the honour of expressing these sentiments himself at the last diplomatic audience, begs of your excellency to repeat to the first consul an assurance of the warm interest in, and sincere wishes for, his preservation entertained by his highness the elector.

(Signed) Charles Comte De Boeust.  
*Paris, March 26, 1804.*

*Answer of the Neapolitan Minister.*  
Sir,

I have just received the communication which your excellency had been pleased to make to me of the report of the grand judge to the first consul, and the annexed papers, on a conspiracy directed against France.—The justice which the first consul rendered to the sentiments of the diplomatic corps who have the honour of being accredited by him, excites the gratitude, and corresponds fully with the sensations of profound sorrow with which it has beheld the sanctity and dignity of a public character profaned, whose functions are consecrated by honour and fidelity.—I cannot conceal from your excellency the extreme pain with which I read the papers which

contain this communication, and which I have made it my duty to transmit immediately to my court. The sentiments of his majesty, the king my master, for the person of the first consul and for the interior tranquillity of a respected nation, whose situation has such influence in surrounding nations, are too well known to the first consul to render it necessary for me to remind your excellency of them on this occasion.

(Signed) De Gallo.  
*Paris, March 26, 1804.*

*Answer of the Minister of the free Cities of the German Empire.*  
Citizen Minister,

I have just received the letter which your excellency did me the honour to address to me, together with the printed letter and authentic papers of Mr. Drake, minister of his Britannic majesty at Munich, relative to a conspiracy planned under his direction.—The impression which a knowledge of these details must make upon every man who respects the rights of nations and the general interests of humanity, cannot but be of the most painful nature. Such at least will be the feelings of the magistrates of the free towns of the empire. This sentiment will be the stronger, as the conspiracy was principally directed against the person of the first consul, whom all the inhabitants of the free towns of the empire regard as the generous protector, who has preserved their independence, and for whom they feel the highest veneration and the most perfect attachment.—The discovery of this plot has no where produced so strong and general a sensation of sorrow as among the inhabitants of these towns. The letters



letters which I received on their hearing the news of this conspiracy, discovered how great was the consternation among all classes of the citizens, and subsequent ones testify the general felicity on hearing that this plot has been completely crushed.

(Signed) Abel.

*Answer of the Minister of the Langrave of Hesse Darmstadt.*

Citizen Minister,

I have hastened to transmit to my court the letter with which your excellency has honoured me, and a copy of the report of the grand judge with the printed letters, authentic papers of the minister of his Britannic majesty at Munich.—Every honest man must be deeply afflicted on discovering that Mr. Drake has so far forgotten what he owes to the dignity of his public character and to himself, as to become the author of the vile conspiracy against the French republic and its august chief.—I am persuaded that the opinion of the first consul relative to the diplomatic corps will be fully justified by each of its members, and I hope in regard to myself that, after a residence of many years, the respectful attachment which I have always entertained for the person of the first consul is so well known to your excellency, that you need no assurances to be convinced of the sentiments of indignation and horror with which the dishonourable conduct of Mr. Drake has inspired me.

(Signed) Augustus de Pappenheim.  
Paris, March 26, 1804.

*Answer of the Batavian Minister.*  
Citizen Minister,

The ambassador, who while at

London, saw the vessels of his nation, brought into English ports, during the time of peace, had reason to expect that a war preceded by such a flagrant violation of the common principles of justice, and of the rights of nations, would be carried on with little delicacy as to the choice of means. It is with governments, as with individuals, when once the barriers of justice have been broken down, power is the only guide, and neither know where to stop their career. Although the history of every nation attested this melancholy truth it was still difficult to conceive the possibility of an event, such as is detailed in the reports you have transmitted to me, and it has been reserved for the present age to furnish so fatal and daring an attempt.—If the facts developed in this correspondence inspire the deepest affliction in the breast of every individual capable of calculating the fatal consequences arising from the abuse of one of the most sacred and respectable of characters, how poignant must be the sensations of one who is invested with this character, and who has endeavoured, by an adherence to his own duties, to acquire a right to that respect, protection, and inviolability, which the laws of nations assure him.—The Batavian ambassador, the minister of a nation renowned in all ages for its justice and incorruptibility, to whom loyalty has become habitual, and which observes a religious respect for the laws of nations, must, in the present case, feel a double portion of the general indignation.

(Signed)

Schimmelpennick.

Paris, March 26, 1804.

*Answer*



*Answer of the Minister of the Grand Master of Malta.*

Sir,

I hasten to inform your excellency, that I have received your letter of the 31st Germinal, with a copy of the report of the grand judge, relative to the conspiracy designed by Mr. Drake, his Britannic majesty's minister at the court of Munich. I shall immediately transmit the communication to his highness the grand master of the order of St. John of Jerusalem: his attachment, his profound devotion, as well as that of the order over which he presides, to the interests of France, and the august person of the first consul, are such, that he will feel the greatest horror and indignation when he hears of this odious plot.

(Signed) The Bailiff of Ferrete.  
Paris, March 26, 1804.

*Official Account of the Death of Pichegru, extracted from the Moniteur, or French Official Journal, of the 8th of April, 1804.*

The following is the substance of the juridical reports connected with the suicide of Pichegru: citizens Soupe, Didier, Bousquet, Brunet, Lesvignes, and Fleury, surgeons appointed by the criminal tribunal to inspect the body of the ex-general Pichegru, and to state what was the cause which gave rise to his death, unanimously declared—That (on the 6th of April) from the temple, they were conducted into the chamber where Charles Pichegru, the ex-general, was confined. On arriving in the chamber they found a male corpse. After describing his person, and what appeared to them his age, they go on

to say that he died of strangulation. They state, they found a black silk handkerchief about his neck, through which was passed a small stick forty-five centimeters long, and from four to five centimeters in circumference; which stick, forming a tourquinet of the cravat, was stopped by the left jaw, on which he lay, with one end of the stick under, and this produced a degree of strangulation sufficient to occasion his death. They then remarked, that the stick had rested by one of its ends on the left cheek, and that by moving round irregularly, it had produced a transversal scratch of about six centimeters.—The face was discoloured, the jaw was locked, and the tongue was pressed betwixt the teeth. The discolouration (*erremossé*), extended over the whole body. The extremities were cold. The muscles and fingers of the hand were strongly contracted. Their opinion, therefore, was, from all they saw in the position of the body, and the idea they had formed respecting it, that the body was the corpse of the ex-general Pichegru, and that he was guilty of suicide.—Citizen Sirot, one of the gens d'armes d'élite, was stationed near the chamber of general Pichegru, in the temple. He had heard a considerable degree of struggling and noise, but imagined that the prisoner laboured under a great degree of difficulty of breathing. He did not, however, think that there was any thing which required his particular assistance. Citizen Lapointe was near the same spot. He awaked about 4 o'clock in the morning, but heard no particular noise. Citizen Faucomier, keeper of the tower of the Temple, deposed, that at half-past seven in the morning, (of the 6th of April)

citizen



citizen Popon, Pichegru's keeper, went to light his fire in the usual manner. He was astonished at not hearing him either speak or stir.— He went immediately to colonel Ponsard, the commander of the gens d'armes, and informed him of what had taken place. Thuriot, the accuser-general, was then informed of the circumstance. A medical person was instantly sent for, and all necessary instructions were given at the request of the accuser-general. Citizen Popon, principal door-keeper of the hall of justice in the Temple, stated that at half-past seven o'clock on the morning of the 6th of April, he went into general Pichegru's chamber for the purpose of lighting the fire. Not hearing him either speaking or stirring, and dreading that some accident had taken place, he hastened to apprise citizen Fauconnier. He adds that the key of Pichegru's chamber was taken away by him, immediately after supper the preceding evening, and that it had remained in his pocket till the time he went to light the fire in the morning.

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*Copy of the Prince of Conde's Letter, conveying his Thanks to the Emigrants for their public Expression of their Concern at the Murder of the Duke D'Enghuieu. Wanstead-House, April 27, 1804.*

The excess of our grief, sir, has not prevented my son and me from feeling, as we ought, the generous interest which all the faithful emigrants have taken in the great loss we have recently sustained. We

feel it as much our duty, as it is our anxious wish, to make known to them our entire gratitude. The number of those worthy persons to whom our thanks are due, being too great to permit us to address ourselves to each in particular, we have requested the minister of the king, who is the head of the Bourbons, to express, as perfectly as it is possible, to those emigrants, so worthy of the cause they support, how sensible we are of the generous and distinguished manner in which they have mingled their regret with ours, in the august and mournful ceremony of yesterday\*. We therefore beseech you, sir, in concert with — to be the interpreter of our just and lively gratitude, which will never be extinguished in our hearts but with our breath, which will terminate at once our sufferings, and our unfortunate race. We owe to you, sir, our particular thanks for your care of the ceremony of yesterday; and we beg you to rest assured of our gratitude, and of the sentiments of perfect esteem and sincere friendship for you with which we have long been penetrated.

(Signed)

Louis Joseph De Bourbon.  
&c. &c. &c.

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*Note from Francis Drake, Esq. English Minister at Munich, to Baron de Montgelas, the Bavarian Minister of State, dated Munich, 30th of March, 1804.*

The undersigned envoy extraordinary from his Britannic majesty, has been informed, that his elec-

\* The solemn Mass which was celebrated at St. Patrick's chapel, Soho-Square, in memory of this event. Vide Chronicle, p. 382.



toral highness has been pleased, at the requisition of the French government, to give a hint to all noblemen, who quitted France during the revolution, and may now be found in his dominions, to leave the same within ten days, without excepting those who are dependent on the British government. Although this account appear to be tolerably authentic, the undersigned cannot give any credit to it, without receiving a confirmation thereof from his excellency Baron Montgelas, as he is too well convinced of the just and generous sentiments of his electoral highness, to believe that his highness could have consented to such a demand from a power, which has formally declared, by the 4th article of its own constitution, that there are not any relations left existing between it and the persons against whom that measure is supposed to be taken: this deprives it of the right to assume any authority with respect to them; a principle which your excellency owned yourself, at a time when it was in agitation to prohibit in this country the decorations of the French monarchy. The undersigned is the more justified in his supposition, that he must have been misinformed on this subject, as knowing how sorely the feeling heart of his electoral highness must be afflicted, if obliged to exercise any rigour towards persons, against whom no cause of reproach can be alledged; unless it be a reproach, that they have shewn themselves so firmly devoted to their duties, and to that sovereign house with which his electoral highness formerly stood connected, in so many respects. The undersigned is moreover convinced, that it could not escape the enlightened wisdom of his electoral highness, that a simi-

lar exercise of rigour, against those respectable, and already so very unfortunate persons, would form a rueful example of the fate awaiting those who, in a moment of danger, are inclined to remain true to their lawful sovereign; and which example may induce them to swerve from their duty at the very moment when a sovereign stands most in need of the efforts and actual proofs of their attachment. The undersigned has, therefore, the honour to request baron Von Montgelas to clear up his doubts on this subject, and to inform him, whether the measure in question will extend to the officers of the late Condean army, who are attached to the British government, that he may be enabled to acquaint his court thereof, and to await the commands of his sovereign accordingly. The undersigned avails himself of this opportunity to request baron Von Montgelas to accept the assurances of his most particular regard, &c.

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*Note from the same to the same.  
Dated Munich, 31st of March,  
1804.*

I have just received a notice of so very extraordinary a nature, but which is so important of itself, and for the consequences which may result from it, that though I am very far from crediting it, I think it a duty I owe to my sovereign, to whom my person and services belong, as well as to his highness the elector himself, immediately to inform your excellency thereof. The said notice is in substance to the following purport: that a seizure of the British ministry at Munich is in agitation, in the manner of that which took place with respect to his highness



highness the duke of Enghuën, at Ettenheim, in the territory of the elector of Baden, but with this difference, that the second seizure will not be effected by a body of troops, but by men secretly sent to Munich, and its neighbourhood, by different roads. With respect to the moment and particulars of the execution, I have no detailed accounts; and I own to your excellency, that the difficulties of the enterprise appeared to me from the first too great, the project itself too extravagant, and at the same time too dreadful, to be fully convinced of its existence: on the other hand, it cannot be concealed, that the example of events which have very recently occurred, as it were, under our eyes, are little calculated to inspire confidence. However this may be, and little as this notice has affected me personally, yet it appears to me, that I should be transgressing the duties which my post, as a public minister, requires, if I neglected informing your excellency thereof forthwith, that you may be enabled to take in time such measures as the case may require, and to avert, by proper acts of precaution, the unpleasant result which might arise, even from the attempt to execute a design of this nature. I beg your excellency to accept the assurance, &c.

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*Note from the Baron de Montgelas, Minister of the Elector of Bavaria, to Mr. Drake, the English Minister to Bavaria. Dated Munich, March 31, 1804.*

The undersigned, &c. has the express command of his electoral highness, to communicate to Mr. Drake

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the annexed printed papers, and to state to him that the originals, in Mr. Drake's own hand-writing, are now before him! His electoral highness, penetrated with grief at the discovery that his capital has been the central point of a correspondence, which is so inconsistent with the mission which his excellency Mr. Drake was invested at this court; and he owes it to his dignity and to the welfare of his subjects, to declare, that from this moment it is impossible for him to have any communication with Mr. Drake, or to receive him at his court. Already two of his electoral highness's subjects, who are compromised in Mr. Drake's correspondence, are arrested at Munich, because they have acted in a manner inconsistent with the law of nations. The undersigned is likewise charged to declare, that his electoral highness knows too well the noble and magnanimous sentiments of his Britannic majesty and the English nation, to suppose that their conduct on this occasion can be liable to the smallest reproach. They will hasten to declare themselves directly to his majesty, and to deposit in his bosom the profound grief they feel, while they withdraw their confidence from the minister, who was appointed to represent his majesty at this court. The elector is perfectly convinced that his Britannic majesty will, on this occasion, necessarily so painful to him, see a new proof of the high esteem he entertains for his majesty, and of that good will of which he has given so many proofs to the electoral house.

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*Note presented to the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, by the*  
T t  
*Russian*



*Russian Chargé-d'Affairs, Mr. Oubril; relative to the Occurrences at Ettenheim, where the Duke D'Enghuieu was seized. Dated Paris, April 20, 1804.*

According to the orders which the undersigned Chargé-d'Affairs of his imperial majesty the emperor of all the Russias has received from his court, he hastens to inform the minister of the French republic, that his illustrious master has learned, with equal astonishment and concern, the event that has taken place at Ettenheim, the circumstances that have attended it, and its melancholy result. The concern of the emperor on this occasion is the more lively, as he can by no means reconcile the violation of the territory of the elector of Baden to those principles of justice and propriety which are held sacred among nations, and are the bulwark of their reciprocal relations. His imperial majesty finds in this act a violation of the rights of nations, and of a neutral territory, which, at least, was as arbitrary as it was public; a violation, the consequences of which are difficult to estimate, and which, if considered as admissible, must entirely annihilate the security and independence of sovereign states. If the German empire, after the misfortunes it has suffered, which have made it sensibly feel the necessity of tranquillity and repose, must still be in fear for the integrity of its territory, could it have been expected that this should have originated on the part of a government which has laboured to secure to it peace, and imposed on itself the duty of guaranteeing its continuance. All these considerations have not permitted the emperor to pass over in silence this unexpected

event, which has spread consternation through all Germany. His imperial majesty has held it to be his duty, as guarantee and mediator of the peace, to notify to the states of the empire, the manner in which he views an action which endangers their security and independence.—The Russian resident at Ratisbon has, in consequence, received orders to deliver in a note to the diet, and to represent to it, and to the head of the empire, the necessity of remonstrating to the French government against this violation of the German territory. His imperial majesty holds it in like manner to be his duty to notify his sentiments directly to the French government, by the undersigned, as his majesty is assured, that the first consul will hasten to attend to the just remonstrances of the German political body, and feel the pressing necessity of taking the most active measures to relieve all the governments of Europe from the alarm he must have occasioned to them, and put an end to an order of things too dangerous to their safety and future independence.

The undersigned hereby fulfils the commands of his illustrious master, and avails himself of this opportunity to communicate to the citizen minister for foreign affairs, the assurance of his high esteem.

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*Note transmitted by the French Minister for Foreign Relations to the Imperial Russian Chargé d'Affaires, dated May 16th, 1804, and signed Ch. Mau. Talleyrand.*

I have laid before the first consul the note of the 20th of April, which you did me the honour to transmit



transmit to me. The first consul observes, with regret, that the influence of the enemies of France has prevailed in the cabinet of St. Petersburg, and that it now puts at hazard the good understanding which was established with so much pains, and which appeared to be so well confirmed by the happy effects which it has produced. His majesty the emperor of Germany, and his majesty the king of Prussia, who undoubtedly are the two powers the most concerned in the fate of the German empire, have understood that the French government was sufficiently authorized to arrest, at two leagues distance from her frontier, French rebels who conspired against their own country, and who, by the nature of their plots, as well as by the terrible evidence which corroborated them, had placed themselves out of the protection of the law of nations. The German princes having thus been satisfied, the first consul would have nothing to say to the emperor of Russia on a point which does not in the least concern his interest; but he will always be happy to speak to his majesty the emperor of Russia, with that openness which Europe knows he possesses, which only is becoming great and powerful states. If it be the intention of his majesty to form a new coalition in Europe, and to recommence the war, what need is there for empty pretences; and why not act more openly? Much as the renewal of hostilities would grieve the first consul, he knows no man in the world that could put France in fear; no man whom he would suffer to interfere in the internal concerns in the country; and since he himself does not meddle with the parties or opinions between

which Russia may be divided, his imperial majesty can have no right to meddle with the parties or opinions between which France may be divided. In the note, sir, which you have delivered, you require—“That France should employ the most efficacious means to tranquilize the different governments, and to let an order of things cease in Europe, which is too alarming for their security and independence.” But is not this independence of the states of Europe attacked, if it appear that Russia protects and maintains, at Dresden and at Rome, authors of plots who seek to abuse the privilege of their residence, for the purpose of disquieting the neighbouring states? and if the Russian ministers at most of the courts of Europe pretend to place under the protection of the law of nations, persons who are natives of that very country where those ministers reside, as M. de Marcoff wanted to do at Paris with a Genevese? These are real infringements of the independence of the states of Europe; these are the very infringements which ought to excite their vigorous remonstrances. The circumstance against which an outcry is raised, is of a very different nature.—By the treaty of Luneville, Germany and France had mutually engaged to allow no assylum to any of those men who could disturb their respective tranquillity. The emigrants who resided at Baden, at Friburg, at Dresden, &c. were by that treaty not to be suffered in the German empire; and this circumstance shews what real impropriety there was in the conduct of Russia.—France requires of her to remove emigrants who were in the employment of Russia, at the time when



the two countries were at war, from countries where they rendered themselves conspicuous only by their intrigues; and Russia insists upon maintaining them there; and the remonstrance she now makes, leads to this question:—If, when England planned the murder of Paul I. (supposing intelligence to have been received, that the authors of the plot were at a league from the frontier), would not pains have been taken to arrest them? The first consul hopes that his imperial majesty, whose excellent mind and noble character are so well known, will sooner or later perceive that there are men who avail themselves of every means to raise enemies to France, and who thereby seek to make a diversion, and rekindle the flames of a war, which is advantageous only to England. This war will never take place with the first consul's consent; but whosoever may declare it against him, he shall ever prefer it to a state of things which should tend to destroy that equality between great powers, which tend to the detriment of France. And as he does not arrogate to himself any superiority, and does not interfere with any operation of the Russian cabinet, he demands a perfect reciprocity in this respect. I continue, sir, firmly to hope, that declarations so candid will be fully appreciated by your court, and that they will tend to dispel the clouds which malice spreads between our countries with a success greatly to be lamented. Accept, sir, the assurance of my perfect esteem, &c.

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*Note presented by M. d'Oubril, Russian Chargé d'Affaires at Paris, to the French Minister of*

*Foreign Affairs. Paris, July 21st, 1804.*

The note, which the citizen minister of foreign affairs transmitted to the undersigned chargé d'affaires from his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, he did not fail to transmit to St. Petersburg; but the undersigned has to declare, that his court greatly disapproved his receiving a paper, which did not answer his preceding official communications, and was by no means calculated to be laid before his august sovereign. The said paper, however, at length came under the notice of his imperial majesty, who saw, with surprise, that its contents consist altogether of such assertions as are not only unfounded, but also wholly unconnected with the note of the 22d April. The emperor, already moved by the calamities which oppress a great part of Europe, and by the dangers which threaten the German empire, whose interests Russia is particularly bound to support, in conformity to her obligations, received intelligence of another recent violation of the law of nations, which was perpetrated at Ettenheim; he, therefore, thought himself bound to invite the assembled states of the German empire, and the German princes, to concur with him in jointly protesting against the French government, to whom his majesty communicated the same sentiments, in hopes that it would repair the insult offered to the German league, and allay the fears of Europe for the repetition of similar outrages.—The French government could not avoid to return an answer to this plain declaration from his majesty the emperor; but the evasive reply which was made is offensive

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sive to Russia, to the German empire, and to France herself; it impairs the good understanding which she declares her wish to preserve, but the effects whereof Russia has not hitherto perceived. We live no longer in those barbarous times when every country regarded only her immediate interest; modern polity, founded upon the law of nations, has introduced certain principles respecting the interest of the whole community of states. No state could view with indifference the event already mentioned, which gave such a dreadful blow to the independence and security of nations. By the peace of Teschen, Russia undertook to guarantee and mediate for the German empire; in this quality his imperial majesty was not merely justified in raising his voice on this occasion, but was absolutely bound to do it. The French government, bearing a similar quality, takes the liberty of violating the neutrality of Germany, and to act arbitrarily on that territory. It is difficult to conceive how his imperial majesty should be incompetent to stand up for the German empire, the security and independence of which he has guaranteed.—It would be in vain to attempt to explain otherwise the conduct of Russia, whose motives are so evident, or to discover therein the influence of the enemies of France; its sole motive is the wretched condition to which the French government, by its influence, has reduced Europe. Should Russia propose to establish a coalition, for the purpose of renewing the war on the continent, it would not at all be required to seek any unfounded cause for it. The French government has long given too much and too just cause for breaking the bands

of harmony, which the emperor has preserved merely by his moderation, and which he desired to preserve for ever. No person, and the French government least of all, can mistake the views of the cabinet of St. Petersburg, since his imperial majesty so explicitly declared, even before the present war, how necessary it was to labour for the consolidation of peace; to prevent new revolutions in Europe, to avoid carefully every cause for mistrust, and to let every state quietly enjoy its independence. At the same time, Russia disclosed to the French cabinet, how much she desired that this latter power might contribute to consolidate the present order of things; that it should, by its moderation and disinterestedness, give a hope to the other states of Europe, that every government could at last (after the unhappy war, which cost so much blood) devote itself, with safety and quiet, to the happiness of the people entrusted to it. Far from desiring to rekindle the flames of war on the continent, his Russian majesty most ardently wishes to stifle those flames every where; but his majesty harbours this particular wish, that the French government, as it pretends to the same desire, would let those nations alone, who wish nothing more fervently than to avoid taking a part in the present troubles.—This was the only (though unfortunately for the cause of humanity, it proved an ineffectual) wish of Russia, which never deviated from those principles; every step she took with the French government, which she constantly referred to treaties already concluded, had no other view. Upon the same ground she proposed to act as a mediator between France and England, but was not accepted.—



Since the renewal of the war, the French government thinks itself competent to occupy those countries, and deprive them of their commerce which in vain appeal to their neutrality; his imperial majesty was thereby alarmed, not indeed on his own account, since, from the actual situation and power of his empire, his majesty can remain a quiet spectator of those distressing scenes; but he was alarmed for the security of the other states of Europe. His majesty repeatedly urged with the French government, but always ineffectually, that those countries at least should be permitted to remain neutral, whose neutrality France and Russia had guaranteed by mutual treaties; his majesty also repeatedly disclosed his sentiments with respect to those states that are already in danger of sharing the fate of Italy, of a part of Germany, and of the other countries which France has already got in her possession.—Meanwhile the emperor saw, in spite of all his exertions and remonstrances, the danger increasing daily; French troops, on the one side, occupying the coasts of the Adriatic; on the other, levying contributions on the Hanse Towns, and menacing Denmark; consequently, his imperial majesty has resolved, as the theatre of war approaches his frontier, to establish a military force, which shall be adequate to put a stop to further encroachments. The fact is notorious to all Europe; the emperor was particularly desirous that it might not remain unknown to the French government, and the mutual explanations always referred to the same objects. Never then did any government act more candidly, or for a purpose which requires less secrecy, or is subject to less false con-

structions than Russia did in the present circumstances. If this conduct be not upright; if it can be considered as hostile to France, or as an attack on the welfare and tranquillity of the German empire, then there is no longer any difference existing between manifest encroachments on the one part, and that just indignation which the other part must consequently feel; between attack and defence; between oppression and protection of the weak.—The undersigned will not, in this place, examine, by the law of nations, the question, whether the French government be justified in persecuting, in every country, those persons whom it has exiled from their own, and in prescribing to foreign powers the manner in which they shall be permitted to treat or to employ the late emigrants, whom they may have adopted for their subjects, or employed in their service. Such a tenet is at variance with every principle of justice; nay, with those principles which the French nation has so solemnly proclaimed. To suppose that Russia attacks the independence of the states of Europe, because she will not permit a person in her employment abroad to be appointed somewhere else at the will of the French government, were to confound all ideas and words; or because she claims another person, who is a naturalized Russian, and has just now been delivered up by another state, without any previous trial, and contrary to every appearance of justice.—Never did the emperor protect conspirators; his noble and upright character is too well known to all Europe to require an elaborate contradiction of this assertion, as false as it is indecent. The French government



vernment itself is convinced of the contrary ; it need only remember, that the emperor has frequently declared, that if such an accusation were proved against any Russian in his employment, he would hasten to punish him most severely for a crime which he considers of a most heinous nature. But the cabinet of St. Cloud returned no answer to this candid communication; nor did it furnish any proof to support its pretensions ; it has then no right to complain of its unsupported demands not being complied with. But at the present moment, when Portugal was obliged to purchase her neutrality ; when Naples, to save her's, was compelled to contribute, at an enormous expence, to the maintenance of the French troops on her own territory ; when all Italy, especially those republics that had been promised independence and happiness ; when Switzerland and Holland were considered merely as French provinces ; when one part of the German empire is occupied, while in another part French detachments execute arrests in contempt of the sacred law of nations ; at such a moment the emperor will leave to all the states alleged, nay, to the impartial opinion of the cabinet of St. Cloud itself, the decision of the question, which of the two, Russia or France, menaces the security of Europe ? which of them acts on principles the most favourable to the independence of other states ? which interferes most in the government and internal police of other countries, and practices the most arbitrary acts against them ?—Although the sorrow which the emperor felt at this alarming situation of affairs, was as notorious as the opinion he entertained of it, he nevertheless held himself bound

to make his declaration as explicit as possible, that it might not with truth be said, that there was not a single government on the continent which had the courage to raise its voice in the cause of justice ; and that the Russian government might not be charged with having omitted to call the attention of its co-estates to the dreadful consequences which must necessarily ensue from a further neglect of order, and of those principles on which their well being and their security depend. It does not appear how it could be so easily proved, in the present dispute, that Russia, by protesting against a manifest violation of the law of nations, committed beyond the limits of the French republic, on a neutral territory of the German empire, by a guaranteeing and mediating power, has thereby interfered in the internal affairs of France, and to interfere in which the emperor never had the most distant idea. Every state is indeed competent to outlaw a person within its own limits ; but no state has a right arbitrarily to place any person out of the protection of the law of nations, because the latter does not depend upon the decrees of any single state, but is grounded upon the unanimous will of the commonwealth of sovereign states. Thus the French government could at most demand of the princes of the German empire, in conformity to the treaty of Luneville, that the emigrants in their states, who had not yet made the choice of a country, and against whom authentic proofs could be produced, should be removed ; but the French government was by no means justified in the invasion of those states, sword in hand, to carry off such persons by main force.—It will hardly be credited,



dited, that the French cabinet could (to maintain its erroneous principle) deviate so far from every requisite decorum, and the regard due to truth, as to allege examples which were altogether improper to be mentioned; that it should, in an official document, recal even a father's death to the recollection of his illustrious son, in order to wound his tender feelings; and that it should (contrary to all truth and to all probability) raise an accusation against another government, whom France never ceases to calumniate, merely because she is at war with it.—France has endeavoured in vain to justify herself by the most extraordinary surmises and suggestions, but they cannot alter the state of the present question, nor can they be made to justify with effect an arbitrary act, which annihilates the leading, and hitherto undisputed, principles of the law of nations. It is not, by any means, necessary to analyse the whole contents of the note from the citizen minister for foreign affairs, in order to be convinced that it is evasive and unsatisfactory, if the object be considered, which the emperor proposed, when he, in the course of last spring, caused the notes to be delivered at Paris and at Ratisbon; it is also evident, from the said French note, that the French government rather wished to increase the emperor's just indignation, since its only object in that note is, in an indecent manner, to avoid the important question proposed, instead of offering a candid investigation of it.—The emperor is, however, superior to the emotions of personal resentment. He has principally at heart the well-being and tranquillity of Europe: he, therefore, does not hesitate to make

a last effort for the preservation, if possible, of a friendly intercourse with France. His majesty's sole wish is, that peace may revive in Europe; that no person may assume any authority whatsoever over any other state; and that the French government do acknowledge an equality of rights for inferior states, but who are not less independent than France. Russia, it cannot be too often repeated, entertains not the least inclination for war, nor can she be benefited by it; her conduct will alone be influenced by the pressure of circumstances. She may, however, justly presume, that the French administration entertains such an opinion of the Russian government, as to be convinced that the latter will not remain an idle or indifferent spectator of any new encroachments. His majesty the emperor of Russia is not himself influenced by fear, nor does he wish to direct its operations to the minds of others. It is his desire to preserve his former relations with France, but upon no other ground than that of perfect equality. The first condition is, that the terms mutually agreed upon shall be sacredly fulfilled, and on this condition only can the two states, after what has happened, enjoy their former relations of good will and amity.—The undersigned has been ordered to declare, that he cannot prolong his stay at Paris, unless the following demands are previously granted:—1. That, conformably to the 4th and 5th articles of the secret convention of the 11th of October, 1801, the French government shall order its troops to evacuate the kingdom of Naples; and when that is done, that it shall engage to respect the neutrality of that kingdom,



dom, during the present and any future war.—2. That, in conformity to the second article of the said convention, the French government shall promise to establish immediately some principle of concert with his imperial majesty, for regulating the basis upon which the affairs of Italy shall be finally adjusted.—3. That it shall engage, in conformity to the 6th article of the convention aforesaid, and the promises so repeatedly given to Russia, to indemnify, without delay, the king of Sardinia for the losses he has sustained. Lastly,—4. That, in virtue of the obligation of a mutual guarantee and mediation, the French government shall promise immediately to evacuate and withdraw its troops from the north of Germany; and enter into an engagement to respect, in the strictest manner, the neutrality of the Germanic body.—The undersigned has to add, that he has received orders from his government to demand a categorical answer to these four points, and avails himself of this opportunity, &c.

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*Note from M. Talleyrand, French Minister for Foreign Affairs, delivered to M. D'Oubril, Russian Chargé d'Affairs at Paris. Dated 29th July, 1804.*

The undersigned minister for foreign affairs has submitted to his majesty the emperor, the note of M. D'Oubril, chargé d'affaires from Russia, (of the 21st July, 1804.) The undersigned has received orders to declare, that whenever the court of Russia shall fulfil the articles of its treaty with France, the latter will be ready to execute them with

the same fidelity: as Russia must naturally think that the treaty is equally binding upon the two contracting powers. If the cabinet of St. Petersburg is of opinion, that it has some demands to make in consequence of the articles IV. V. and VI. of the secret convention of the 18th Vendemiaire, year 10, France also claims the execution of the 3d article of that treaty, which is expressed in the following terms:—“The two contracting parties, desirous to the utmost of their power to contribute to the tranquillity of the two respective governments, engage not to suffer their respective subjects to maintain any correspondence, direct or indirect, with the enemies of the two states, or to propagate principles contrary to their respective constitutions, by fomenting any disturbance whatsoever: and that in consequence of this agreement, every subject of one of those powers inhabiting the states of the other, who shall do any thing contrary to its safety, shall be removed from the said country, and transported beyond its frontiers, without having any claim to the protection of his own government.” This article, framed with as much precision as wisdom, declares the very friendly dispositions which bound the two powers at the time of forming this treaty. France, therefore, did not expect that Russia would grant its protection to French emigrants, by accrediting them to the neighbouring powers of France, where they might indulge their hostile dispositions against their country: nor did she expect such a conduct from M. Marcoff, the minister of Russia, who was the real cause of the disunion and coolness existing between the two powers. During his



his residence in Paris, he constantly encouraged every kind of intrigue that could disturb the public tranquillity; and he even went so far as, by his official notes, to place under the protection of the law of nations, French emigrants, and other agents, in the pay of England.—France did not expect that Russia would purposely send on a mission to Paris, those officers who had excited strong complaints against them, as was well known to that government. Strange conduct, when it is considered what is the duty of all governments; but still more so, when reference is made to the article already cited.—Lastly, was the mourning which the court of Russia assumed for a man whom the tribunals of France had condemned for having plotted against the safety of the French government, such a conduct as was conformable to the letter or the spirit of this article?—The French government demands the execution of the 9th article of the secret convention, in which it is stated, “that the two contracting parties acknowledge and guarantee the independence and the constitution of the republic of the seven united islands, formerly belonging to Venice; and that it be agreed, that there shall be no foreign troops in those islands;” an article evidently violated by Russia, as she has continued to send troops thither, which she has openly reinforced, and has changed the government of that country without the consent of France.—France also demands the execution of the second article of the same convention, the evident application of which should have been, that instead of manifesting such a partiality for England, and of becoming, perhaps, the first auxiliary

of its ambition, Russia should have been united to France, in order to consolidate a general peace, to re-establish a just balance in the four parts of the world, and to procure the liberty of the seas. These are the precise expressions of the article.—Such ought to be, without doubt, the conduct of the two powers, respecting the treaty which binds them both; but the cabinet of Russia expects that France will fulfil the stipulations to which she is engaged, without executing those which she is bound to perform. This is acting like a conqueror towards a vanquished power: this is to suppose that France can be intimidated by menaces, or that she will acknowledge the superiority of any other power: but the history of the years which preceded the peace made with Russia, plainly demonstrates that, that power has no more right than any other to assume a haughty tone towards France. The emperor of the French wishes for the peace of the continent. He has made all possible advances to re-establish it with Russia; he has spared nothing to maintain it: but with the assistance of God and his arms, he is not in a situation to fear any one. The undersigned requests M. le chargé d'affaires of Russia to accept the assurance of his perfect consideration.

Ch. M. Talleyrand.

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*Copy of the Note presented by M. d'Oubril, the Russian Chargé d'Affaires, to the Minister for Foreign Affairs.*

*Paris, Aug. 28th, 1804.*

The undersigned chargé d'affaires of his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, in answer to the note transmitted



transmitted to him by the minister for foreign affairs, feels it incumbent on him to confine himself to a recapitulation of that conduct which his august master has constantly held towards the French government, the plain exposition of which will sufficiently demonstrate the nature of the reciprocity which he has in his turn experienced from that power. From the moment that his majesty ascended the throne, he laboured with all his care to renew the good intelligence which had formerly prevailed between France and Russia. His imperial majesty, in anticipating the explanations which were to produce a solid and permanent understanding between the two countries, was happy in the persuasion, that he would by that means effectually contribute to the general pacification of Europe; the tranquillity of which had been too long disturbed by the events which occasioned the war that was terminated by the treaty of Luneville. The readiness which his majesty shewed to make peace with the French government, at the time it was at war with several other powers—the renewal of the former treaty of commerce, which was entirely to the advantage of France—the good offices of Russia in bringing about a reconciliation between the republic and the Ottoman Porte, are all convincing proofs of the disposition of his majesty, and of his wishes to neglect nothing on his part, which could tend to consolidate that connexion which he hoped might exist for ever.—Since that period, when, in consequence of the misfortunes which Germany experienced in the course of the war, and that many members of the Germanic body were put under the necessity

of submitting to make sacrifices, and that it became necessary to ascertain those sacrifices, for the purpose of settling the indemnities that were to compensate for their losses, the emperor consented to become a joint mediator with the French government, in the cordial hope, that the act of mediation would seal the tranquillity of the continent.—The completion of this salutary work allowed his imperial majesty to turn his attention to the engagements which France voluntarily entered into at the period of her conclusion of her peace with Russia. His majesty having scrupulously fulfilled those which he entered into with France, had a right to expect that the French government would also have shewn itself anxious to equal his punctuality, and to perform its own obligations. However reasonable this expectation was, it has never been realised; and the French government, so far from shewing any disposition to fulfil them, has taken no little pains, if the undersigned may use the expression, to retard their accomplishment. The king of Sardinia, who has been wholly deprived of his possessions in Italy, by the union of Piedmont to France, has still to look for that indemnity which the cabinet of the Thuilleries had solemnly pledged itself to Russia to allow him, and which the latter has continually demanded.—The king of Naples, who was freed for a short time from the presence of a French army in his kingdom, beholds it again occupying his provinces, under a pretext the nature of which is not known to his imperial majesty; and he is consequently placed out of the line of independent states. The representations



tations of Russia, founded upon the solemn stipulation of France to consider the kingdom of Naples as a neutral state, and to enjoy all the advantages of neutrality, have been productive of no determination favourable to that power.—The whole of Italy has been changed by the innovations which the government of the republic has caused it to undergo, since the conclusion of the peace between Russia and France, without any preliminary concert with his imperial majesty ; although it had been agreed upon by the two powers at that period, that there should be an understanding between them as to the political arrangements that were to be adopted in that country. Hostilities having been renewed between France and England, the integrity of the territory of the German empire was violated, notwithstanding France had very lately engaged to protect it in common with his majesty the emperor. The cabinet of St. Cloud thought proper to assert that the dignity of king of England and that of elector of Brunswick Lunenburgh, being united in the same person, were not distinct ; though such distinction was never disputed by the republican government during the last years of the late war ; it was therefore contrary to every notion of right and justice, to make war upon a country which, by the constitution of the Germanic empire, of which it was part, and the public proceedings by which it was guaranteed, should be totally exempt from such a visitation.—The possession of Cuxhaven, which under no pretext could have been considered as English property, was notwithstanding effected by the French troops, and the Hans Towns have

been compelled to make forced loans to avoid a similar fate. The repeated and urgent applications which the emperor has made to the French government, to induce it to fulfil its engagements with Russia, and to put an end to all apprehension that the neutral powers, who were anxious to remain in peace, may feel of being involved in the war, have been attended with no effect.—To those numerous causes of dissatisfaction, connected with the higher interests of Europe, the government of France has thought proper to add all those which it could directly offer to the court of Russia, by the offensive assertions which it advanced and circulated against ministers honoured with the confidence of his imperial majesty ; by the scenes which the Russian envoy was compelled to witness at the Thuilleries ; by the improper perseverance which the cabinet of St. Cloud displayed in persecuting, in foreign countries, persons who were employed by the court of Russia ; and, lastly, by that unexampled proceeding which it took the liberty of committing, when it compelled the pope to deliver up a naturalized Russian, without paying any regard to the representations and claims of his imperial majesty on that point.—The recent act of violence committed by the French troops in the territory of the elector of Baden, having roused the anxiety of the emperor, for the security and independence of the states of Europe which are within the reach of France, his majesty expressed his opinion as to the necessity of tranquillizing them on that point ; and that he should make such satisfaction as the empire had a right to demand, and adopt such measures as might tend to calm the

uncasiness



uneasiness and alarm of Europe. To this good office, the empire received an answer which left it no hopes that the just expectation of his majesty would be fulfilled; which gave a wrong interpretation to that frank, loyal, and disinterested conduct, which his majesty constantly held respecting the affairs of Europe, and particularly with regard to France: and which made it but too clear, that there was a determined design to thwart and irritate further the court of Russia. So little attention and condescension on the part of the French government, to the just claims of his majesty, and a conduct so decidedly opposed to any desire of preserving a good understanding between the two states, sufficiently demonstrated to Russia, that if, on the one hand, the French government attached apparently but little value to its relations with her, and consequently furnished her with a positive reason for no longer continuing them; on the other, she had taken an invariable resolution to adopt for her conduct, a line absolutely contrary to the principles of justice and the laws of nations, and which, consequently, could not harmonize with the sentiments and principles professed by his majesty. —The emperor, nevertheless, was willing to make a final effort with the French government, and after so many reasons for dissatisfaction he was disposed to forget them, whenever the above-mentioned engagements (which were also detailed in the note of the 21st of August) should be fulfilled; which had been solemnly entered into by the two governments, and should have long since been executed. This last effort having been followed by an evasive and unsatisfactory answer,

full of fallacious imputations, and which is only remarkable for the strange and unexpected assertion, 'That the Russian troops had taken possession of the republic of the seven islands without the concurrence of France;' while it is notorious, and the minister for foreign affairs must have it in view, that this country, which had been first evacuated by the Russian troops, was occupied by those drawn from the state of Naples, with the consent of the Porte, by the request of the inhabitants, and in consequence of a previous arrangement with France; nothing further remains for the undersigned than to declare, that all correspondence between Russia and France, becoming by these means perfectly useless, must now cease; and that his majesty the emperor only waits for intelligence of the departure of his chargé d'affaires from Paris, to signify to the French mission, that it should quit his capital. His majesty the emperor having nothing to reproach himself with on this head (for if it had depended on him, the ties between the two nations, far from being dissolved, would be drawn closer), sees himself with regret compelled to suspend all relation with a government which refuses to fulfil its engagements, which will not conform to the reciprocal respect nations owe to each other, and in regard to which his majesty, since the renewal of the connexion between the two countries, has experienced increasing mortification. Still faithful to his principles, and anxious to avoid the shedding of human blood, the emperor will confine himself to that resolution which the respective positions of the two countries admits. Russia and France can do without those



those relations, the continuance of which is only to be warranted by reasons of advantage and accommodation, and without which it is better that they should have no connexion. As it is the French government alone which has given rise to the present state of affairs, it will also depend upon it to decide whether war is to follow or not. In case it shall compel Russia, either by fresh injuries or by provocations aimed against her, or against her allies, or by still threatening more seriously the security and independence of Europe, his majesty will then manifest as much energy in employing those extreme measures, which a just defence requires, as he has given proofs of patience, in resorting to the use of all the means of moderation consistent with the maintenance of the honour and dignity of his crown.—The undersigned having thus fulfilled the orders which he has received from his court, requests, in consequence, that the minister for foreign affairs will be kind enough to send him, without delay, the necessary passports, to enable him to quit France; and he embraces this opportunity of giving to the citizen minister for foreign affairs, the assurance of his high consideration.

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*Note delivered by the Minister Resident of Russia, M. Kluppell, to Baron d'Albini, and communicated to the Diet of Ratisbon, on the 6th of May, 1804. Dated at Ratisbon on the 5th of May, and signed De Kluppell.*

The event which has taken place in the states of his highness the elector of Baden; the conclusion of

which has been so melancholy, has occasioned the most poignant grief to the emperor of all the Russias. He cannot but view with the greatest concern the violation which has been committed on the tranquillity and integrity of the German territory. His imperial majesty is the more affected by this event, as he never could have expected that a power which had undertaken, in common with himself, the office of mediator, and was consequently bound to exert his care for the welfare and tranquillity of Germany, could have departed in such a manner from the sacred principles of the law of nations, and the duties it had so lately taken upon itself. It would be unnecessary to call the attention of the diet to the serious consequences to which the German empire must be exposed, if acts of violence, of which the first example has just been seen, should be passed over in silence; it will, with its accustomed foresight, easily perceive how much the future tranquillity and security of the whole empire, and each of its members must be endangered, if such violent proceedings should be deemed allowable, and suffered to take place without observation or opposition.

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*Vote of his Majesty the King of Sweden, in the Deliberations of the Diet of Ratisbon, relative to the Imperial Russian Note of the 7th of May, concerning the Seizure of the Duke d'Enghuén. Dated Ratisbon, July 27, 1804.*

His majesty the king of Sweden, as duke of interior Pomerania, has charged his envoy to insert the following vote in the protocol, on the subject



subject of the declaration of his majesty the emperor of Russia, laid before the diet on the 7th of May last. His majesty, who on so many occasions has manifested how much he interests himself in the affairs of the German empire, could not learn without the greatest anxiety and alarm, the events which took place in the electorate of Baden, in the month of March last, events by which the territorial rights of the German empire are flagrantly violated, and its future security exposed to the greatest danger. His majesty, therefore, thinks it the duty of every member of the empire not to conceal the wish, that the French government may give full and satisfactory explanations to the emperor and the empire relative to the said events, and such as may remove all fears for the future security of the Germanic territory. As a member of the empire, his majesty thought it his duty to express his sentiments, though he has not judged it necessary to notice the occurrences alluded to in a more particular manner, in his capacity of guarantee of the peace of Westphalia and the Germanic constitution; and the less so since his majesty could not doubt that a power which had formerly shared with Sweden in the labour and glory of co-operating to the restoration of the laws, and of order and security in the empire, would be convinced of the necessity of maintaining objects so important, unimpaired and inviolate.

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*Verbal Declaration of the Minister of the Elector of Baden, made at the Diet of Ratisbon, July 2, 1804.*

His electoral highness of Baden,

while he honours the pure intentions of his Russian imperial majesty in the representation which he laid before the diet of the empire on the 6th of May, and is penetrated with the liveliest gratitude for the benevolent friendship which his majesty has manifested for himself and his electoral house, cannot suppress his profound grief that the occurrence in question, which took place in his territory, should be likely to produce disagreeable differences that may be productive of the most dangerous consequences to the peace of Germany.—This important consideration, added to a full confidence in the well-intentioned sentiments of the French government and its exalted head, towards the whole German empire, so lately evinced in the mediation of peace, and in the explanations, perfectly suitable to these sentiments, of the occurrences in question, his electoral highness cannot but most earnestly wish that the representations made to the diet on the 6th and 14th of May, may have no farther consequences, and that thus the present anxiety may be dispelled, since otherwise the tranquillity and welfare of the German empire, and probably indeed of all Europe, may be again disturbed and endangered.

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*Verbal Declaration of the Deputy for the Electorate of Bohemia and Archduchy of Austria.—Dated July 6, 1804.*

The Austrian commital legation at the time fixed for the consideration of the imperial Russian note, repeated the circular declaration of the 14th of May, in expectation of a satisfactory explanation on the occurrence in question, and will now immediately



immediately communicate to its high court the wish of the electorate of Baden, and the motives on which it is founded, in certain expectation that his imperial majesty will receive the proposition of his electoral highness of Baden, and the explanations of the French government relative to the above-mentioned occurrence; with all that attention which he constantly bestows on every event which may conduce to disturb the tranquillity, security, and welfare of the German empire.

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*Verbal Declaration of the Comital Legation of the Electorate of Brandenburg.—Dated July 6, 1804.*

The legation for Brandenburg will hasten to make report of the verbal declaration of the deputy of the electorate of Baden, suitable to the importance of its contents and the subject to which it relates. In the mean time it believes, from the known sentiments of his Prussian majesty, that it may with certainty be expected, that his majesty will find a consolation in the declaration of the elector of Baden, relative to the explanations on the occurrence in question, as being such as are suitable to the sentiments of the French government and its exalted head, towards the empire of Germany, as evinced in the late mediation of peace; and that his majesty will give his approbation to the wish of his electoral highness of Baden, and the motives on which it is founded.

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*Vote of Hanover in the Deliberations at the Diet of Ratisbon, relative to the Russian Note con-*

*cerning the Seizure of the Duke d'Enghien.—Dated Ratisbon, July 21, 1804.*

His Britannic majesty and electoral highness of Brunswick Lunenburgh, has observed with the most grateful approbation the part taken by his imperial Russian majesty for the maintenance of the rights of nations, the peace of Luneville, and the security of the German empire, which have been violated in the most extraordinary and alarming manner, by the late proceedings of the French government in the territory of the electorate of Baden; and the strong representation he has made on these occurrences to the diet of the empire, in the note given in by his legation at Ratisbon on the 6th of May, of the present year. As his Britannic majesty and electoral highness of Brunswick Lunenburgh, fully coincides in opinion on this subject with his imperial Russian majesty, he makes no delay to propose and support with all his votes, that his imperial Russian majesty may be requested by an act of the diet, to take such measures as in his wisdom he may judge proper, to obtain for the German Empire from the French government, satisfactory explanations with respect to the past, and sufficient security for the future. As, however, a much more important and more dangerous violation of the rights of nations, the treaty of Luneville, and the security of the German empire, was committed by the hostile invasion, and still continued occupation and oppression of his majesty's German states, by the French government, in total disregard of the Germanic constitution and independence, his majesty can-

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not but remind and refer his high co-estates to the declarations he has already caused to be made on that subject by his comital legation on the 22nd of August, of the preceding year, and on the 25th of last month.

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*Circular Note from M. Talleyrand, French Minister of Foreign Affairs, to all the Agents of his Majesty the Emperor of the French. Dated Aix-la-Chapelle, Sept. 5, 1804.*

You must, Sir, have observed and known, according to my instructions at the time of the communication of the note of lord Hawkesbury to the foreign ministers residing in London, the impression which this publication of the strongest maxims of political and social morality could not fail to produce on the mind of the government with which you reside. I think I ought to return to the subject. I therefore send you, officially, a copy of this note, and expressly charge you, by order of his majesty, to make it the object of a special conference with the ministry.—The project which the English government has conceived for the last half century, gradually to abolish the tutelar system of public law which unites and engages all civilized nations, develops itself with a fearful progression. Will other governments refrain from making opposition to such an enterprise till there no longer exist any moral bond which may preserve their rights, guarantee their engagements, and protect their interests?—The powers of the continent have seen with what audacity the faith of oaths

has been sported with by this government, and solemn treaties violated, even before they were carried into execution. The maritime nations every day experience its tyranny. There no longer exists any theoretical principle of navigation, any written convention, which have not been scandalously violated on every shore, and in every sea. Neutral states know, that even in using the rights which still remain to them with the most timid circumspection, they expose themselves to insult, to pillage, and to extermination.—Those states, in fine, which have the unhappiness to be at war, no more rely on any reciprocal principle of moderation and justice. All the bonds existing between them and the neutral powers are broken. Approach to the coasts and entrance into the ports and islands, though situate at the distance of 200 leagues from the station of their squadrons, have been prohibited by simple proclamation.—Thus the English government has hitherto opposed to every power, according to its particular position, a maxim injurious to its honour, and subversive to all its rights. It now attacks them altogether, and the more completely to attain its end, directs its blow against morality itself, and, if I may so speak, against the religion of public law.

In every country, and at all times, the ministry of diplomatic agents was held in veneration amongst men. Ministers of peace, organs of conciliation, their presence is an omen of wisdom, of justice, and happiness. They speak, they act but to terminate, or prevent, those fatal differences which divide princes, and degrade a people, by the passions, murders, and miseries, which



are the offspring of war. Such is the object of the diplomatic ministry; and it must be said, that it is to the observance of the duties it imposes, it is to the generally respectable character of the men who exercise this sacred ministry in Europe, that it owes the glory and the happiness it enjoys; but these happy effects torment the jealous ambition of the only government which makes itself an interest in the ruin, the shame and the servitude of other governments. They wish that diplomatic ministers should be the instigators of plots, the agents of troubles, the directors and regulators of machinations, vile spies, cowardly seducers—they order them to foment seditions, to provoke and to pay for assassination; and they pretend to throw over that infamous ministry the respect and inviolability which belong to the mediators of kings, and the pacificators of nations.—Diplomatic ministers, says lord Hawkesbury, ought not to conspire in the country where they reside, against the laws of that country; but they are not subject to the same rules with respect to states at which they are not accredited. Admirable restrictions! Europe will swarm with conspirators, but the defenders of public right must not complain. There will always be some local distance between the leader and the accomplices. The ministers of lord Hawkesbury will pay for the crimes they cause to be committed; but they will have that prudent deference for public morality, not to be at once the instigators and the witnesses.—Such maxims are the completion of audacity and hypocrisy. Never were the opinions of cabinets and the consciences of any people made game

of more shamelessly. His majesty the emperor thinks that it is time to put an end to the disastrous career of principles, subversive of all society. You are ordered, in consequence, to declare to the government where you reside, that his majesty will not recognize the English diplomatic corps in Europe, so long as the British ministry shall not abstain from charging its ministers with any warlike agency, and shall not restrict them to the limits of their functions. The miseries of Europe proceed from its being deemed obligatory every where to observe maxims of moderation and liberality, which being just but by reciprocity, are only obligatory with respect to those who submit to them. Hence governments have as much to suffer from their own justice as from the iniquity of a ministry which recognises no law but its ambition and its caprice. The miseries of Europe proceed also from public right being considered under a partial point of view, whereas it has life and strength only from its integrity. Maritime right, continental right, the right of nations, are not parts of public right that can be considered and preserved in an insulated manner. The nation that pretends to introduce arbitrary rules into one of those parts, loses all its claims to the privilege of the whole. The systematic infractor of the rights of nations, places himself out of that right, and renounces all interest founded upon the maritime right and the continental right. His majesty the emperor, regrets his having to order measures which are a real interdiction pronounced against a state; but all reflecting men will be at no difficulty to see, that, in this it is only necessary to entertain facts. The English ministry, by the  
generality



generality of their attacks, have placed coasts, isles, ports, neutrals, general commerce in a state of interdiction; in fine, they have just proclaimed the prostitution of the most sacred and most indispensable ministry, to the repose of the world. His majesty thinks it his duty to excite the attention of all governments, and to warn them, that without new measures, adopted under the conviction of the present danger, all the ancient maxims upon which the honour and independence of states rest, will be immediately annihilated.

(Signed) Ch. Mau. Talleyrand.

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*Decree passed by the Tribune on the 3d of May, 1804, and carried up to the Conservative Senate on the 4th of May.*

The tribunate considering, that at the breaking out of the revolution, when the national will had an opportunity of manifesting itself with the greatest freedom, the general wish was declared for the individual unity of the supreme power, and for the hereditary succession of that power;—That the family of the Bourbons having by their conduct rendered the hereditary government odious to the people, forced them to lose sight of its advantages, and drove the nation to seek for a happier destiny in a democratical form of government;—That France having made a trial of different forms of government, experienced from these trials only the miseries of anarchy;—That the state was in the greatest peril, when Buonaparte, brought back by Providence, suddenly appeared for its salvation;—That under the government of a sin-

gle individual, France recovered tranquillity at home, and acquired abroad the highest degree of consideration and glory;—That the plots formed by the House of Bourbon, in concert with a ministry, the implacable enemy of France, warned France of the danger which threatens it, if losing Buonaparte she continued exposed to the agitation inseparable from an election.—That the consulship for life, and the power granted to the first consul of appointing his successor, are not adequate to the prevention of intrigues at home or abroad, which could not fail to be formed during the vacancy of the supreme power:—That in declaring that magistracy hereditary, conformity is observed at once to the example of all great states, ancient or modern, and to the first wish of the nation expressed in 1789;—That, enlightened and supported by this experience, the nation now returns to this wish more strongly than ever, and expresses it on all sides;—That in all political changes it has been usual for nations to confer the supreme power on those to whom they owe their safety;—That when France demands for her security a hereditary chief, her gratitude and affection call on Buonaparte;—That France will preserve all the advantages of the revolution by the choice of a new dynasty, as much interested for their safety, as the old one would be for their destruction;—That France may expect from the family of Buonaparte, more than from any other, the maintenance of the rights and liberty of the people which chose them, and all those institutions best calculated to support them;—That there is no title more suitable to the glory of Buonaparte,



and to the dignity of the supreme chief of the French nation, than the title of emperor.

The Tribunate, exercising the right given them by the 29th article of the constitution, have come to the following vote:—That Napoleon Buonaparte, the first consul, be proclaimed emperor of the French; and in that capacity invested with the government of the French republic;—That the title of emperor, and the imperial power be made hereditary in his family in the male line, according to the order of primogeniture;—That in introducing into the organization of the constituted authorities, the modifications rendered necessary by the establishment of hereditary power, the equality, the liberty, and the rights of the people shall be preserved in all their integrity.—This vote shall be presented to the senate by six orators, who shall explain the views of the tribunate.

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*Message from the First Consul to the Conservative Senate, dated St. Cloud, April 25, 1804, in Answer to their Proposition of making him Emperor.*

Senators,

Your address of the 6th last Germinal has never ceased to be present to my thoughts. It has been the object of my most constant meditation. You have judged the hereditary power of the supreme magistracy necessary, in order to shelter the French people completely from the plots of our enemies, and from the agitations which arise from rival ambitions. It even appears to you, that many of our institutions ought to be improved, in order to secure

for ever the triumph of equality and public liberty, and present to the nation and to the government the double guarantee they are in want of.—We have been constantly guided by this grand truth, that the sovereignty resides in the French people, in the sense that every thing, without exception, ought to be done for its interest, its happiness, and its glory. It is in order to attain this end, that the supreme magistracy, the senate, the council of state, the legislative body, the electoral body, the electoral colleges, and the different branches of the administration, are and ought to be instituted.—In proportion as I fix my attention upon these great objects, I am still more convinced of the verity of those sentiments which I have expressed to you, and I feel more and more that in a circumstance as new as it is important, the councils of your wisdom and experience were necessary to enable me to fix my ideas.—I request you then to make known to me the whole of your thoughts.—The French people can add nothing to the honour and glory with which it has surrounded me, but the most sacred duty for me, as it is the dearest to my heart, is to secure to its latest posterity those advantages which it has acquired by a revolution that has cost it so much, particularly by the sacrifice of those millions of brave citizens who have died in defence of their rights.—I desire that I might declare to you, on the 14th of July, in the present year. Fifteen years have passed, since, by a spontaneous movement, you ran to arms, you acquired liberty, equality, and glory. These first blessings of nations are now secured to you for ever, are sheltered from every tempest, they

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are preserved to you and to your children: institutions conceived and began in the midst of the storms of interior and exterior wars, developed with constancy, are just terminated in the noise of the attempts and plots of our most mortal enemies, by the adoption of every thing which the experience of centuries and of nations has demonstrated as proper to guarantee the rights which the nation had judged necessary for its dignity, its liberty, and its happiness.

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*Official Account of the Proceedings of the French Nation on conferring the Title of Emperor on Napoleon Buonaparte.*

On the 18th of May, the senate, under the presidency of Cambaceres, decrees the organic senatus consultum, which confers the title of emperor on the first consul, and establishes the imperial dignity hereditary in his family. It instantly decreed, that the members should immediately repair to St. Cloud, to present the organic senatus consultum to the emperor. They set out after the close of the sitting, accompanied by several bodies of troops. —The senate, on its arrival, being immediately admitted to an audience of the emperor, the consul Cambaceres, the president, presented the organic senatus consultum to the first consul, and spoke as follows: —Sire,—The decree which the senate has passed, and which it takes the earliest opportunity of presenting to your imperial majesty, is only the authentic expression of a will already manifested by the nation. This decree, which confers on you a new title, and which after you, secures the dignity hereditary to

your race, adds nothing either to your glory or to your rights. The love and gratitude of the French people have, for four years, entrusted to your majesty the reins of government, and the constitution of the state reposed in you the choice of a successor. The most august denomination, decreed to you, is then only a tribute which the nation pays to its own dignity, and to the necessity it experiences in giving you daily testimonies of respect and of attachment, which every day increase.—How could the French people find bounds to its gratitude, when you place none to your care and solicitude for it? Preserving the remembrance of the evils which it suffered when abandoned to itself, how could it reflect without enthusiasm on the happiness it has experienced, since providence inspired it with the idea of throwing itself into your arms? Its armies were defeated; its finances were in disorder; public credit was annihilated; factions were disputing for the remains of our ancient splendor; every idea of morality, and even religion, was obscured; the habit of giving and resuming power, left the magistrates without consideration, and even rendered odious every kind of authority. Your majesty appeared; you recalled victory to our standards; you established order and economy in the public expences; the nation, encouraged by the use you made of your authority, resumed confidence in its own resources; your wisdom allayed the rage of party; religion saw her altars raised up; ideas of justice and injustice were awakened in the minds of the citizens; when they saw crimes followed by punishment, and virtue signalized and rewarded with



honourable distinctions. In the last place, and it is no doubt the greatest of the miracles operated by your genius, that people, whose civil effervescence had rendered them impatient of every restraint, and hostile to every authority, were by your means made to cherish and respect a power which was exercised only for their glory and repose. —The French people do not pretend to establish themselves judges of the constitutions of other states; they have no critical remarks to make; no examples to follow; experience in future will become their guide. They have tasted for ages the advantages attached to hereditary power; they have made a short but painful trial of the contrary system; they return by the effect of free and mature deliberation to a path suited to their genius. They make a free use of their rights, to delegate to your imperial majesty a power which your interest forbids you to exercise by yourself. They stipulate for future generations, and by a solemn compact entrust to the offspring of your race, the happiness of their posterity. The latter will imitate your virtues, the former will inherit our love and our fidelity. Happy the nation which, after so much trouble and uncertainty, finds in its bosom a man worthy of appeasing the tempest of the passions, of conciliating all interests, and uniting all voices! Happy the prince who holds his power by the will, the confidence, and the affections of the citizens! — If it be in the principles of our constitution, and already several examples of this kind have been given, to submit to the sanction of the people that part of the decree which concerns the establishment of an

hereditary government; the senate have thought that it ought to entreat your imperial majesty to consent that the organic dispositions should be immediately carried into execution; and that, for the glory as well as the happiness of the republic, Napoleon may be immediately proclaimed emperor of the French.

The emperor replied in the following terms:

“Every thing that can contribute to the good of the country is essentially connected with my happiness. I accept the title which you think necessary to the glory of the nation. I submit to the sanction of the people the law of hereditary succession. I hope France will never repent of its having surrounded with honours my family. In all cases my spirit will cease to be present with my posterity, the day on which it shall cease to deserve the love and confidence of the great nation.”

The senate being then admitted to an audience of her majesty the empress, the consul Cambaceres, the president, said:

Madam, — We have just presented to your august spouse the decree which confers on him the title of emperor, which establishes the government hereditary in his family, and associates future generations in the happiness of the present race. — A very agreeable duty remains to be performed by the senate — that of offering to your imperial majesty the homage of its respect, and an expression of the gratitude of the French. — Yes, madam, fame proclaims the good which you are continually doing; it says, that being always accessible to the unfortunate, you employ your influence with the chief of the state only to relieve distress, and that to the pleasure of obliging,



obliging, your majesty adds that amiable delicacy which renders gratitude sweeter and the kindness more valuable.—This disposition presages, that the name of the empress Josephina will be the signal of consolation and of hope, and as the virtues of Napoleon will always serve as an example to his successors, to teach them the art of governing nations; the living remembrance of your goodness, will teach their august consorts that the care of drying up tears, is the most effectual means of preserving an empire over all hearts.—The senate thinks itself happy in the opportunity of being the first to salute you empress, and he who has the honour of being its organ, takes the liberty to hope that you will deign to reckon him among the number of your most faithful servants.

The organic senatus consultum was then proclaimed by the emperor.—His imperial majesty nominated to the dignity of grand elector, his imperial highness, prince Joseph Buonaparte; to that of constable, his imperial highness, prince Louis Buonaparte; to that of arch-chancellor of the empire, the consul Cambaceres; and to that of arch-treasurer, the consul Lebrun.—The arch-chancellor of the empire, the arch-treasurer, and constable, took the oaths in the presence of the emperor.—The arch-chancellor of the empire presented the ministers and secretary of state, who took the oaths before the emperor.—The constable then presented generals d'Avoust and Bessieres, as well as general Murat, governor of Paris.—The arch-chancellor of the empire presented also general Duroc, governor of the imperial palace, who took the oath.—His imperial

majesty then addressed to consuls Cambaceres and Lebrun the following letter:

Citizen consul Cambaceres.—Your title is about to be changed; but your functions and my confidence remain the same. In the high dignity of arch-chancellor, with which you are going to be invested, you will manifest, as you have done in that of consul, the wisdom of your counsels and those distinguished talents which have given you so important a share in all the good that I can have done.—I have nothing therefore to request of you but the continuation of the same sentiments for the state and for me.

Napoleon.

*Done at the Palace of St.*

*Cloud, 28 Floreal, Year*

*12, (May 18, 1804).*

On the 20th of May the following decree was made by the emperor:

Napoleon, emperor of the French, decrees the following generals to be marshals of the empire:—Berthier, Murat, Monceau, Jourdan, Massena, Angereau, Bernadotte, Soult, Brune, Lannes, Mortier, Ney, Davoust, Bessieres.—The title of marshals of the empire to be given to the following senators: Kellerman, Lefevre, Perignon, Serrurier.

(Signed) Napoleon.

*Done at St. Cloud, &c. &c. &c.*

The French princes and princesses are to be addressed by the title of their imperial highnesses; and the sisters of the emperor are to enjoy the same dignity. The great officers of the empire are to receive the title of their serene highnesses, and they, as well as the princes, are to be addressed, monseigneur. The high offices of the empire are to



wear the same dress as that of consuls; but they are to appear in a particular costume upon great occasions. The secretary of state has the rank of a minister; and all the ministers will have the title of their excellencies. The functionaries of the departments, and all those who present petitions, are to address them by the title of monseigneur. The president of the senate will receive the title of his excellency. The marshals of the empire are to be called monsieur le marshal; and when spoken to, or addressed in writing, they are to have the title of monseigneur.

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*Organic Senatus Consultum, extracted from the Register of the Conservative Senate. Floreal, Year 12.—May 18, 1804.*

The conservative senate, assembled to the number of members prescribed by the 90th article of the constitution, have seen the project of the senatus consultum drawn up according to the 57th article of the organic senatus consultum, dated Thermidor 16, year 10, and after having heard, on the motives of the said project, the orators of the government, and the report of its special commission, nominated in the sitting of the 6th of this month, and having deliberated on the adoption of it, to the number of offices prescribed by the 56th article of the organic senatus consultum, of the 16th of Thermidor, year 10, decrees as follows:—

*Title I.*

Article 1. The government of the republic shall be entrusted to an emperor, who assumes the title of emperor of the French. Justice

shall be administered in the name of the emperor by officers whom he shall appoint.—2. Napoleon Buonaparte, now first consul of the republic, shall be emperor of the French.

*Title II.—Of Hereditament.*

The imperial dignity is hereditary, in a direct, natural, and legitimate descent of Napoleon Buonaparte, from male to male, in order of primogeniture, and to the perpetual exclusion of females and their descent.—4. Napoleon Buonaparte may adopt the children or grandchildren of his brothers, provided they have attained the age of eighteen years complete, and that he himself have no male heirs at the time of adoption. His adopted sons enter into the line of his direct descent. If he have any male children posterior to adoption, his adopted sons can succeed only after the natural and legitimate descendants. Adoption is interdicted to the successors of Napoleon Buonaparte, and to their descendants.—5. Failing a natural or legitimate heir, or adopted heir of Napoleon Buonaparte, the imperial dignity shall devolve to and be conferred on Joseph Buonaparte and his natural and legitimate descendants, in the order of primogeniture, to the perpetual exclusion of females and their descendants.—6. Failing Joseph Buonaparte and his male descendants, the imperial dignity shall devolve to and be conferred on Louis Buonaparte and his natural and legitimate descendants, in the order of primogeniture, from male to male, and to the perpetual exclusion of females and their descendants.—7. Failing a natural and legitimate heir, or adopted heir of Napoleon Buonaparte, failing a natural or legitimate heir



heir of Joseph Buonaparte and his male descendants, of Louis Buonaparte and his male descendants, an organic senatus consultum, proposed to the senate by the titularies of the great dignitaries of the empire, and submitted to the acceptance of the people, shall nominate the emperor, and regulate in his family the order of hereditament, from male to male, to the perpetual exclusion of females and of their descendants.—8. Until the moment of the election of the new emperor, the affairs of the state shall be governed by the ministers, who shall form in council the government, and who shall deliberate by a majority of voices. The secretary of state shall keep a journal of the deliberations.

*Title III.—Of the Imperial Family.*

9. The members of the imperial family in the order of hereditament shall bear the title of French princes. The eldest son of the emperor shall be styled imperial prince.—10. The mode of education for the French princes shall be regulated by a senatus consultum.—11. They are members of the senate and of the council of state, when they have attained to their eighteenth year.—12. They cannot marry without the consent of the emperor. The marriage of a French prince without the consent of the emperor, incurs the privation of all right of inheritance both for the individual who has contracted it, and for his descendants.—13. The acts which attest the birth, the marriages, and deaths of members of the imperial family, shall be transmitted, by order from the emperor, to the senate, who shall order them to be inscribed in their journals, and deposited among their archives.—14. Napoleon Bu-

naparte shall establish, by statutes to which his successors are bound to conform, 1st, The duties of the individuals of both sexes, who are members of the imperial family towards the emperor; 2d, An organization of the imperial palace, conformably to the dignity of the throne, and the grandeur of the nation.—15. The civil list remains regulated in the same manner as it was by the 1st and 4th articles of the decree of May 26, 1791.—The princes Joseph and Louis Buonaparte, and, in future, the younger natural and legitimate sons of the emperor, shall be treated agreeably to the article 1, 10, 11, 12, and 13 of the decree of December 21, 1790. The emperor may fix the jointure of the empress, and refer it to the civil list. His successors can introduce no change in the dispositions made in this respect.—16. The emperor shall visit the departments: imperial palaces shall therefore be established in the four principal points of the empire. These palaces shall be fixed, and their dependencies established by a law.

*Title IV.—Of the Regency.*

17. The emperor is a minor till the age of eighteen years complete; during his minority there shall be a regent of the empire.—18. The regent must be at least twenty-five years of age, complete; females are excluded from the regency.—19. The emperor chooses the regent from among the French princes who have attained to the age prescribed by the preceding article; and failing them, from among the titularies of the great dignities of the empire.—20. Failing designation on the part of the emperor, the regency shall devolve to the prince nearest in degree in the order of inheritance, who



who has attained to 25 years complete.—21. In cases where the emperor has not chosen the regent, if none of the French princes have attained to the age of 25 years complete, the senate shall choose the regent from the titularies of the great dignities of the empire.—22. When, on account of the minority of a prince called to the regency in the order of inheritance, it has been conferred on a more distant relation, or on one of the titularies of the great dignities of the empire, the regent who has entered on the exercise of his functions, shall continue them till the majority of the emperor.—23. No organic *senatus consultum* can be passed during the regency, nor before the end of the third year after the majority.—24. The regent shall exercise, till the majority of the emperor, all the attributes of the imperial dignity: he cannot, however, nominate to the grand dignities of the empire, nor to the places of the great officers which may be vacant during the regency, or which may become vacant during the minority, nor use the prerogative reserved for the emperor of raising citizens to the rank of senator. He cannot dismiss either the grand judge or the secretary of state.—25. He is not personally responsible for the acts of his administration.—26. All acts of the regency are in the name of the emperor under age.—27. The regent can propose no project of a law or *senatus consultum*, and can adopt no regulation of public administration, until he has consulted the council of regency, composed of the titularies of the great dignities of the empire. He cannot declare war or sign treaties of peace, alliance, or commerce, until after deliberation in the council of regency:

the members of which in this case only have a deliberative voice. The decision shall be by a majority of voices, and if there be an equality that of the regent shall determine it. The minister of foreign relations shall have a seat in the council of regency, when the council deliberates on affairs relating to his department. The grand judge, minister of justice, may be called to it by order of the regent. The secretary of State shall keep a journal of the deliberations.—28. The regency can confer no right on the person of the minor emperor.—29. The salary of the regent is fixed at a fourth amount of the civil list.—30. The care of the minor emperor entrusted to his mother, and, failing her, to the princess chosen for that purpose by the predecessor of the minor emperor. Failing the mother of the minor emperor, a prince chosen by the senate shall entrust the care of the minor emperor to one of the titularies of the great dignities of the empire. Neither the regent, nor his descendant being females, can be chosen to take charge of the minor emperor.—31. In case Napoleon Buonaparte shall use the faculty conferred on him by the 4th article of title 2, the act of adoption shall be performed in the presence of the titularies of the great dignities of the empire; shall be received by the secretary of state, and immediately transmitted to the senate to be inscribed in the journals, and deposited among the archives; when the emperor nominates either a regent for the minority, or a prince to take charge of the minor emperor, the same formalities are to be observed; the act of nomination, either of a regent for the minority, or a princess to take charge of the minor emperor,



tor, are revocable at the pleasure of the emperor; every act of adoption, nomination, or revocation of a nomination, which has not been inscribed in the journals of the senate, before the death of the emperor, shall be null and void.

*Title V.—Of the great Dignities of the Empire.*

32. The grand dignities of the empire, are those of grand elector, arch chancellor of state, arch treasurer, constable, and grand admiral.—33. The titularies of the grand dignities of the empire are nominated by the emperor. They shall enjoy the same honours as the French princes, and take precedency immediately after them. The period of their reception determines the rank which they respectively hold.—34. The grand dignities of the empire cannot be removed.—35. The titularies of the great dignities of the empire are senators and counsellors of state.—36. They form the grand council of the emperor; they are members of the privy council; they compose the grand council of the legion of honour. The present members of the grand council of the legion of honour shall retain, during life, their titles, functions, and prerogatives.—37. The emperor presides in the senate and council of state. When the emperor does not preside in the senate or council of state, he shall nominate one of the titularies of the great dignities of the state to be president.—38. All acts of the senate and legislative body are passed in the name of the emperor, and promulgated or published under the imperial seal.—39. The grand elector performs the functions of chancellor: 1st, In convoking the legislative body, the electoral colleges, and the cantonal

assemblies: 2nd, In promulgating the senatus consulta, or dissolving the legislative body, or the electoral colleges. The grand elector presides in the absence of the emperor, when the senate proceeds to the nomination of senators, legislators, or tribunes. He may reside in the palace of the senate. He makes known to the emperor the remonstrances presented by the electoral colleges or the cantonal assemblies, in regard to the preservation of their prerogatives. When a member of an electoral college is denounced, agreeably to the 21st article of the organic senatus consultum, of the 16th Thermidor, year 10, as having committed any act contrary to the honour or the good of his country, the grand elector shall invite the college to manifest its will. He shall report the will of the college to the emperor. The grand elector presents the members of the senate, of the council of state, and of the legislative body to take the oath before the emperor. He administers the oath to the presidents of the electoral colleges, of the department and cantonal assemblies. He presents the solemn deputations of the senate, the council of state, legislative body, tribunate, and electoral colleges, when admitted to an audience of the emperor.—40. The arch-chancellor of the empire performs the functions of chancellor in promulgating senatus consulta and the laws. He likewise performs the functions of chancellor of the imperial palace. He is present when the grand judge, minister of justice, lays before the emperor his annual report of the abuses which have crept into the administration of justice, both civil and criminal. He presides in the high imperial court, and also



also at the united sections of the council of state and tribunate, conformable to article 95, title 11. He is present at the celebration of the marriages and births of the princes, and at the coronation and funeral obsequies of the emperor. He signs the *procès verbal* drawn up by the secretary of state. He presents the titularies of the grand dignities of the empire, the ministers and secretary of state, the grand civil officers of the crown, and the president of the court of cassation, when the oath is administered to them in the presence of the emperor. He administers the oath to the members of the court of cassation, and to the presidents and attorneys general of the courts of appeal and also of the criminal courts. He presents the solemn deputations and the members of the courts of justice, when admitted to an audience of the emperor. He signs and seals the commissions and appointments of the members of the courts of justice, and the ministerial officers; he seals the commissions and appointments of the civil and administrative functions, and of the other acts which will be designated in the regulation entitled "Organization of the seal."—41. The arch-chancellor of state performs the functions of chancellor, in promulgating treaties of peace, and in declaring war. He presents to the emperor and signs the credentials and correspondence with the different courts of Europe, according to the forms of the imperial protocol, of which he is the keeper. He is present when the minister for exterior relations lays before the emperor his annual report of the political situation of the state. He presents the ambassadors and ministers of the emperor, when the

oath is administered to them in the presence of his imperial majesty. He administers the oath to the residents, *chargés des affaires*, secretaries of embassy and legation, commissaries general, and commissaries for commercial relations.—42. The arch-treasurer is present when the ministers of finance and the public treasury lay before the emperor the annual accounts of the receipts and expences of the state, and make known to him their views with regard to the financial necessities of the empire. Before the accounts of the annual receipts and disbursements are laid before the emperor, they must receive his signature. He presides at the united sections of the council of state and tribunate, conformably to article 95, title 11. He receives every three months the report of the labours of the national accountants; and once a year he receives the general result and plans of reform and amelioration in the different offices of the public accounts, which he lays before the emperor. He balances every year the great book of debt. He signs appointments and civil pensions. He administers the oath to the national accountants and administrators of finance, and the principal agents of the public treasury. He presents the deputations from the national accountants and the administrators of finance, when admitted to an audience of the emperor.—43. The constable is present when the minister at war and the director of the war department lay before the emperor the annual report of the dispositions to be taken for completing the defence of the frontiers, and the charge of keeping up, repairing and provisioning the fortified towns. He lays the first stone of every fortress.



dress about to be erected. He is governor of the military schools. When the emperor does not present in person the colours of any regiment, they are presented in his name by the constable. In the absence of the emperor, the constable reviews the imperial guard. When a general is suspected of a crime specified in the penal military code, the constable may preside at the council of war. He presents the marshals of the empire, the colonels general, the inspectors general, and the officers general, when the oath is administered to them in the presence of the emperor. He administers the oath to majors, captains, commodores, &c. He installs the marshals of the empire. He presents the generals, colonels, majors, &c. of the army, when admitted to an audience of the emperor. He signs appointments in the army, and those of the military pensioners of the state.—44. The grand admiral is present when the minister of marine lays before the emperor the annual report of the state of the navy. He annually receives and presents to the emperor, the accounts of the chest of marine invalids. When an admiral, vice-admiral, or rear-admiral is suspected of a crime specified in the penal military code, the grand admiral may preside at the court martial. He presents the admirals, vice-admirals, rear-admirals, and captains, when the oath is administered to them in the presence of the emperor. He administers the oath to the members of the council of prizes, and to captains of frigates. He presents the admirals, vice-admirals, rear-admirals, captains, and members of the council of prizes, when admitted to an audience of the emperor. He

signs appointments in the navy, and those of the marine pensioners of the state.—45. Each titular of the grand dignities of the empire presides over a departmental electoral college. The grand elector presides over the electoral college at Brussels. The arch-chancellor of the empire presides over the electoral college at Bourdeaux. The arch-chancellor of state presides over the electoral college at Nantz. The arch-treasurer of the empire presides over the electoral college at Lyons. The constable presides over the electoral college at Turin. The grand admiral presides over the electoral college at Marseilles.—46. Each titular of the grand dignities of the empire receives annually, according to established usage, a third of the sum appropriated to the princes, conformably to the decree of the 21st of December, 1790.—47. An imperial statute regulates the functions of the titularies of the grand dignities of the empire about the person of the emperor, and determines the costume to be worn by them in grand ceremonies. The emperor's successors cannot deviate from this statute but by a *senatus consultum*.

*Title VI.—Of the grand Officers of the Empire.*

48. The grand officers of the empire are: first, marshals of the empire, chosen from among the most distinguished generals, their number not to exceed sixteen; of which number the marshals of the empire who are also senators, cannot make a part. Secondly, eight inspectors of artillery and fortifications, troops of horse, and marine. Thirdly, grand civil officers of the crown, as they shall hereafter be appointed by statutes of the emperor.—49.

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The post of grand officer is perpetual.—50. Each of the grand officers of the empire presides over an electoral college, which is specially appointed to him at the moment of his nomination.—51. If, by an order of the emperor, or by any other cause whatever, a titular of a grand dignity of the empire, or a grand officer relinquishes his functions, he nevertheless preserves his title, rank, privileges, and a moiety of the salary attached to his office. He can only forfeit them by a judgment of the high imperial court.

*Title VII.—Of Oaths.*

52. In the course of the two years subsequent to his accession or majority, the emperor, accompanied by the titularies of the grand dignities of the empire, the ministers, the grand officers of the empire, takes the oath of fidelity to the French people upon the evangelists, and in the presence of the senate, the council of state, the legislative body, the tribunate, the court of cassation, the archbishops, the bishops, the grand officers of the legion of honour, the national accountants, the presidents of the courts of appeal, the presidents of the electoral colleges, the presidents of the cantonal assemblies, the presidents of the consistories, and the mayors of the 36 principal towns of the empire. The secretary of state prepares the procès verbal of the ceremony.—53. The oath taken by the emperor is couched as follows: “I swear to maintain the integrity of the territory of the republic; to respect and to cause to be respected the laws of the concordat and the liberty of public worship; to respect and to cause to be respected the equality of rights, political and civil liberty, the irrevocability of the sales of national

domains; to levy no duty, to impose no tax but by virtue of the law; to maintain the institution of the legion of honour; and to have no view in governing, but the interest, the happiness, and the glory of the French people.”—54. Before he enters upon the exercise of his functions, the regent, accompanied by the titularies of the grand dignities of the empire, the ministers, and the grand officers of the empire take the oath upon the evangelists and in the presence of the senate, the council of state, the president and questors of the legislative body, the president and questors of the tribunate, and the grand officers of the legion of honour. The secretary of state prepares the procès verbal of the ceremony.—55. The oath taken by the regent is as follows: “I swear to administer the affairs of the state, conformably to the constitutions of the empire, the senatus consulta and the laws; to maintain in all its integrity the territory of the republic, the rights of the nation and those of the imperial dignity, and faithfully to deliver up to the emperor, as soon as he attains his majority, the power which has been confided to me.”—56. The titularies of the grand dignities of the empire, the ministers and the secretary of state, the grand officers, the members of the senate, the legislative body, the tribunate, the electoral colleges, and the cantonal assemblies, take the following oath: “I swear obedience to the constitutions of the empire and fidelity to the emperor.” The public functionaries, civil and judicial, the officers and soldiers of the army on land and sea take the same oath.

*Title VIII.—Of the Senate.*

57. The senate is composed, 1st. of the French princes who have attained



tained their 18th year; 2dly, of the titularies of the grand dignities of the empire; 3dly, of the twenty-four members chosen by the emperor from the lists delivered in by the departmental electoral colleges; 4thly, of citizens whom the emperor deems proper to raise to the dignity of senator.—58. The president of the senate is named by the emperor and chosen from the list of the senators. His functions continue for twelve months.—59. He convokes the senate at the command of the emperor, and at the requisition, 1st, of the commissions hereafter spoken of in article 60 and 64; 2dly, of a senator, conformably to the provisions made in article 70; 3dly, of an officer for the interior concerns of the body. He lays before the emperor an account of the several convocations made at the requisition of the commissions, &c. their object, and the result of the deliberations of the senate.—60. A commission of seven members, named by the senate and chosen from the body, takes cognizance of arrests (conformably to article 46 of the constitution,) whenever the person arrested is not brought before the tribunals in the space of ten days after the time of such arrest. This commission is called the senatorial commission for personal liberty.—61. Every arrested person not called to take his trial in ten days after his arrest, may immediately appeal by himself, his representatives, or by petition, to the senatorial commission for personal liberty.—62. When the said commission is of opinion that the interests of the state do not call for the detention of the arrested person beyond the period of ten days, it invites the minister who ordered the

arrest to cause the person so detained to be either set at liberty, or sent before the ordinary tribunals.—63. If after three successive invitations, renewed in the space of one month, the detained person is not set at liberty or sent before the ordinary tribunals, the commission demands an assembly of the senate, which is convoked by the president, and makes, if it so determine, the following declaration: “There are strong presumptions that N. is arbitrarily detained.” It afterwards proceeds conformably to the provisions of article 92, title 13, of the high imperial court.—64. A commission of seven members named by the senate and chosen from the body, is appointed to watch over the liberty of the press. Works printed and distributed by subscription and at stated periods do not come under its cognizance. This commission is called the senatorial commission for the liberty of the press.—65. Authors, printers, and booksellers, having reason to complain of injunctions being laid upon the printing or circulation of works, may apply personally or by petition to the commission for the liberty of the press.—66. When the commission is of opinion that the interests of the state do not demand such injunction, it invites the minister who issued the order to revoke it.—67. If after three successive invitations, renewed in the space of one month, the injunction still continues, the commission demands an assembly of the senate, which is convoked by the president, and makes, if it so determine, the following declaration: “There are strong presumptions that the liberty of the press has been violated.” It afterwards proceeds conformably



conformably to the provisions of article 92, title 13, of the high imperial court.—68. The functions of a member of each of the senatorial commissions cease at the expiration of four months.—69. The *projets de lois* decreed by the legislative body, are transmitted to the senate on the day of their adoption, and are deposited in the archives.—70. Every decree issued by the legislative body may be denounced in the senate by any of the members thereof: 1. As tending to restore the feudal system; 2. As affecting the sale of the national domains; 3. As having been issued contrary to the forms prescribed by the constitutions of the empire, &c.—71. In the course of six days after the adoption of the *projèt de loi*, the senate, after deliberating upon the report of a special commission, and hearing the decree read three times at three sittings held on separate days, may declare its opinion as to the propriety of promulgating the said law. The president lays the decision of the senate before the emperor.—72. The emperor, after hearing the council of state, either declares by a decree his adherence to the deliberation of the senate, or causes the law to be promulgated.—73. Every such law not promulgated before the expiration of ten days, cannot be promulgated unless it has been again deliberated on, and adopted by the legislative body.—74. The entire operations of an electoral college, as well as its partial operations relative to the presentation of candidates to the senate, the legislative body, or the tribunate, can only be annulled, on the ground of their being unconstitutional, by an *express senatus consultum*.

*Title IX.—Of the Council of State:*

75. When the council of state is deliberating upon a *projèt de loi*, &c. two thirds of the members in ordinary service must be present. The number of members present can never be less than twenty-five.—76. The council of state is divided into six sections; viz: the section of legislation, the section of the interior, the section of finance, the section of war, the section of marine, and the section of commerce.—77. When a member of the council of state has been five years upon the list of members in ordinary service, he receives the rank of counsellor of state for life. When he ceases to be on the list of the council of state in ordinary or extraordinary service, he is only entitled to one third of the salary attached to the office.

*Title X. Of the Legislative Body.*

78. The members of the legislative body may be re-elected without interval.—79. Every *projèt de loi* presented to the legislative body is returned to the three sections of the tribunate.—80. The sittings of the legislative body are divided into ordinary sittings and general committees.—81. Ordinary sittings are composed of members of the legislative body, orators of the council of state, and orators of the three sections of the tribunate. General committees are composed only of members of the legislative body. The president of the legislative body presides both at the ordinary sittings and general committees.—82. At an ordinary sitting, the legislative body hear the orators of the counsel of state, and also the orators of three sections of the tribunate, and votes on the *projèt de loi*. In a general committee,



committee, the members of the legislative body discuss amongst them the merits or demerits of the projet de loi.—83. The legislative body resolves itself into a general committee; 1st, at the invitation of the president for the interior affairs of the body; 2nd, at a demand made to the president, and signed by fifty of the members present. In both these cases the general committee is a secret one, and its discussions can neither be printed nor divulged.—84. When the discussion in a general committee is closed, the deliberation is adjourned to the ordinary sitting on the following day.—85. On the day appointed by the legislative body for voting on the projet de loi, the orators of the counsel of state are again heard.—86. The deliberation on a projet de loi, can in no case be deferred for more than three days beyond the time fixed for closing the discussion.—87. The sections of the tribunate constitute the sole commissions of the legislative body; which can create no other, but in the case pointed out in article 113, title 13, of the high imperial court.

*Title XI.—Of the Tribunate.*

88. The functions of the members of the tribunate continue for ten years.—89. A moiety of the tribunate is renewed every five years. The first renewal will take place in the session of the year 17, conformably to the organic senatus consultum of the 16th Thermidor, year 10.—90. The president of the tribunate is named by the emperor, on the presentation of three candidates chosen by the tribunate at the secret ballot.—91. The functions of the president of the tribunate continue for two years. 92. The tribunate has two questors. They are

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named by the emperor, from a triple list of candidates chosen by the tribunate at a secret ballot. Their functions are the same as those assigned to the questors of the legislative body by articles 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, and 25, of the organic senatus consultum of the 24th Frimaire, year 12. One of the questors is renewed every year.—93. The tribunate is divided into three sections; viz. the section of legislation, the section of the interior, and the section of finance.—94. Each section makes out a list of three of its members, from among whom the president of the tribunate chooses the president of section. The functions of president of section continue for one year.—95. When the respective sections of the counsel of state and tribunate, demand a conference, such conference takes place under the presidency of the arch-chancellor or arch-treasurer of the empire, according to the nature of the subject to be examined.—96. Each section discusses separately, and in a sectional assembly, the several projet de loi transmitted to it by the legislative body. Two orators from each of the three sections, lay before the legislative body the wishes of their section.—97. In no case can a projet de loi be discussed by a general assembly of the tribunate. But it may form itself into a general assembly, under the presidency of its president, for the exercise of its other privileges.

*Title XII.—Of the Electoral Colleges.*

98. As often as a departmental electoral college is assembled for the purpose of forming the list of candidates for the legislative body, a renewal of the list of candidates for the senate takes place. Every such

renewal



renewal annuls all anterior presentations.—99. The grand officers, commandants, and officers of the legion of honour, are members of the departmental electoral college in which their possessions may be situated, or of one of the departments of the company to which they belong. The legionaries are members of the electoral college of their district. The members of the legion of honour are admitted to their electoral college on presenting a certificate given them for this purpose by the grand elector.—100. The prefects and military commandants of departments cannot be elected candidates for the senate by the departmental electoral colleges in which they exercise their functions.

*Title XIII.—Of the High Imperial Court.*

101. The high imperial court takes cognizance: 1st, Of crimes committed by members of the imperial family, by titularies of the grand dignities of the empire, by ministers and by the secretary of state, by grand officers, by senators, by counsellors of state; 2dly, Of outrages and plots against the internal and external security of the state, the person of the emperor, and of the presumptive heir to the empire; 3dly, Of crimes of official responsibility committed by ministers and counsellors of state; 4thly, Of treachery and abuses of power, whether committed by captains general of colonies, or colonial prefects, and commandants of foreign possessions; 5thly, Of generals, &c. acting contrary to instructions; 6thly, Of acts of extortion and dilapidation committed by prefects of the interior in the exercise of their functions; 7thly, Of denunciations occasioned by arbitrary detentions,

and the violation of the liberty of the press.—102. The seat of the high imperial court is in the senate.—103. The arch-chancellor of the empire is president. In case of illness or the necessary absence of the arch-chancellor, another titulary of a grand dignity of the empire may preside for the time being.—104. The high imperial court is composed of the princes, the titularies of the grand dignities and grand officers of the empire, the grand judge, minister of justice, sixty senators, the six sectional presidents of the council of state, fourteen counsellors of state, and twenty members of the court of cassation. The senators, counsellors of state, and members of the court of cassation, are chosen by seniority.—105. An attorney-general, nominated for life by the emperor, assists in the high imperial court. He performs the duties of his office, assisted by three tribunes, chosen every year by the legislative body, and three magistrates nominated by the emperor from the officers of the court of appeal and criminal justice.—106. The chief clerk of the high imperial court is nominated for life by the emperor.—107. No exception can be made to the decision of the president of the high imperial court.—108. The proceedings of the high imperial court can only originate with the government.—110. Ministers or counsellors of state, acting contrary to the laws and constitutions of the empire, may be denounced by the legislative body.—111. Persons holding the situations of captains general of colonies, colonial prefects, commandants of foreign possessions, &c. suspected of abusing the power delegated to them, may be denounced by the legislative body;



dy ; also generals disobeying their instructions, and prefects of the interior, suspected of dilapidation and extortion.—112. The legislative body likewise denounces ministers and agents of government suspected of arbitrary detentions, or a violation of the liberty of the press.—113. Denunciations by the legislative body can only be delayed at the demand of the tribunate, or the requisition of fifty members of the legislative body.—114. In both cases the demand and requisition must be delivered in writing, and signed by the president and secretaries of the tribunate, or by ten members of the legislative body. If the charge is against a minister or counsellor of state, it is communicated to him at the expiration of one month.—115. The denounced minister or counsellor of state is not to appear in person for the purpose of answering the charges against him. The emperor nominates three counsellors of state, who appear before the legislative body on the day appointed, and learn the particulars of the denunciation.—116. The legislative body, in a secret committee, discusses the facts contained in the demand or requisition, and decides on them by ballot.—117. The act of denunciation must be circumstantial and signed by the president and secretaries of the legislative body. It is transmitted to the arch-chancellor of the empire, who forwards it to the attorney-general of the high imperial court.—118. Cases of delinquency or abuse of power in captains-general of colonies, colonial prefects, governors of establishments beyond sea, in acts of disobedience on the part of generals or admirals, and of peculation on the part of prefects, are also denounced by ministers. If

the denunciation is by the grand judge, minister of justice, he can take no part in the decisions on the said denunciation.—119. In the cases determined by articles 110, 111, 112, and 118, the attorney-general acquaints, within three days, the arch-chancellor of the empire, that it is necessary to assemble the high imperial court. The arch-chancellor, having received his orders from the emperor, appoints some period within eight days for opening the sittings.—120. At the first sitting of the high imperial court it determines its competency to enter upon the case before it.—121. In cases of denunciation or complaint, the attorney-general, assisted by the tribunes and the three magistrates at the bar, examine whether there be due ground to proceed. The decision is with the attorney-general. One of the magistrates at the bar may be appointed by the attorney-general to conduct the proceedings. If the public ministry determine that the charge, complaint, or denunciation ought not to be received, it moves certain resolutions to be approved of by the high imperial court, after hearing the magistrate charged with the report.—122. When the resolutions are adopted, the high imperial court concludes the business with a definitive judgment. When the resolutions are rejected, the public ministry is ordered to go on with the proceedings.—123. In the second case provided for in the preceding article, and likewise when the public ministry determine that the complaint or denunciation shall be admitted, it is ordered to prepare the act of denunciation within eight days, and to communicate the same to the commissary, or his deputy, appointed



appointed by the arch-chancellor of the empire, from the judges of the court of cassation, being members of the high imperial court. The functions of this commissary, or, in case of absence, his deputy, consist in drawing up the instructions and the report.—124. The reporter, or, in case of absence, his deputy, lays the act of accusation before twelve commissaries of the high imperial court, chosen by the arch-chancellor of the empire; six from the list of senators, and six from the other members of the high imperial court. The members thus chosen take no part in the decision of the high imperial court.—125. Provided the twelve commissaries determine that there is sufficient reason to proceed with the complaint or denunciation, the reporting commissary issues a declaration to that effect, and proceeds to draw up the instructions.—126. Provided the commissaries determine that the complainant ought not to proceed with the accusation, the case is referred to the high imperial court, which pronounces a definitive judgment thereon.—127. The high imperial court cannot come to a decision unless sixty members are present. Ten out of the sixty may be challenged by the party accused, and ten by the accusing party. The judgment of the court is determined by the majority of votes.—128. The discussions on these occasions are open to the public.—129. Persons accused may employ advocates. If they be unprovided, the arch-chancellor of the empire appoints them one gratis.—130. The high imperial court can only decide in cases which come within the penal code.—131. In cases of acquittal, the high imperial court places the person acquitted

under the protection of the high police of the state, for the time it may deem proper.—132. No appeal can be made against the decision of the high imperial court.

*Title XIV.—Of the Judicial Order.*

134. The decisions of the courts of justice are intituled *arrêts*.—135. The presidents of the court of cassation, the court of appeal, and of criminal justice, are nominated for life by the emperor, and may be chosen out of the courts in which they preside.—136. The tribunal of cassation takes the title of the court of cassation. The tribunals of appeal take the title of the court of appeal, and the criminal tribunals that of criminal justice. The president of the court of cassation, and also the president of the courts of appeal divided into sections, take the title of first president; the vice-presidents that of president. The commissaries of government in the court of cassation, the courts of appeal, and the courts of criminal justice, take the title of imperial attorneys-general.

*Title XV.—Of Promulgation.*

137. The emperor causes every organic *senatus consultum*, *senatus consultum*, act of the senate and law, to be sealed and promulgated. Organic *senatus consulta*, *senatus consulta*, and acts of the senate are promulgated within the ten days subsequent to their adoption.—138. Two copies are taken of each of the acts mentioned in the preceding article. Both copies are signed by the emperor, examined by the titularies of the grand dignities, counter-signed by the secretary of state and the minister of justice, and sealed with the great seal of the state. 139. One copy is deposited in the archives of the great seal;

the



the other in the archives of the public authority whence the act originated. 140. The promulgation is in the following terms: "N. (*the surname of the emperor*), by the grace of God and the constitutions of the republic, emperor of the French, to all present and absent, greeting: the senate, after hearing the orators of the council of state, has decreed and ordered as follows:"—(*or provided it be a new law*) "the legislative body on the — (*the date*) have issued the following decree, conformably to the proposition made in the name of the emperor, and after having heard the orators of the council of state and the sections of the tribunate: we hereby command that the present, sealed with the seal of the state, and inserted in the bulletins of the laws, be addressed to the courts, tribunals, and administrative authorities, to be inscribed in their registers, and duly observed and executed. The grand judge, minister of justice, shall watch over the execution of the same.

*Title XVI. and Last.*

151. The following proposition shall be presented for the acceptance of the people, according to the forms determined by the decree of the 20th Floreal (year 10), "The people wills the imperial dignity to be hereditary in the direct, natural, legitimate, and adopted descent of Napoleon Buonaparte, and in the direct, natural, and legitimate descent of Joseph and of Louis Buonaparte, as regulated by the organic senatus consultum of the 28th Floreal, year 12.

(Signed) Cambacères,  
Second Consul, President.  
Morand de Galles,  
Joseph Cornudet,  
Secretaries,

It is our will and pleasure that the present, sealed with the seal of the state, and inserted in the bulletin of the laws, be addressed to the respective courts, tribunals, and administrative authorities, to be inscribed in their registers, and duly observed and executed. The grand judge, minister of justice, is charged to watch over the execution of the same.

(Signed) Napoleon.

By the emperor,

(Signed) H. B. Maret.

Examined by us, arch-chancellor of the empire,

(Signed) Cambacères.

The grand judge, minister of justice,

(Signed) Regnier.

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*Note, addressed by M. Bacher, French Chargé-d'Affaires at the Diet of Ratisbon, to the Diet, dated the 28th of May, 1804, a particular Note, of the same Tenor, having been addressed to each Court of the German Empire.*

The undersigned, the French chargé-d'affaires, has the honour to transmit to the general diet of the Germanic empire, the annexed copy of the decree of the senate, which determines henceforth the style, the forms, and the transmission of the supreme power in France, the only things which, in the organization of the republican government, did not bear a due proportion to the greatness and to the calls of the state. He hastens, in these circumstances, to notify, conformably to the orders of his government, that his imperial majesty Napoleon, emperor of the French, is invested by the laws of the state

with



with the imperial dignity, and that this title and this dignity are to be transmitted to his descendants in the male line direct; and in default of such issue, to the male line direct of their imperial highnesses Princes Joseph and Louis Buonaparte, brothers to the emperor. In making this notification, the undersigned thinks it necessary to remark, that all official communications are to be suspended until the former titles shall be replaced by those of the imperial protocol, as well in the credentials of the ministers accredited to France, as in those of his imperial majesty the emperor of the French accredited to foreign courts. The confidential communications necessary for the commencement and progress of business, may still be made in the usual manner.

The undersigned is, in the mean time, instructed to declare, that the important law which has completed the organization of the state in a manner suitable to the dignity of the French people, will produce no change in its political relations. France, in placing them under the protection of a government invested with greater splendour, and surrounded with a dignity more analogous to the nature of circumstances, confers greater force and consistency to the reciprocal advantages that friendly nations have a right to expect from her; and, at the same time, she gives more consideration to the respect that all governments shall receive from her, and which they, in their turn, are bound to manifest towards her.

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*Letter from his Eminence the Cardinal de Caprara, Legate à la-*

*tere, addressed on the 9th of June, 1804, to the French Bishops.*

My Lord,

Napoleon Buonaparte having been appointed emperor of the French, you are for the future to make use of the following form of prayer: 'O Lord, preserve our emperor Napoleon,' instead of that which was ordained by the 8th article of the concordat, passed between the holy apostolic chair and the government of France. After this form, the following prayer may be recited, as it has been already used in the imperial chapel: 'O God, the protector of all kingdoms, and especially of the French empire, grant unto thy servant Napoleon, our emperor, that he may know and further the wonders of thy power, to the end that he whom thou hast appointed our sovereign, may be always powerful, through thy grace.' Which I accordingly notify to your greatness, declaring myself, at the same time, your greatness's true servant,

T. B. Card. Caprara.

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*Circular Note of General Brune, Ambassador at Constantinople, addressed to Baron Bielfield, Prussian Envoy at the same Place.—Dated Constantinople, June 18, 1804.*

The undersigned ambassador from his majesty Napoleon, emperor of the French, does himself the honour to notify hereby to baron Bielfield, that a senatus consultum has definitively settled the organization of France, and firmly established for the future, the denominations, forms, and exercises of the sovereign



sovereign power in France. These objects were hitherto the only ones in the organization of France, which were found not fully commensurate with the greatness and necessities of the state. His majesty Napoleon, the emperor of the French, is therefore by the laws of the state invested with the imperial dignity in such a manner, that this title and dignity shall descend to his posterity in the direct male line, or failing that, in the direct male line of their imperial highnesses the princes Joseph and Louis, the brothers of the emperor. From the well-known sentiments of the Prussian court, the undersigned cannot doubt of the sentiments of the baron Bielfield, in this important and happy event; and therefore only avails himself of the present opportunity again to assure him of his high esteem.

(Signed) Brune.

*The Answer of Baron Bielfield.*

The undersigned envoy from his Prussian majesty considers himself as greatly honoured by the communication of the note of the 29th of Prairial, by which the French ambassador has notified to him what has been determined in France relative to the form and investment of the supreme dignity. Much flattered by the above communication, he makes no delay to thank his excellency for the important communication, and entreats him to confide in his well known sentiments, and to be convinced that he shall always take a true and sincere participation in every thing which may promote the welfare of the French nation and its government. The undersigned avails himself of the present opportunity to renew to the ambassador

the assurance of his very special esteem.

(Signed) Bielfield.

*Answer of the Ottoman Porte to the Circular Note of General Brune, dated Constantinople, August 9, 1804.*

The sublime porte has received a note presented by its friend, the French ambassador, and understands its contents—it says: Napoleon Buonaparte, the first consul, is elected an emperor of the French; this dignity shall continue hereditary with his children and descendants, or, in default of such issue, then it shall descend to the legitimate children of Joseph and Louis Buonaparte.—Farther, that the representatives of the French empire in foreign countries have orders, until they obtain their new credentials, to abstain from all official communication, with the exception of those which require an immediate discussion for the continuance of the friendship subsisting between them and France. The sublime porte, according to its usual frankness, has rejoiced in the advancement to dignity, honour, and glory, of this, as well as of every other friendly power. The sublime porte, declares, therefore, to its friend the French ambassador, that it has heard with real pleasure a measure which makes faster those ties which unite it with France, and which are nearly connected with the internal security and tranquillity of the French empire. With regard to the communication, that this note is not to be regarded as official, until its sentiments are known; and the necessary changes which have taken place are approved.



ed of; the above answers this observation. With satisfaction the sublime porte shall always regard every measure, which confirms its so fortunately subsisting friendship with France.

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*Protest of Louis XVIII. King of France, dated Warsaw, June 6, 1804, against the Usurpation of Buonaparte.—From the Moniteur.*

In assuming the title of emperor, and attempting to render it hereditary in his family, Buonaparte has put the seal to his usurpation. This new act of revolution, where every thing from its origin has been null and void, cannot weaken my rights; but being accountable for my conduct to all sovereigns, whose rights are not less injured than mine, and whose thrones are shaken by the dangerous principles which the senate of Paris has dared to publish. Accountable to France, to my family, and to my own honour, I should consider myself as betraying the common cause, were I to keep silence upon this occasion. I declare then, after having renewed my protestations against all the illegal acts, which, from the opening of the states general of France, have led to the alarming crisis in which France and Europe are now involved. I declare, in the presence of all the sovereigns, that far from acknowledging the imperial title that Buonaparte has received from a body which has not a legitimate existence, I protest as well against that title, as to all the subsequent acts to which it may give birth.

*on the Coronation of Bonaparte, as Emperor of the French.—Paris, December 1, 1804.*

The senate, in pursuance of a resolution passed in its sitting of the 26th of November, presented itself in a body at eleven o'clock this morning at the palace of the Thuilleries. Having been introduced into the chamber of state, they were presented to his imperial majesty by his imperial highness prince Joseph, grand elector. His excellency M. Francois (de Neufchateau), the president, addressed his majesty in the following terms:—

Sire,

The first attribute of the sovereign power of a people is the right of suffrage specially applied to fundamental laws. It is this that constitutes real citizens. Never has this right been more free, more independent, more certain, nor more legally exercised by any people, than it has been amongst us since the happy 9th of November (18 Brumaire). One plebiscitum placed the reins of government in your hands for ten years; a second entrusted them to you for life. The French people has now again, for the third time, expressed its will. Three millions five hundred thousand men, dispersed over the surface of an immense territory, have simultaneously voted the empire hereditary in your majesty's august family. Their acts of suffrage are contained in 60,000 registers, which have been verified and scrupulously examined. There is not a shadow of doubt either respecting the state, or the number of those who have put forth their voice, neither as to the right of each to give his vote, nor as to the result of this universal suffrage.

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*Official Account of the Proceedings*



suffrage. Thus, then, the senate and people of France unanimously agree that the blood of Buonaparte shall henceforth be the imperial blood of France; and that the new throne raised for Napoleon, and rendered illustrious by him, shall never cease to be possessed either by the descendants of your majesty, or by those of the princes, your brothers.—This last testimony of the confidence of the people, and of their just gratitude, ought to be flattering to your imperial majesty's heart. It is glorious for a man, who has devoted himself, as you have done, to the welfare of his peers, to learn that his name alone is sufficient to unite such a vast number of men. In this instance, sire, the voice of the people is the voice of God. No government can be founded on a more indisputable title. The senate, the depository of this title, has passed a resolution to present itself in a body before your imperial majesty. It comes to display the joy with which it is penetrated, to offer you the unfeigned tribute of its felicitations, of its respect, of its love, and to applaud itself for the object of this proceeding, inasmuch as that consummates what it expected from your foresight, to tranquillize the uneasiness of all good Frenchmen, and to conduct into port the bark of the republic. Yes, sire, of the republic! This word might wound the ears of an ordinary monarch. Here the word is in its proper place before him, whose genius has enabled us to enjoy the thing in the sense in which it can exist amongst a great people; you have done more than extending the limits of the republic, for you have established it on a solid base. Thanks to the emperor

of the French, the conservative principles of the interest of all, have been introduced into the government of one, and the strength of a monarchy founded in a republic. For forty centuries past, the question, which form of government is best, has been agitated; for forty centuries past the monarchical form of government has been considered as the *chef d'œuvre* of political wisdom, and the sole secure harbour of the human race. But there was one thing wanted, to unite, without risque, the elements of liberty to its unity of power, and the certainty of its succession. This improvement in the act of governing, is an advance which Napoleon at this moment produces in the social science. He has laid the foundation of representative states; he has not confined his views to their present existence; he has implanted in them the seeds of their future perfection. Whatever is wanted to their completion at first, will grow out of their own progress. It is the honour of the present age; the hope and the model of future ages. Sire, the first rank amongst the greatest men that have done honour to the earth, is reserved for the founders of empires. Those, who have ruined them, have enjoyed but a fatal glory; those who have suffered them to fall to ruin, are every where objects of reproach. Honour to those who raise them! They are not only the creators of nations, but they secure their continuance by laws which become the inheritance of futurity. We owe this treasure to your imperial majesty; and France proportions the measure of those thanks, which the conservative senate now presents to you in its name, to the magnitude of



of this blessing. If a pure republic had been possible in France, we cannot doubt that you would have wished to have had the honour of establishing it; and if it were possible, we should never be exonerated from the guilt of not having proposed it to a man having power sufficient to realise the idea of it; personally great enough not to need a sceptre, and generous enough to sacrifice his own interests to the interests of his country. Though, like Lycurgus, you should have to banish yourself from that country, which you would have organised, you would not have hesitated. Your profound meditations have been more than once directed to this great problem; but this problem was not to be solved even by your genius. Superficial minds, struck with the ascendancy which so much success and glory so happily acquired for you over the spirit of the nation, have fancied that you had it in your power to give it at discretion a popular government or a monarchical regime. There was no medium: not a soul wished for aristocracy in France: but the legislature ought to take men such as they are, and to give them, not the most perfect laws that could be devised, but, like Solon, the best they can bear. Though the chisel of a great artist forms at pleasure out of a block of marble either a tripod or a god, the body of a nation cannot be modelled on the same principle. It is true, sire, that your life is a tissue of prodigies: but though you might have bent the nature of things and the character of men to such a pitch, as to cast the masses of France once into the mould of democracy, this wonder would have been but a transient illusion: should we have con-

curred in it, we should only have forged chains for posterity.—When our representatives, placed on the ruins of the throne, believed they could establish a republic, their intentions were pure: before sad experience released them from the enchantment, they sincerely worshipped that delusive phantom which they took for equality. We can speak of an error by which we had been dazzled for a moment. Alas! who could avoid it? The popular torrent hurried along the most indifferent in spite of themselves. It is said, that the ancient Persians, in order to convince the people of the terrible danger of an abuse of liberty, used to employ a very extraordinary custom: they used to inoculate themselves for a short time with the plague of political bodies. When any of their kings died, five days were spent in anarchy without authority or laws. Licentiousness was neither restrained then nor punished afterwards; they were five days given up to the spirit of vengeance, to excess, to violence, in a word, they were five days of revolution. This proof, it is said, used to make the people return with much joy to submission to their prince. After fluctuations more terrible than those of a troubled sea, it was thought that an infallible remedy had been discovered for popular convulsions in a polygarchy. The depositing of authority in the hands of many, was better than the absence or the dispersion of this authority: but differing spirits, and opposite wills could not be included in the same body, as the Manicheans used to place two contrary principles at the head of the universe. The struggle between these two principles would have annihilated France, if  
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the course that has been taken had not been adopted, to return to a more concentrated power.

This it is that has consecrated to eternity the epoch of the 9th of November. It is this, sire, that brings back and attaches to you such of the republicans whose patriotism was most fervent and zealous. They were confirmed in their hatred against the throne by their attachments to the interests of the people, and the ardent desire of the public good. Their ideas have been realised only by your government; out of conceit with their chimera, and brought back by you to the reality, they are well convinced that it was impossible to think seriously to establish a republic, properly so called, amongst a people attached to monarchy by their wants, by instinct, and by the force of a habit, which nothing can overcome. Yes, sire, on this point there is but one sentiment—yet the government of a single person is to so vast a country, what the statue of Pallas was formerly to the Trojans—by being deprived of it, their ruin was accelerated—but still this is not enough. The unity of the empire, is, like the bundle of twigs, the aggregate of its power: but like the twigs of the united bundle, the parts would soon be disunited and broken, if the hereditary succession to the aggregate did not secure the tie. An order of succession, previously determined, is the firmest support of a monarchical government. So, by the election even which made you emperor, the senate and the people have deprived themselves of the right of electing in future, as long as those glorious lives shall subsist, to which they transfer the exclusive right to

the empire. It is a great deposit of trust, consecrated by the law of nations, the necessity of which has been felt by the nation in order to relieve itself from guarding against any omission or the apprehension of troubles in this delegation of its supreme power. Amongst the happy results of the law of succession, such as the French have last adopted, the sagacity of the great people has distinguished two principal advantages; first, that a dynasty raised by liberty, will be faithful to its principle; there is no instance of a river flowing back to its source. Besides, a new source of stability for public credit, both internally and externally, is to be expected from a continued tradition in this paternal and perpetual government. Amongst foreign nations also, upon how much more solid a base will our alliances be supported? It is a community of interests, that constitutes all the bonds of this world: the friends of France being able to rely on her, she can rely on them; and this proud country, reinstated in Europe in the rank, from which weakness had suffered her to fall, will henceforth have it in its power to exercise a permanent influence on the repose of the nations, and on the peace of the continent. As to our enemies, if they persist in being so, their despair must redouble in contemplating the service they have done us in spite of them. We have been put upon our guard by their atrocious plots. As a last resource they have meditated crimes; it was our duty to render them useless. Thus, then, in whatever view our happiness is their work. But, sire, until their eyes shall be opened, or our indignant army shall go to punish their perfidy, our happiness



ness constitutes their punishment. What a spectacle for them to behold, France, that same France, which they wished to lacerate, and which they must now know to be united round its august chief, possessing the same spirit, forming the same wishes, and tranquilly celebrating the festivals which announce the union of liberty, that first of all moving principles with this grand conservative system of nations, hereditary monarchy. It was desired previous to the revolution, that the chief of a great state like France, should promise at his accession, not to be the king of nobles, nor of any other class, but the chief of the nation, not to maintain usurped privileges, which, in an agricultural country, and amongst an industrious people, would, nevertheless, destroy agriculture and industry, to enrich with their spoils the accomplices of despotism; but that he should swear to the people these fundamental articles, these eternal bases of well regulated societies. Liberty of worship, this first right of all men, since authority can never force conscience. Equality of rights of all the citizens, the only rational and possible equality. Respect for political and civil liberty, without which nations are but herds of slaves, equally indifferent to the fortune of their masters, and to their own destiny. The inviolable security of property, which forbids above all the levy of arbitrary imposts, and permits not any subsidy, direct or indirect, under what name soever, but according to law.—Lastly, the general tendency of his government, to the sole and primitive end of every government, the interest, the happiness, and the glory of the people. This is the

form of the oath which your imperial majesty is about to take to the French people; these are the terms which you have chosen to be a law to yourself and your successors. According to circumstances, your majesty annexes to them an engagement to maintain—the integrity of the territory of the French republic, which should continue indivisible; the acquisition of the national property, which have been the pay of our independence; the sublime institution of your legion of honour, worthy reward of services rendered to the country. With these additions, this remarkable oath would appear to have been dictated by the whole nation. It is in consideration of this also, that the whole nation swears fidelity to you. These two oaths correspond; they guarantee each other; they are the reciprocal pledges of an indissoluble alliance; and amidst so many important views, which will for ever distinguish the senatus consultum of the 19th May (28th Floreal), that which cements the whole work; that which imprints upon it the seal of immortality, sire, is the thought of the title of the oaths. To close the chasms of the revolution, more than Curtius was necessary: according to the profound idea of a political author, it was necessary that a great man should chuse for the theatre of his government and the materials of his glory, the ruins of that state, which he might propose to new-model and re-invigorate. It was necessary that this man should be worthy to give his name, and to communicate his impulse to a new dynasty. It was necessary that he should be elevated above his contemporaries, of their choice, and by their suffrages, without opposition



tion either from his own country men, or from foreigners. In the existing state of societies, the want of being governed is felt, as formerly, but the means of governing are become more difficult, because their object is more extended and complicated. The conservative senate and the French people assure you, sire, through my voice, that they are proud of their emperor. If they have offered you the crown, if they have made it hereditary in your descendants, and in those of your two brothers, it is because there exists not on earth a man more worthy to bear the sceptre of France, nor a family more beloved by the French. Governed by Napoleon, or by his sons or his nephews, animated by his spirit, formed by his example, in a word, bound by his oath, we, sire, and our childrens' children, shall defend with our lives, this tutelary government, object of our pride as of our love, because in it we shall defend our chief, our properties, our families, and our honour. You have chosen, sire, as the inscription on our coins, those words, which you justify—"God protects France."—Oh! yes; God does protect France, since he has created you for her. Father of thy country, in the name of that protecting God, bestow a blessing on thy children, and relying on their fidelity, be assured that nothing can either efface from their minds, or root out of their hearts, the engagements resulting from the mutual contract that has just been entered into between the French nation and the imperial family. In the absence of the throne, all the great characters give themselves up to faction. A people is so much the more to be pitied the greater the

number of its distinguished children; all that might constitute the pride of nations, becomes then the scourge of one. From the moment that the throne is worthily filled, eminent virtues have a reward; viz. to approach nearer to it; and the distinction is so much the more flattering, as more real dignities bear more imposing names.

The title of emperor has ever conveyed the law, not of that royalty before which subjects humble and prostrate themselves, but the great and liberal idea of a first magistrate, governing in the name of the law which citizens feel honour in obeying.

The title of senate indicates also an assembly of chosen magistrates, proved by long labour and venerable for age. The greater the emperor is, the more august ought the senate to be.

His majesty replied in the following terms:—

I ascend the throne to which the unanimous wishes of the senate, the people and the army have called me, with a heart penetrated with the great destinies of that people, whom, from the midst of camps, I first saluted with the name of GREAT. From my youth, my thoughts have been solely fixed upon them, and I must add here, that my pleasures and my pains are derived entirely from the happiness or misery of my people. My descendants shall long preserve this throne; in the camps they will be the first soldiers of the army, sacrificing their lives in the defence of their country. As magistrates, they will never forget that contempt of the laws and the confusion of social order are only the result of the imbecility and unsteadiness of princes. You, senators, whose



whose counsels and support have never failed me in the most difficult circumstances; your spirit will be handed down to your successors. Be ever the props and first counselors of that throne so necessary to the welfare of this vast empire.

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*Allocution delivered by his Holiness the Pope, to a Secret Consistory addressed on the 29th of October 1804, previously to his Departure from Rome on his Journey to France, in Order to assist in the Coronation of the Emperor Napoleon.*

Venerable Brethren;

It was from this place that the concordat was begun by us, his majesty the emperor of the French then first consul; and it is from this place that we have communicated to you that joy with which the God of all comfort has caused our hearts to overflow for the happy change, or conversion to the interest of the catholic religion, which has been produced by that concordat in those vast and populous regions. From that time the holy temples have been again opened and purified from the profanations they had endured: altars were again built, the standard of the health-bearing cross was again raised, the true worship of God restored, the august mysteries of religion freely and publicly celebrated, lawful pastors given to the people who could labour in feeding the flock. The catholic religion itself most happily emerged from that obscurity in which it had been buried, and placed in noon-day splendor in the midst of that renowned nation, so many souls recalled from the paths of error into the bosom of

eternity, and reconciled to themselves and to their God: these considerations united, justly filled our hearts with joy and exultation, which we poured out to the Lord.—That great and wonderful task not only then excited in our minds the most lively gratitude to that powerful prince, who in establishing the concordat, put forth all his power and authority to accomplish it; but the recollection must always incline our mind whenever the opportunity shall offer, to prove that we are still strongly impressed with those feelings towards him.—And now the same most powerful prince, our dearest son in Christ, Napoleon, emperor of the French, who has deserved so well of the catholic religion for what he has done, has signified to us his strong desire to be anointed with the holy unction, and to receive the imperial crown from us, to the end that the solemn rights which are to place him in the highest rank, shall be strongly impressed with the character of religion, and call down more powerfully the benediction of heaven.—A request of this nature not only in itself affords the clearest proof of his religion and filial reverence to his holy see, but it has also been accompanied with the express declarations, by which the emperor has informed us of his constant desire to promote the holy faith, to repair the injuries, for the preventing of which, he has laboured with so much zeal in these flourishing regions. You therefore see, most venerable brothers, what just and momentous causes we have for undertaking this journey: we are moved not only by the interests of our holy religion, but by gratitude to that powerful emperor, who has put forth all his authority



authority to cause the catholic religion to be freely professed,—publicly exercised in France; and who has shewn his mind so anxious for increasing the prosperity of that religion. We have also formed great hope, that having undertaken this journey by his invitation, when we shall speak to him face to face, such things may be effected by his wisdom for the good of the catholic church, which is the only ark of salvation, that we may be able to congratulate ourselves on having perfected the work of our most holy religion. It is not so much on our weak eloquence that we build that hope, as on the grace of him whose unworthy vicegerent we are upon earth, whose grace, when invoked by holy rites, is poured largely into the hearts of princes, who are rightly disposed for receiving the good effects of a sacred ceremony, especially when they are the fathers of their people, solicitous about their eternal salvation, and determined to live and die true sons of the catholic church.—For these causes, venerable brethren, following the example of some of our predecessors, who have, for a certain time, left their own abode to visit distant regions, to promote the interests of religion, and to gratify those princes who have deserved well of the church, we undertake the present journey, although the distance, the unfavourable season of the year, our advanced age, and the infirm state of our health, would have otherwise completely deterred us from such a voyage. But we esteem these considerations as nothing, if God will but grant us the prayers of our heart. Nor have those things which should be before our eyes, at all escaped our mind before we formed our serious reso-

lution; but we have seen and considered every thing; in which consideration many difficulties arose, and our conscience was on some of them doubtful and uncertain: but such answers have been returned, and such declarations made by order of the emperor, that we have been persuaded of the utility of our journey for the good of religion, which is an object. But it is unnecessary to detail in a diffuse harangue, these causes to you, to whom I have already communicated them, and whose opinions (before we undertook a step of such moment) we not only consulted, but to whom, as it was right, we gave the greatest weight.—Not to pass over, however, that which is above all things necessary in important deliberations, well knowing that (according to the saying of Divine Wisdom) the resolutions of mortals are weak and timid, and their foresight doubtful, even of those men who excel most in morals and in piety, and whose speeches rise like incense to the presence of God; we have therefore taken care to put up the most earnest prayers to the Father of all light, that, directed by him, we may do that only which is pleasing in his eyes, and which may end in the prosperity and increase of his church.—God is our witness, before whom we have in all humility poured forth our heart, to whom we have often raised our hands in his holy temple, beseeching him to listen to our prayer and help us, that we have proposed to ourselves nothing else than what ought always to be our object; his glory, the interests of the Catholic religion, the salvation of souls, and the discharge of those apostolic functions which have been entrusted



to us, unworthy as we are. You also are our witnesses, venerable brethren, to whom, as we assisted at your councils, we wished that every thing should be perfectly known and understood, and to whom we have fully communicated the genuine feelings of our heart. Therefore, when so great an object is likely by divine assistance to be completed, acting as a faithful vicergerent of God our Saviour, we have undertaken that journey, to which we have been prompted by such strong reasons. The Father of all Mercies, will, as we hope, bless our footsteps, and shine on this new epoch of religion, with the fullness of increased glory.—After the example of our predecessors, and particularly the recent example of pope Pius VI. of revered memory, who made the same resolution when he set out for Vendosme, we inform you, venerable brethren, that we have disposed and ordered every thing, so as that the curiæ, and the hearing of causes with assistance from this holy seat, shall remain in their present state, until we shall have returned, and, as we have considered in our minds that the necessity of death is imposed upon all, and that the day of our death is uncertain, we have therefore thought it necessary to follow the example of our predecessors, particularly of pope Pius VI. when he set out for Vendosme, by ordering the pontifical comitia to be held, if God shall please to take us away from this world, during our absence from you.—Lastly, we beg and entreat of you always to retain for me the affection you have hitherto shewn for me, and that in our absence you will commend our souls to the all-powerful God, to our Lord

Jesus Christ, to his most glorious Virgin Mother, and to the blessed apostle Peter, that this journey of ours may be fortunate and prosperous, and that it may end happily. Which if we shall, as we hope, be able to obtain from the author of all good, you, venerable brethren, whom we have always called to share with us in our councils, and in all that concerns us, must have a great share in the common joy, and we shall exult and rejoice in the mercy of the Lord.

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*French Annual Exposé at the opening of the Session of the Legislative Body at Paris, the 26th of December, 1804.*

Mr. Champagny. — Gentlemen, In consequence of the nomination, of which information has just been given to you, I am about to have the honour of stating to you the situation of the French empire.—The interior situation of France is at this day what it was in the calmest times; no movement which can alarm the public tranquillity; no crime which belongs to the remembrance of the revolution; every where useful undertakings, every where the improvement of public and private property attest the progress of confidence and of security.—The leaven of opinion no longer sharpens the spirits; the sentiments of the general interest, the principles of social order, better known and more refined, have attached all hearts to the common prosperity. This is what all the administrations proclaim; this is what the emperor has witnessed in all the departments he has travelled through; this is what has been just demonstrated in  
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the most striking manner. All the armies have seen themselves at once separated from their generals, all the military corps from their chiefs; the superior tribunals, deprived of their first magistrates; the public ministry, of its first organs; the churches of their principal pastors; the towns, the countries, simultaneously quitted by every one who has power and influence over men's minds; the people every where abandoned to their genius; and the people have every where shown themselves desirous of order and of the laws.—At the same moment the sovereign pontiff travelled through France. From the banks of the Po to the borders of the Seine, he has every where been the object of a religious homage rendered him by that immense majority, who, faithful to the ancient doctrine, see a common father and the centre of the common belief in him whom all Europe reveres as a sovereign, raised to the throne by his piety and his virtues.—A plot laid by an implacable government, was going to re-plunge France into the abyss of civil wars and of anarchy. At the discovery of that horrible plot, all France was moved; inquietudes, ill laid asleep, were again awakened, and in every mind was at once found anew, principles which have been those of all wise men, and which were constantly ours before error and weakness had alienated men's minds, and guilty intrigues had misled their opinions. The nation had experienced that power divided, was without accord and without strength; it had been made sensible that intrusted for a time, it was only precarious, and permitted neither long labours nor long thoughts; that intrusted for the life of a single man,

it grew weak with him, and left after him only chances of discord and of anarchy; it was convinced in fine that there was safety, for great nations, only in hereditary power; that it alone secured their political life, and embraced in its duration, generations and ages.—The senate was, as it should be, the organ of the common inquietude. Soon burst forth that wish to see the power hereditary which dwelt in all hearts truly French; it was proclaimed by the electoral colleges, by the armies, the council of state, magistrates, the most enlightened men were consulted, and their answer was unanimous.—The necessity of hereditary power in a state so vast as France, had been long since perceived by the first consul. In vain had he resisted the force of principles, in vain had he tried to establish a system of election which might perpetuate public authority, and transmit it without danger and without troubles.—Public inquietudes, the hopes of our enemies, accused his work. His death was to be the ruin of his labours. It was till this term that foreign jealousy, and the spirit of discord and anarchy waited for us. Reason, sentiment, experience dictated equally to all Frenchmen that there was no certain transmission of power but that which was effected without interval, that there was no tranquil succession but that which was regulated by the laws of nature.—When such motives supported such pressing wishes, the determination of the first consul could not be doubtful. He resolved then to accept for himself and for two of his brothers after him, the load which was imposed on him by the necessity of circumstances.—From his meditations ripened by conferences with  
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the members of the senate, by discussions in the councils, by the observations of the wisest men, was formed a series of dispositions which fixes the inheritance of the imperial throne;—which assigns to the princes their rights and their duties;—which promises to the heir of the empire an education regulated by the laws, and such that he will be worthy of his high destinies;—which designates those who, in case of minority, will be called to the regency, and marks the limits of their power;—which places between the throne and the citizens, dignities and offices accessible to all, encouragements and recompences of the public virtues;—which give to men honoured with great distinctions, or invested with great authority, judges sufficiently great to bend neither before their authority, nor before their distinctions;—which gives to crimes against the public safety and the interest of the empire, judges essentially attached to the safety of the empire and to its interests;—which places more lustre and more weight in the functions of the legislator, more development and more extent in the public discussion of the laws;—which recalls the tribunals and their judgments to those ancient denominations which had obtained the respect of ages;—which guarantees in fine the rights of the prince and of the people, by oaths, the eternal guardians of all interest.—These dispositions were decreed by the *senatus consultum* of the 28th of Floreal last: the French people have manifested their free and independent will; they have expressed their wish that the imperial dignity should be hereditary in the direct, legitimate, and adoptive descendants

of Napoleon Buonaparte, in the direct and legitimate descendants of Joseph Buonaparte, in the direct and legitimate descendants of Louis Buonaparte.—At that moment, Napoleon was, by the most just of titles, emperor of the French; no other act was necessary to ascertain his rights and consecrate his authority.—But he wished to restore to France her ancient forms, to recal among us those institutions which the Divinity seems to have inspired, and to impress upon the beginning of his reign the seal of religion itself. To give to the French a striking proof of his paternal tenderness, the chief of the church has been willing to lend his ministry to this august ceremony.—What a deep and lasting impression it has left in the mind of the emperor and in the remembrance of the nation! What conversations for future races! and what a subject of admiration for Europe. Napoleon prostrate at the foot of the altars which he has just raised; the sovereign pontiff imploring upon France and upon him the celestial benedictions, and in his wishes for the felicity of one nation, embracing the felicity of all nations!—Pastors and priests, lately divided, uniting with his supplications their gratitude and their voice!—The senators, the legislators, the tribunes, magistrates, warriors, the administrators of the people and those who preside over their assemblies, confounding together their opinions, their hopes and their wishes; sovereigns, princes, ambassadors, struck with the grand spectacle of France again seated upon her ancient foundations; and, by her repose, securing the repose of their country!—In the midst of this pomp, and under the look of the Eternal, Napoleon



napoleon pronouncing the immutable oath which secures the integrity of the empire, the stability of property, the perpetuity of institutions, the respect for the laws and the happiness of the nation.—The oath of Napoleon will be for ever the terror of the enemies and the buckler of the French. If our frontiers are attacked, it will be repeated at the head of our armies, and our frontiers will no longer dread a foreign invasion.—It will be present to the memory of the delegates of authority, it will remind them of the end of their labours and the rule of their duties; and though it may not guarantee their administration from some errors, it will insure the prompt reparation of them.—A project of a criminal code, finished for these two years past, has been submitted to the censure of the tribunals, and is now undergoing a final discussion in the council of state. The code of procedure and the code of commerce are still in the same state the labours of last year left them in. More urgent cares have called on the emperor, and it is one of his maxims to propose to the deliberations of the legislators, those projects of laws alone which have been ripened by long and wise discussions.—The schools of legislation are about to open; inspectors are nominated who will enlighten public teaching, and prevent its degenerating into vain and sterile proofs; the lyceums, the secondary schools, are filling with youth eager for instruction.—Fontainebleau has already sent forth military men, who are remarked in our armies for their soldierly appearance, their knowledge, and their respect for discipline.—The polytechnic school peoples, with useful

hands, our arsenals, our ports and our workshops.—At Compiègne, the school of arts and trades obtains every day new successes. That which is to be formed upon the borders of la Vendée, is expected there with impatience, and will shortly be in complete activity.—Prizes have been decreed to sciences, to letters and to arts, and in a period of ten years, assigned to labours that his majesty wishes to recompence, he has a right to expect that French genius will bring forth new master-pieces.—In the department of bridges and highways, the works begun have been carried on with constancy, others are in contemplation, and every year prepares for the following years, new schemes for the prosperity of the state. But the intemperance of the seasons had deceived the foresight and the zeal of administration; rains and torrents have injured the roads more rapidly than we have been able to repair them, some labours have been destroyed, others have been for a moment suspended, great calamities have afflicted some departments, particularly that of the Rhine and Moselle. A judicious prefect, interpreter of the intentions of the emperor, has presented the first succour to those unhappy men who have been the victims of it. His majesty has reanimated their courage by his presence, and has consoled them by his benefits.—The scourge of contagion has afflicted some neighbouring countries, the vigilance of administration has preserved our territory from it; it is rapidly diminishing in those places where it exercised its ravages. In maintaining the measures which are still dictated by prudence and regard for the public health, the introduction of



the evil will be prevented, without interrupting the communication necessary for the aliment of our commerce and of our manufactures.—In the centre of La Vendée a new city is building, intended to be the seat of the administration. From thence it will exercise over every point an active and sure superintendence; from thence knowledge and sound principles will be propagated throughout that department in which ignorance and the want of instruction have so frequently delivered over simple and honest minds to the intrigues of malevolence.—Decrees of the emperor have recalled commerce to the left bank of the Rhine, and bestowed, on Mentz and Cologne, all the advantages of real emporiums, without the danger of introducing contraband goods into the interior of France.—Manufactures are improving; and whilst in vain declamations, mercenaries paid by the British government, boast its distant and precarious resources dispersed over the seas and the Indies; whilst they describe our workshops as deserted and our workmen dying with misery, our industry extends its roots over our own soil, repels English industry far from our frontiers, and has succeeded in equalling it, in what formed its glory and its success, the perfection of its machines, and is preparing to dispute with it consumers in every place where it can meet with and reach it.—Our first manufacture, agriculture, has enlarged and become clear—a system of exportation, in such a manner combined, that it shuts and opens according to our wants, assures to the husbandman the price of his labour, and abundance to our markets. New encouragements pre-

pare the improvement of the race of our horses, our wools are meliorated, our fields are covered with cattle, and throughout every part of the empire its true riches multiply.—Aided by riches, renewed security has given a freer scope to active beneficence: excited by religion, and by the recollection of our misfortunes, the latter is not limited to charities of the moment; it embraces the future, and trusts its treasure to government, which guarantees to it an employment conformable to its wishes. Never have so many legacies and pious donations been made in favour of the hospitals, and of the establishments of beneficence. Some of these institutions have been created or re-established by private persons; never has suffering humanity found more friends, nor indigence more succour. They are distributed with as much wisdom as zeal, and the hospitals of Paris directed with an intelligence which multiplies the cares in economising the funds, relieve all wants, cure many evils, and are no more those murderous asylums which devour their numerous and miserable population. The number of the indigent of the capital is accordingly thirty-two thousand below that which it was in 1791, and twenty-five thousand less than that which it was in the year 10.—Religion has resumed its empire; it no longer exercises itself but for the good of humanity; a wise tolerance accompanies it, and the ministers of different forms of worship, who adore the same God, do honour to themselves by testimonies of reciprocal respect, and know no other rivalry than that of virtues.—Such is our position within; without, French courage, seconded by Spanish good faith,



has preserved to us St. Domingo ; Martinique braves the menaces of our enemies, and under a paternal government renders stronger and more durable the ties which attach it to the mother-country.—Guadeloupe has enriched itself with the spoils of British commerce, and Guyana continues to prosper under an active and vigorous administration.—The isles of France and of Re-union would be at the present day the emporium of the riches of Asia ; London would be in convulsions and despair, had not inexperience or weakness baffled a scheme most ably concerted. The isles of France and of Re-union, however, are still enriched with the prizes which we have taken from our enemies.—Our armies are always deserving of their reputation. With the same valour and the same discipline, they have acquired that patience which waits for opportunities without murmuring, and confides in the prudence and designs of the chief who conducts them. Our soldiers, our officers, learn to govern the element which separates them from that island, the grand object of their resentment. Their audacity and their address astonish the oldest and most experienced mariners.—Our fleets, by continual manœuvres, lead the way to combats ; and whilst those of our enemies wear out in striving against winds and tempests, ours learn without destroying themselves to fight against them.—In fine, since by the war we have gained Hanover, we are more in a state than ever to strike decisive blows against our enemies. Our navy is in a better state than it has been for these ten years past ; upon land, our army is more numerous, better disciplined, and better pro-

vided with every thing calculated to ensure victory than it ever was.—In the department of finances, the same activity prevails in the receipts, the same regularity in the management, the same order in the administration of the treasure ; and almost always the same stability in the value of the public debt.—The war in the first instance necessitated extraordinary expences, but the funds for them were expended in our own soil, and have given us vessels, ports, and every thing which is necessary for the developement of our forces against our enemies.—These extraordinary expences have now ceased, and those exacted by our warlike attitude will henceforth be directed by an economy which the urgency of our preparations for attack and defence did not admit of.—The revenues of the crown will support all the expences of the coronation, and those still demanded by the splendour of the throne. The lustre which surrounds it will never be a burden to the nation.—The situation of Europe has experienced but one important change, Spain reposed under a neutrality to which France had consented, and which the British cabinet had acknowledged ; her vessels were suddenly attacked, and the treaty of Amiens was violated with regard to her as it had previously been with regard to France. His catholic majesty has taken the part commanded him by the dignity of his throne, by good faith outraged, and by the honour of a generous people whose destinies he directs.—The emperor of Austria devotes to the restoration of his finances, the prosperity of his provinces, the progress of their commerce, that repose prompted by the frankness of his character



rafter and the interests of his subjects. The Italian republic, administered and governed by the same principles as France, requires, like that power, a definitive organization, which shall insure to the present generation, and to future generations, all the advantages of the social pact. United to this republic by the duties imposed on him, both as president and as founder of that state, the emperor will reply to the confidence it testifies towards him, and insure its destinies and its independence, by serving the interests of the French people, to whom also it owes its existence, and by conciliating the interests of these two friendly nations with the well-understood interests of the neighbouring powers. By the changes called for by the will of a nation and by the interest of all, absurd calumnies will fall to the ground, and France, who has herself erected barriers where she had fixed her limits, will no longer be accused of a wish to overleap them.—Helvetia enjoys in peace the benefits of her constitution, of the wisdom of her citizens, and of our alliance.—Batavia still groans under an oligarchical government, without union in its views, without patriotism and without vigour. Its colonies have been a second time sold and delivered up to England, without firing a gun; but this nation possesses energy, morals, and economy; it wants only a firm, patriotic, and enlightened government.—The king of Prussia has shown himself, upon every occasion, the friend of France, and the emperor has profited of every one which has presented itself, to consolidate this happy harmony.—The electors and all the members of the Germanic

body faithfully maintain the relations of benevolence and friendship which unite it to France.—Denmark follows the counsels of a wise, moderate, and judicious policy.—The spirit of Catherine the great will watch over the councils of Alexander I. he will recollect that the friendship of France is a necessary counterpoise for him in the balance of Europe, that, placed at a distance from her, he can neither preserve nor disturb her repose, and that his great interest is to find in his relations with her, a necessary vent for the productions of his empire.—Turkey is wavering in her politics; she follows, through fear, a system which her interest disavows. May she never learn, at the expence of her own existence, that fear and irresolution accelerate the fall of empires, a thousand times more fatal than the dangers and losses of an unfortunate war.—Whatever may be the movements of England, the destinies of France are fixed: strong in her union, strong in her riches and in the courage of her defenders, she will faithfully cultivate the alliance of her friends, and will not act so as either to deserve enemies nor fear them. When England shall be convinced of the impotence of her efforts to agitate the continent; when she shall know that she has only to lose in a war without end or motives; when she shall be convinced that France will never accept any other conditions than those of Amiens, and will never consent to leave to her the right of breaking treaties at pleasure, by appropriating Malta,—England will then have arrived at pacific sentiments. Hatred and envy have but their day.



*Decree of the Council of State at Vienna. Dated Vienna, 11th Aug. 1804.*

His royal imperial apostolic majesty arrived in this city on the 10th instant, from Baden, to assist at an extraordinary conference of state; at which were present his royal highness the archduke Charles, the archduke palatine of Hungary, the chancellor of Hungary, that of Bohemia and Austria, that of Transilvania, the tavernicus of Hungary, and the president of the chamber of finances and of the bank. In consequence of the supreme determination which has been declared in this council of state, the following patent is published:

*Patent.*—We, Francis II. by the grace of God, elected emperor of the Romans, always august, king of Germany, of Hungary, and Bohemia, of Galicia, Lodomeria, &c. archduke of Austria, duke of Burgundy and Lorraine, grand duke of Tuscany, &c.—Though we have already attained, by the Divine will, and by the choice of the electors of the Roman and Germanic empire, to a dignity which leaves no room to desire any augmentation of titles and consideration; it is however our duty in our quality of chief of the Austrian house and monarchy, to provide for the maintenance and preservation of that equality of hereditary titles and dignities with the first sovereigns and powers of Europe, which belongs to the sovereigns of Austria, both on account of the ancient lustre of their house, and in regard to the extent and population of their estates, comprehending independent kingdoms and principalities, so considerable, and which have been secured to them by possession, agreeably to the right

of nations, and by treaties. To establish, in a durable manner, this perfect equality of rank, we have determined, and think ourselves authorized, after the example which has been given us in the preceding century by the imperial court of Russia, and that which is now given to us by the new sovereign of France, to confer also on the house of Austria, as far as relates to its independent states, the hereditary title of emperor. We have therefore resolved, after mature reflection, solemnly to assume and to establish for us and for our successors, in the unalterable possession of our independent kingdoms and states, the title and dignity of hereditary emperor of Austria (as the denomination of our house), in such a manner that all our kingdoms, principalities, and provinces shall invariably retain the titles, constitutions, prerogatives, and relations which they have hitherto enjoyed.—According to this supreme decision and declaration, we decree and enact: I. That immediately after our title of elected emperor of the Romans, shall be inserted that of hereditary emperor of Austria, after which shall follow our other titles of king of Germany, Bohemia, Hungary, &c.; then those of archduke of Austria, duke of Styria, &c. and those of the other hereditary countries. But as, since our accession to the throne, there have successively taken place in the possessions of our house, several changes which have been confirmed by solemn treaties, we at the same time make known the undermentioned titles, newly regulated according to the present state of things, and our will is that they be introduced and employed in future. II.



The title of imperial prince and of imperial princess, shall be given and conferred with that of archduke and archduchess, as well as of royal highness, to our descendants of both sexes, and to those of our successors in the sovereignty of the house of Austria. III. As all our kingdoms and other possessions must retain, without restriction, their present denominations and relations, this is understood in particular of our kingdom of Hungary, and of the countries which are united to it, and also of such of our hereditary states, as have hitherto been in immediate relation with the Germanic empire, which ought in future to preserve the same relations with it, agreeably to the privileges granted to our house by the emperors our predecessors. IV. We reserve to ourselves the right of determining hereafter the solemnities which shall take place at our coronation, and that of our successors, as hereditary emperor. Those, however, which were practised at our coronation, and at that of our predecessors, as king of Hungary and Bohemia, shall continue to subsist in future without any change. V. This declaration and ordinance shall be published and carried into execution throughout all our hereditary kingdoms and states, without delay and in the accustomed forms. We have no doubt that all our states and subjects will receive with gratitude and patriotic interest this disposition, the object of which is to maintain the consideration of the Austrian monarchy.

*Grand Title.*—We Francis II. by the grace of God, elected emperor of the Romans, always august, hereditary emperor of Austria, king of Germany, Jerusalem, Hungary,

Bohemia, Dalmatia, Croatia, Slavonia, Galicia, Lodomeria; archduke of Austria; duke of Lorraine, Venice, Salzburg, Styria, Carinthia and Carniola; grand duke of Transylvania; margrave of Moravia; duke of Wurtemberg, Upper and Lower Silesia, Parma, Placentia, Guastalla, Auschwitz and Zator, Teschen, Friouli and Zara; prince of Suabia, Eichstadt, Passau, Trent, Brixen, Berchtolsgaden and Lindau; princely count of Hapsbourg, Tyrol, Rybourg, Goricia and Gradiska; margrave of Burgau, Upper and Lower Lusatia; Landgrave of the Brisgau, Ortenau and Nullenbourg; count of Monsfort and Hobenems, of Upper and Lower Hohenberg, Bregentz, Sonnenberg and Rothenfels, Bluemonssel and Holch; lord of the March of Esclavonia, Verona, Vicenza and Padua, &c.

*Mean Title.*—We Francis II. by the grace of God, elected emperor of the Romans, always august, hereditary emperor of Austria; king of Germany, Hungary, Bohemia, Dalmatia, Croatia, Esclavonia, Galitia, Lodomeria, and Jerusalem; archduke of Austria, duke of Lorraine, Venice and Salzburg; grand duke of Transylvania; duke of Styria, Carinthia and Carniola; Wurtemberg, Upper and Lower Silesia; princely count of Hapsburg, Tyrol, &c.

*Small Title.*—Francis II. by the grace of God, elected emperor of the Romans, always august, hereditary emperor of Austria; king of Germany, Hungary, Bohemia, &c. archduke of Austria; duke of Lorraine, Venice, Salzburg, &c.

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*Note presented to the Diet of Ratisbon*



*bon on the twenty-fourth of August, 1804, by the Imperial Envoys, accompanied by the Imperial Patent already published, containing the grand, ordinary, and abridged Titles of his Majesty the Emperor.*

The envoys for the electorate of Bohemia, and the archduchy of Austria, have received from their sovereign, the annexed printed pragmatic ordinance, by which his imperial and royal majesty, as sovereign of the Austrian monarchy, after the example of France, and for the reasons therein contained, has resolved to assume the hereditary imperial title. The undersigned envoys have not delayed to communicate this ordinance to the general diet of the empire, and as his majesty has already addressed letters of notification to his several co-estates, it is not to be doubted that his communication will be received with the most friendly regard. As this new hereditary dignity, according to the express contents of the pragmatic ordinance, will produce no alteration whatever in the relation between the German hereditary states and the Roman empire; the undersigned envoys for the electorate of Bohemia, and archduchy of Austria, have it particularly in charge, explicitly to declare that no change will be hereby produced in any other political relations and connexions, but that his majesty will, with redoubled attention, continue to preserve unimpaired the friendly and benevolent sentiments which he has constantly most assiduously cherished towards all his co-estates of the empire.

Frederic Count de Stadion.

Egid. Joseph Char. de Fahlenberg.

*Note on the Part of the King of Sweden communicated to the Diet; dated August 26th, 1804.*

In consequence of the note given in to the diet of the empire, on the 25th instant, by the envoys for the electorate of Bohemia and archduchy of Austria, relative to the Austrian imperial title, the undersigned envoy from his Swedish majesty finds himself obliged to declare, that his majesty the king of Sweden participates with the most sincere satisfaction in every thing which can tend to promote the interest or gratifications of his imperial house; yet his Swedish majesty, both in quality of guarantee of the constitution of the empire, and in that of a state of the empire, cannot but consider the object of this notice as so inseparably connected with the composition of the German empire, that it is not to be laid before the diet merely as a notification, but as a subject for deliberation; in the discussion of which all the members of the diet may express their opinions as authorised by the constitution.

— Knut Bildt.

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*Note transmitted by Order of his Swedish Majesty to M. Caillard, the French Chargé d'Affaires at Stockholm, Sept. 7, 1804.*

His majesty the king of Sweden has received a report of the improper, the insolent, and the ridiculous observations which Monsieur Napoleon Buonaparte has allowed to be inserted in his *Moniteur* of the 14th of August, under the article Ratisbon. The tone, the style, and



and even the subject of this article are all of so extraordinary a nature, that his majesty has been yet hardly able to comprehend the object of such an act of political extravagance. If it has been done in the hope of misleading the public as to the conduct of his majesty, as it appears from the uncommon pains that are taken to draw a line of separation between his majesty and his subjects, let the world understand, that any instigation to that effect never could have been less likely to succeed than at this moment, or than it always will, with a people whose interests are bound up with those of a sovereign, who has never separated his prosperity from theirs, and who never feels so happy as when he contributes to the glory and to the happiness of his subjects. As his majesty cannot, consistent with his own dignity, or the honour of his crown, permit any official intercourse, after such an insult, he has ordered me, sir, to communicate to you, that from this day all diplomatic intercourse of every kind, both private and public, is immediately to cease between the French legation at Stockholm and his majesty's government. As a sentence in the article above-mentioned seems to imply that the French government is disposed to admit that the continuance of the commercial intercourse between Sweden and France would be attended with some advantages, his majesty, on his part, is willing to permit the same, from those sentiments of esteem which he has always entertained for the French people; sentiments which he has inherited from his ancestors, and which owe their origin to far happier times.

(Signed) T. D. Ehrenheim.

*Order issued by the Court Chancellor at Stockholm on the 7th of September, 1804. Signed by C. B. Zibet and A. D. Hummel.*

His majesty the king has been pleased to inform me, by his gracious letter of the 26th of August, that for a long time the prevalent tone of most French journals and daily papers has been marked by a want of due respect for kings and princes, and for every lawful government; that this insolence, so worthy of chastisement, has continued to increase, and the consequences thereof have lately appeared in one of the newspapers most generally known, which has dared to insert expressions attacking the king's exalted person, and consequently the dignity of the empire; and as this cannot be passed over without animadversion, his majesty has been pleased to order:—I. That from the hour when this notification is made public, the importation into the Swedish empire, and the provinces belonging thereto, of French journals, weekly magazines, and daily papers, is strictly prohibited; and that no exception can be granted or demanded.—II. That all importation of books and writings which may be printed in France in future, is likewise prohibited; those, however, which have already appeared, are not included, provided their contents be not contrary to the regulation of the ordinances still in force; but with respect to French books, which may be published in future, exceptions may be admitted, if an humble request be made for the purpose through the office of the king's court of chancery.—In consequence whereof, I am required to publish this gra-



cious command and ordinance of his majesty the king, that all people may conform themselves thereto.

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*Order issued by the Court of Madrid, dated 27th November, 1804.*

The conduct which the English have observed since the event of the 5th of October is almost insufferable. They attack our ships of war in whatsoever situation they may appear, and detain our commercial vessels, obliging them afterwards to return to the ports from whence they came, so that the object of their voyage is wholly frustrated. These hostile proceedings have constrained his majesty to abandon the pacific sentiments which he has considered heretofore most conducive to the happiness of his beloved subjects; and he is therefore driven to the necessity of procuring satisfaction for these insults, by making reprisals on English property (as is done with respect to Spanish property in England). His majesty, however, requires that the seizures consequent on this arrangement should be proceeded in with such method and regularity, that the effects may be preserved entire, and uninjured, until the further pleasure of his majesty be made known respecting them. The command for this purpose, which this paper conveys, is to be immediately obeyed, under your direction, and you will consider the steps proper to be taken respecting such commercial transactions as are yet in progress, in which such English effects may be concerned.

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*Declaration of War made by Spain*

*against England, dated Madrid, Dec. 12, 1804.*

The peace which Europe beheld with so much delight, re-established at Amiens, has, unfortunately for the welfare of nations, proved but of short duration. The rejoicings with which this happy event was celebrated upon all sides, were scarcely concluded, when the public satisfaction began to be troubled, and the advantage of the peace to disappear. The cabinets of London and Paris held Europe suspended, and agitated between its terrors and its hopes, seeing the event of the negociations every day become more uncertain, until the moment that discord arrived at such an height, as to kindle between them the fire of a war, which must naturally extend itself to other powers; since it was very difficult for Spain and Holland, who had treated jointly with France at Amiens, and whose interests and political relations are so reciprocally connected, to avoid finally taking part in the grievances and offences offered to their ally. In these circumstances, his majesty, supported by the most solid principles of a wise policy, preferred pecuniary subsidies to the contingent of troops and ships with which he was bound to assist France, in virtue of the treaty of alliances in 1796: and as well by means of his minister in London, as of the English agents at Madrid, he gave the British government to understand, in the most positive manner, his decided and firm resolution to remain neutral during the war; making no doubt that he should quickly have the satisfaction of seeing that these ingenuous assurances were well received by the court of London.



London. Nevertheless, that cabinet, which must have resolved in silence before-hand, for its own particular ends, upon the renovation of the war with Spain, and which it was always able to declare, not with the forms and solemnities prescribed by the law of nations, but by means of positive aggressions, which should turn to its own profit, sought the most frivolous pretexts to bring into doubt the conduct of Spain, which was truly neutral, and to give demonstrations at the same time, to the desires of his Britannic majesty, to preserve the peace, all with the intention of gaining time, cajoling the Spanish government, and holding in uncertainty the opinion of the English nation upon its own premeditated and unjust designs, which could in no manner be approved by that nation. Thus it is, that in London it appeared artfully to accept various reclamations from Spanish individuals, which were addressed to it; while its agents in Madrid magnified the pacific intentions of their own sovereign: but they never shewed themselves satisfied with the frankness and friendship with which all their notes were answered, rather anxious for proclaiming and magnifying armaments which had no existence, and pretending, contrary to the most positive protests on the part of Spain, that the pecuniary succours given to France were not merely an equivalent for the troops and ships which were stipulated in the treaty of 1796, but an indefinite and immense stock, which did not permit them to consider Spain in any other light than as a principal party in the war. Moreover, as there was not time entirely to banish the illusion under which they laboured, they exacted,

as the precise conditions upon which they would consider Spain as neutral, the cessation of every armament in her ports, and a prohibition of the sale of prizes brought into them. And, notwithstanding that both of these conditions, although urged in a tone superlatively haughty and unusual in political transactions, were immediately complied with, and religiously observed, they persisted, nevertheless, to manifest their want of confidence, and they quitted Madrid with eagerness, immediately after receiving dispatches from their court, of which they did not communicate a particle of the contents. The context which results from all this between the conduct of the cabinets of London and Madrid, must be sufficient to shew clearly to all Europe, the bad faith and the secret and perverse aims of the English ministry; even if they had not manifested them by the abominable crime of the surprise, battle, and capture of the four Spanish frigates, which, navigating in the full security which peace inspires, were fraudulently attacked in consequence of orders from the English government, signed in the very moment in which it was faithlessly exacting conditions for the prolongation of the peace, in which every possible security was given to it, and in which its own vessels were provided with provisions and refreshments in the ports of Spain. Those very vessels, which were enjoying the most perfect hospitality, and were experiencing the fidelity with which Spain was proving to England the good faith of her engagements, and how firm her resolutions were to maintain her neutrality—those very ships carried, concealed in the bosoms of their commanders,



commanders, the unjust orders of the English cabinet for assaulting Spanish property on the seas—ini-  
 quitous orders, and profusely circu-  
 lated, since all its vessels of war on  
 the seas of America and Europe,  
 were already detaining and carrying  
 into its harbours as many Spanish  
 vessels as they met with, without  
 respecting even the cargoes of grain  
 which were coming from all parts to  
 succour a faithful nation, in a year  
 of the greatest calamity. Barba-  
 rous orders, since they deserve no  
 other name; to sink every Spanish  
 ship under an hundred tons; to  
 burn those which they found on  
 shore on the coast; and to make  
 prize of, and carry to Malta,  
 those only which exceeded an hun-  
 dred tons. The master of a laud,  
 of Valentia, of fifty-four tons, has  
 made this declaration, that he ef-  
 fected his escape in his launch upon  
 the 16th of November, on the  
 coast of Catalonia, when his vessel  
 was sunk by an English vessel,  
 whose captain took from him his  
 papers and his flag; and informed  
 him, that he had received these  
 express instructions from his court.  
 In spite of such atrocious actions,  
 which proved to perfect evidence  
 the covetous and hostile views which  
 the English cabinet had meditated,  
 it was still able to carry on further  
 its perfidious system of blinding the  
 public opinion, alleging, for this  
 purpose, that the Spanish frigates  
 had not been carried into the Eng-  
 lish ports in quality of prizes, but  
 as being detained until Spain should  
 give the desired securities, that she  
 would observe the strictest neutra-  
 lity.—And what greater securities  
 could or ought Spain to give?  
 What civilized nation, until this  
 hour, has made use of means so un-

just and violent, to exact securities  
 of another? Although England  
 should find, at last, any claim to  
 exact from Spain, in what manner  
 could she justify it after a similar  
 atrocity? What satisfaction could  
 she be able to give for the lament-  
 able destruction of the frigate Mer-  
 cedes, with all its cargo, its equi-  
 page, and the great number of dis-  
 tinguished passengers who have pe-  
 rished, the innocent victims of a  
 policy so detestable? Spain could  
 not comply, with what she owes to  
 herself, nor think herself able to  
 maintain her well known honour  
 and dignity amongst the greatest  
 powers of Europe, were she any  
 longer to shew herself insensible to  
 such manifest outrages, and did not  
 take care to revenge them with the  
 nobleness and energy which belong  
 to her character.—Animated with  
 these sentiments, the magnanimous  
 breast of the king, after having ex-  
 hausted (in order to preserve the  
 peace), all the resources compatible  
 with the dignity of his crown, finds  
 himself in the hard predicament of  
 making war upon the king of Eng-  
 land, upon his subjects and people,  
 omitting the formalities of style by  
 a solemn declaration and publica-  
 tion, owing to the English cabinet's  
 having begun and continued to make  
 the war without declaring it.—In  
 consequence, after having given or-  
 ders for an embargo, by way of re-  
 prisal, upon all English property in  
 his dominions, and that the most  
 convenient instructions, both for his  
 own defence, and the offence of the  
 enemy, should be circulated to his  
 viceroys, captains general, and great  
 officers of the marine, his majesty  
 has commanded his minister in Lon-  
 don to retire, with all the Spanish  
 legation; and his majesty does not  
 doubt



doubt, that all his subjects, inflamed with that just indignation with which the violent proceedings of England must inspire them, will not omit any of all those means to which their valour shall prompt them, of co-operating with his majesty towards the most complete vengeance for the insult offered to the Spanish flag. For this purpose he invites them to arm corsairs against Great Britain, and to possess themselves, with resolution, of her ships and property, by every possible means; his majesty promising them the greatest promptitude and celerity in the adjudication of prizes, upon the sole proof of their being English property; and his majesty expressly renouncing, in favour of the captors, whatever part of the value of the prizes he had, upon other occasions, reserved to himself, so that they shall enjoy them in their full value, without the smallest discount.—And finally, his majesty has resolved, that what is contained in the premises, shall be inserted in the public papers, that it may come to the knowledge of all; and also, that it shall be transmitted to the ambassadors and ministers of the king, in foreign courts, in order that all the powers shall be informed of these acts, and take interest in a cause so just; hoping that Divine Providence will bless the Spanish arms, so that they may obtain a just and convenient satisfaction for the injuries they have received.

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*Address of his Excellency the Prince of Peace, Generalissimo of his Catholic Majesty's Forces, to the Fleets, Armies, and People of Spain. Dated Madrid, December 10, 1804.*

The king has condescended to submit to me, as generalissimo of the royal armies, the conduct of the war commenced with Great Britain; and he commands that all the principal officers of his dominions correspond privately with me on the subject, connected with the event. To comply with the terms of the confidence reposed in me, and to fulfil the honourable duties enjoined me in the supreme authority over his gallant troops with which I am invested, it is expedient that I call into activity my loyal zeal in his cause, and adopt the most effectual means to discharge this high and important office.—It is universally known, that when we were in a state of profound peace with England, hostilities were commenced by that country, by the capture of three frigates; one was destroyed in the contest; a regiment of infantry destined for Minorca was made prisoners; many vessels laden with grain were taken; and others under the burthen of 100 tons were destroyed. When were these robberies, these acts of treachery and assassination committed? When our sovereign admitted the ships of that nation to a free and undisturbed commerce, and gave the necessary supplies to the ships of war. What profligacy and degradation in the one; what honour and dignity in the other. On the view of this perfidy, is there a Spaniard whose indignation is not excited? Is there a soldier who will not grasp the weapon of destruction? Brave seamen, 300 of your brethren have had their mangled members scattered to the winds; 1000 are deprived of the light of heaven, in the dungeons of your enemies. Valiant soldiers, an equal number of your companions in



in arms are deprived of the swords they knew how to wield, and are carried to a remote island, where they will either perish with hunger, or be constrained to unite with the ranks of the detested foe. Remember, then, your sacred obligations. Generous Spaniards, a few innocent and defenceless fishermen are reduced to the lowest step of human misery, and their afflicted wives and deserted offspring implore your pity, and demand your protection. In fine, thousands of families, expecting support from the wisdom of the state, in a season of famine, are brutally deprived of the subsistence provided for them, and exclaim, with the voice of thunder—Vengeance! Vengeance! Let us then, my countrymen, obey; the king expects it, and honour and justice require it at our hands. If the English have forgotten that the blood which circulates in the veins of Spaniards is the same which flowed in the breasts of those who triumphed over the Carthaginian, the Roman, the Vandal, and the Saracen, it is time that the recollection should be revived: it is time to convince them that we will preserve the fame of our ancestors unsullied, and shew to them that we will perform our duty to posterity, if it require that our ranks should be thinned to add to the glorious catalogue of Castillian heroism. If these distant islanders have attributed our desire to preserve tranquillity within our borders to lamentable weakness, or to dishonourable fear, let them at least be taught that the latter can never disgrace the bosom of a Spaniard, glowing with all the ardent and liberal impressions peculiar to his country. Quickly will we teach them, that a

loyal, virtuous, and brave people, attached to religion, and enamoured of true glory, can never be insulted with impunity, much less can it endure an instance of sanguinary violence directed against its dignity and independence. If the English, unmindful of the principles of humanity respected among civilized nations, abandoning all shame and remorse, have only sought to obtain possession of our treasures, which we should have peaceably delivered to them, had they been entitled to the property, we will recal to their memory a fact which we trusted had been universally acknowledged—that the abuse of power, the violation of public right, and the mad excesses of despotism, have ever been the awful presage of the fall of empires. Let them hide their dishonoured heads; let them tremble in the contemplation of this ill-gotten wealth; let them shudder before the bloody victims of their aggression; and let an eternal mark of infamy be impressed, and universal detestation be excited for these examples of public atrocity.

Valiant Spaniards! the nobleness of your character no longer admits you to be inactive witnesses of these disgraceful scenes. The love of our king for his people is perfectly known, and leaves no doubt that his numerous vassals will coincide in his wishes, and gratify his expectations. To arms, then, my fellow soldiers and countrymen, and engage in the war in the way most likely to hurl a terrible destruction upon our enemies; but while we spread the terrors of battle, let us not, in imitation of our enemies, desert those general maxims of humanity, which are respected by all regular governments. In order that  
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the chiefs of the state may proceed in this important business with the energy which the occasion requires, and the king commands, I proclaim, in his royal name, that if the success of any enterprise should not be equal to the wisdom by which it is planned, and the gallantry with which it is executed, they will not be considered responsible for the event: but they will be liable to the consequences, if they do not put in activity the full extent of the resources with which they are entrusted. Nations not provided with the means with which we are supplied, and placed in situations much more critical, have known so well how to economise their limited powers, as to make that people which dared to trample on their rights, feel the effects of their resentment. Fan the public ardour into general conflagration; avail yourselves of the magnanimity of a whole country, and prodigies will lose their character, and become familiar. Under the present circumstances, it becomes the governors of the provinces to spread the generous spirit of enthusiasm amongst the troops under their orders; it behoves the venerable dignitaries of the church, and the civil officers in the various political departments, to animate all orders and ranks of men to assert the honour of their king and country, by the powerful influence of example, and by the attractive charms of eloquence. In cases out of the ordinary current of events, it will be expedient to recur to means equal to the occasion; and each province of the empire will, according to its peculiar situation, vary in the efforts it directs to annoy the common enemy. Learn how to blend wisdom with patriotism, and let every com-

mander, and every district, in obedience to him, present before the sovereign and citizens of the state, and before the eyes of all Europe, deeds worthy of the country to which they belong. When any opportunity be afforded of destroying the foe, wait not for orders from a distant officer of government: let not delay diminish the impressions of nascent valour, and let not the natural courage of man be frittered away in the collision of idle formalities. Contemplate contraband commerce as the highest crime; it is conducive only to satisfy the avarice of our enemies; the manufactures they offer you are prepared by the reeking hands of those who are bathed in the blood of your fathers, and your brethren. Impress all around you with a sense of horror, at the practice of this nefarious intercourse; and when it is universally felt, when not a Spaniard will disgrace himself by this pernicious connexion, when Europe shall understand her genuine interests, and every port of the continent shall be closed upon these intruders, then will our vengeance be complete: the insupportable arrogance of the Islanders will be humbled; they will be lost amid the chaos of their own ruins; and they will be recognized only as the violators of public right, and as the tyrants of the ocean.—May the spirit here applauded be that of the whole nation; may we all of us readily sacrifice our private indulgence to the general cause; and if there should be an insulated character among us not animated by this noble disposition, may he catch the flame of patriotism from his associates, and not disgrace the Spanish name by frigidity and indifference. The age and infirmities of



some will not permit them to take a personal part in this glorious enterprise, but they may by their opulence, or by their counsel, conduce to the general design; and this his majesty expects, and I implore of them; and thus, by availing ourselves of every resource with which God and nature have furnished us, the effects of our indignation will be terrible to our enemies. In fine, if any particular member of the state should wish exclusively to undertake some scheme which he thinks likely to annoy the English, and for which he shall require the assistance of government, let him communicate his project to me, and I will provide him with the necessary means, if his purpose should be so well formed as to conduce to the injury of Britain, and the glory of Spain.

(Signed) The Prince of Peace.

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*Note of his Britannic Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, to be laid before the Ministers of the King of Prussia, by the English Minister at that Court. Dated Downing-Street, 5th Nov. 1804.*

His majesty has received the account of an unexampled act of violence committed at Hamburgh against the person of Sir G. Rumbold, his minister at that place, who was forcibly seized in his own house in the night of the 25th of October, by a detachment of French soldiers, and carried off, together with the papers belonging to his mission.—After the repeated proofs which the conduct of the French government has exhibited of an utter contempt and defiance of every obligation of the law of nations, his Britannic

majesty can feel no surprise at the perpetration of even such an outrage as this upon the territory of a weak and defenceless state; but his majesty owes it, not only to himself, and to the respectable and unfortunate city whose rights are most immediately attacked, but to his relations with the rest of Europe, and to the dignity of every power which has still the inclination and the means of preserving its independence, to lose no time in entering his solemn protest against so atrocious an aggression. If any thing could render such a proceeding more insulting and alarming, it would be the explanation which his majesty understands to have been given of it by the French resident at Hamburgh: namely, that it took place in consequence of orders given by the minister of police at Paris to the commander of the French forces in Hanover. His majesty trusts that there will not be found a power upon the continent which can remain insensible to the consequences of a measure, which, in its principle and example, not only menaces every court which may at any time fall within the reach of French arms, but which is subversive at once of the sacred rights of neutral territory, of the accustomed intercourse between independent states, and of the privileges of public ministers, hitherto respected and recognized by every age and by every nation.—His Prussian majesty unquestionably will not only participate in the sentiments which must be common to every sovereign, but the vicinity of his dominions, and his situation, both as a director of the circle of Lower Saxony, and a guarantee of the Germanic constitution, will induce him to feel a deep and pecu-



liar interest in this unparalleled transaction. His majesty cannot therefore allow himself to entertain a moment's doubt, that his Prussian majesty will second and enforce, in the most effectual manner, the representations which have been made by the senate of Hamburgh for the immediate release of his majesty's minister, and will further see the urgent necessity of taking such measures as may be best calculated to obtain from the French government, a public reparation, adequate to the heinous nature of the indignity, and may also prevent, for the future, the repetition of outrages, which threaten to destroy the remaining distinctions of civilized Europe.

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*Resolutions adopted by the House of Assembly of Jamaica, relative to the Governor's Speech at the preceding Prorogation. Dated 12th December, 1804.*

Report made from the committee appointed to take into consideration his honour the lieutenant-governor's speech at the last prorogation, to search into precedents, and to report the same, with their opinion of the measures proper to be adopted by the house in consequence thereof, stating that they had proceeded to take the said speech into their most serious consideration; that, from the period of the revolution, when the rights and privileges of the respective branches of the legislature were more accurately ascertained than in remote and turbulent times, the committee have carefully searched the records of parliament, and can find no instance of a minister having ventured

to suggest to the sovereign a speech animadverting on the proceedings of either house of parliament. The addresses of his present most sacred majesty in particular have ever been most gracious, worthy of the exalted virtue which has endeared him to all his subjects, and dictated by a sacred respect for the principles of freedom, which have been uniformly displayed by the illustrious princes of the house of Brunswick on the British throne: the committee have also searched the journals of this house, and find that, from the year 1679-80, when the political constitution of this island may be considered to have been settled, there have been few attempts to encroach on the liberties of the people, or abridge the privileges of their representatives; and none but what have been vigilantly attended to and firmly resisted by the house of assembly: it is with the deepest regret that the committee feel themselves under the necessity of giving their opinion that the speech referred to their consideration is a breach of the privileges of this house, which, if submitted to, might be drawn into precedent, and lead to the most fatal consequences. It contains not only direct animadversions on the proceedings of the house, but on the particular subject which the commons house of parliament have ever regarded as resting exclusively with them, viz. 'the extent of the supply proper to be granted for the exigencies of the government. The law of parliament on this subject being very clearly laid down in the elegant commentaries of sir William Blackstone, the committee will refer to his authority, and with the greater confidence because on political questions he has

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not been suspected of partiality for the popular branch of the constitution; yet he observes, "If the two houses of parliament, or either of them, had avowedly a right to animadvert on the king, or each other, or the king had a right to animadvert on either of the houses, that branch of the legislature so subject to animadversion would instantly cease to be part of the supreme power, the balance of the constitution would be overturned, and that branch or branches in which this jurisdiction resided would be completely sovereign. The supposition of law therefore is, that neither the king, or either house of parliament collectively taken, is capable of doing any wrong." He adds, that such cases being out of the reach of express legal provision, "if ever they unfortunately happen, the prudence of the times must provide new remedies upon new emergencies." It is the painful duty of the committee, in obedience to the orders of the house, to suggest the proper remedy in the new emergency arising out of this speech: following the precedents established by the wisdom of our ancestors, and uniformly acted upon by the house of assembly, the committee recommend to the house to come to the following resolutions:—

Resolved, That the loyalty and patriotism of his majesty's subjects, the inhabitants of this island, have ever been most conspicuous, and that their representatives could at no time be justly charged with refusing the supplies necessary for the support of government and the defence of the country, from motives of disaffection.

Resolved, That, in the session of 1803, this house granted for the

service of the following year 311040l. That a large proportion of the money voted was for the expence of the army and barrack departments, which were fully provided for to the extent for which the faith of this country is pledged.

Resolved, That nothing but an anxious desire to aid and support the government, to the utmost of our ability, could have induced the house to vote so large a supply in the distressed situation to which our constituents were reduced.

Resolved, That the assumption of any branch of the legislature, of a right to animadvert in any manner upon this house, in the exercise of its rightful powers as a component part of the same legislature, and more especially in matters of supply, is unconstitutional, and, if submitted to, would destroy the independence of this house, and the legislative constitution of the island.

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*Extract of a Letter from Lord Camden, dated 7th June, 1804, to the Lieut.-Governor of Jamaica, and communicated by him to the House of Assembly on the 13th of December, 1804, relative to Preachers in the Island.*

Sir,

I herewith transmit to you an order of his majesty in council, dated the 23rd of April last, disallowing an act passed by the legislature of the island of Jamaica in December 1802, intitled, "An act to prevent preaching by persons not duly qualified by law," and a further order of his majesty in council of the same date, to which is annexed the draft of a bill upon the same subject,



ject, which, in compliance with the directions contained in the said order, I am to desire you will take an early opportunity of proposing to the assembly to be passed into a law.

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*Message relative to Intercourse with America, dated 13th Dec. 1804.*

House resolve, that it appearing, by an order of his majesty's council, dated the 21st of November last, and published in the royal gazette, that his honour be advised to signify to the officers of his majesty's customs in the respective ports of entry and clearance of this island, that from and after the expiration of six months, to be computed from the present date, the resolution of council of the 17th July, 1800, is to be no longer considered in force, and it being evident that the interruption of the intercourse between this island and the united states of America cannot fail to be highly detrimental, the following message be sent to his honour the lieutenant-governor.—

May it please your honour,

We are ordered by the house to wait on your honour, and to request that you will be pleased to lay before the house such papers and documents as may have induced the council to advise your honour to signify to the principal officers of his majesty's customs at the several ports of this island, that from and after the expiration of six months, to be computed from the 21st of November last, the resolution of the board of the 17th July, 1800, is to be no longer considered in force.

*Resolutions approving of the meritorious Conduct of Admiral Sir John Thomas Duckworth. Dated 17th December, 1804.*

Resolution agreed to *nem. con.* that the thanks of this house be presented to vice-admiral sir John Thomas Duckworth, K. B. for the effectual protection afforded to the commerce and coasts of this island, by his able and disinterested distribution of his majesty's naval forces under his command; and that he be requested to accept a sword as a testimony of the high sense entertained by this house of the eminent services he has thereby rendered to the country.—Mr. speaker ordered to transmit to vice-admiral sir John Thomas Duckworth, K. B. a copy of the above resolution.—To direct the receiver-general to remit to Edmund Pusey Lyon, esq. the agent of this island, the sum of 1000 guineas, for the purpose of purchasing a sword, to be presented to vice-admiral sir John Thomas Duckworth, K. B.

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*Resolution relative to the Interference of the Board of Trade, in the internal Concerns of the Colony. Dated 17th December, 1804.*

To send a message to his honour the lieutenant-governor, to acquaint him, that in consequence of his honour's message of the 12th inst. accompanied with a report from the lords of trade and plantations to his majesty, and an order of his majesty in council thereupon, the house have maturely weighed the purport of the proposition recommended to them, to enact into a law the bill framed by that board for the pre-

vention



vention of unlicensed preachers in this island; but are of opinion, that any attempt by that board or of any other to direct or influence the proceedings of this house in matters of internal regulation, by any previous proposition or decision on what is referred to or under their consideration and deliberation, is an interference with the appropriate functions of the house, which it is their bounden duty never to submit to.

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*Copy of Lord Camden's Letter upon the Subject of American Inter-course, upon which the Lieutenant Governor of Jamaica founded his Order of Council of the 21st of November, 1804. Dated 17th December, 1804.*

[Copy.]

Downing-street, 5th Sep. 1804.

Sir,

In consequence of a report of the committee of his majesty's privy council for trade and foreign plantations, I am to instruct you not to open the ports of the island over which you preside, for the admission of articles from the American states, which are not allowed to be imported by law (except in cases of real and very great necessity), and not to fail to apprise me, in every instance wherein you shall so do, and to state at the same time the reason which induced you to adopt the measure, taking care also, in every proclamation which shall be issued for this purpose, to insert conditions which shall prevent importations being made from the states of America on more favourable terms, as to duties on entry, than on similar importations from

the British colonies in North America, where any such duties are due and payable.

I have the honour to be, Sir,  
your most obedient

humble servant,  
Camden.

*Lieut.-Governor Nugent, &c. &c.*

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*Address of the Assembly of Jamaica to his Majesty, upon the Subject of the Prohibition of the Inter-course with America. Dated 18th December, 1804.*

To the king's most excellent majesty. The humble address of the assembly of Jamaica.

Most gracious sovereign,

We your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the assembly of Jamaica, most humbly beg leave to submit to your majesty's consideration the very serious and alarming evils which threaten this colony, from a resolution of council, dated 21st November, 1804, announcing a termination after six months from that date, of the intercourse which has been permitted, in times of war, betwixt America and this island.—The ruinous and fatal consequence inseparable from such a measure, we have deprecated in an humble address to his honour the lieutenant governor, to which we have been impelled by existing facts and the most urgent and imperious necessity, which a continuance of the reciprocal interest of the parent state and this island, and of the very existence of the latter, could dictate. We have, however, the mortification to state to your majesty, that our application has been refused; and, as his honour's answer to our address informs us, in obedience to the imper-  
rative



relative orders transmitted from England by your majesty's ministers. Conscious that the wisdom of your majesty's council never direct and persist in orders inconsistent with both general and individual welfare, suffer us, most gracious and beneficent sire, with the utmost humility, and with hearts replete with gratitude, loyalty, and affection, for the many inestimable blessings we have ever experienced under your majesty's most auspicious reign, to represent to your majesty, that in times of war, we cannot, without a permission of this intercourse with the American states, procure the articles of lumber necessary for carrying on the business of our plantations, and for packages to convey the various produce of the colony to the markets of Great Britain and Ireland, nor the provisions wanted for our own subsistence, but more especially so for that of our negroes, besides the accommodation which your majesty's forces on this station, both by sea and land, derive from thence; that the British North American colonies cannot furnish these supplies; and that in time of war, British vessels and British seamen cannot be procured to carry on this trade. Permit us, august sire, while we presume to lay before you these our most humble and earnest solicitations for the continuance of this intercourse, to express our fullest confidence that it only requires to make known to your majesty the grievances of your faithful and loyal subjects, however distant from the seat of empire, when your royal and paternal regard will direct the proper relief.

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*Prorogation of the Assembly, 18th  
December, 1804.*

Gentlemen of the council, Mr. Speaker, and gentlemen of the assembly,—Having passed the bills which have been presented to me, I grant you the recess which the season of the year requires. Mr. Speaker and gentlemen of the assembly,—I return you my thanks for your dispatch in the public business. Gentlemen of the council, Mr. Speaker, and gentlemen of the assembly,—I have very great satisfaction in acquainting you that the fortifications of this island are about to be put in the best state of defence, and I have only to recommend to you that vigilance and attention in your respective parishes, both in your military and civil capacities, so requisite at all times for the security and tranquillity of the island, but most particularly so at a period when, in the event of a war with Spain, the situation of this colony may be rendered much more critical than on former occasions. I do now, in his majesty's name, prorogue this general assembly until Tuesday the 29th January next, and it is hereby prorogued accordingly.

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*Message delivered by the President  
of the United States of America  
to both Houses of Congress.—  
November 8, 1804.*

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States.

To a people, fellow-citizens, who sincerely desire the happiness and prosperity of other nations, to those who justly calculate that their own well being is advanced by other nations, with which they have intercourse, it will be a satisfaction to observe, that the war, which was lighted up in Europe a little before our last meeting,



meeting, has not yet extended its flames to other nations, nor been marked by the calamities which sometimes stain the footsteps of war. The irregularities, too, on the ocean, which generally harrass the commerce of neutral nations, have, in distant parts, disturbed ours less than on former occasions. But in the American seas they have been greater, from peculiar causes, and even within our harbours and jurisdiction, infringements upon the authority of the laws have been committed, which have called for serious attention. The friendly conduct of the governments from whose officers and subjects these acts have proceeded, in other respects, and in places more under their observation and control, gives us confidence that our representations on this subject will have been properly regarded. While noticing the irregularities committed on the ocean by others, those on our own part should not be omitted, nor left unprovided for. Complaints have been received that persons residing within the united states, have taken upon themselves to arm merchant vessels, and to force a commerce into certain ports and countries, in defiance of the laws of those countries. That individuals should undertake to wage private war, independently of the authority of their country, cannot be permitted in a well ordered society. Its tendency to produce aggression on the laws and rights of other nations, and to endanger the peace of our own, is so obvious, that I doubt not you will adopt measures for restraining it in future. Soon after the passing of the act of last session, authorising the establishment of a district and port of entry on the waters of the Mobile,

we learnt that its object was misunderstood on the part of Spain. Candid explanations were immediately given, and assurances that, reserving our claims in that quarter as a subject of discussion and arrangement with Spain, no act was meditated in the mean time inconsistent with the peace and friendship existing between the two nations; and that, conformably to those intentions would be the execution of the law. That government had, however, thought proper to suspend the ratification of the convention of 1802; but the explanations which would reach them soon after, and still more the confirmation of them by the tenor of the instrument, establishing the port and district, may reasonably be expected to replace them in the disposition and views of the whole subject which originally dictated the convention. I have the satisfaction to inform you, that the objections which had been urged by that government against the validity of our title to the country of Louisiana, have been withdrawn: its exact limits, however, remaining still to be settled between us. And to this is to be added, that having prepared and delivered the stock created in execution of the convention of Paris of April the 30th, 1803, in consideration of the cession of that country, we have received from the government of France an acknowledgment in due form of the fulfilment of that stipulation.—With the nations of Europe in general our friendship and intercourse are undisturbed; and from the governments of the belligerent powers especially, we continue to receive those friendly manifestations which are justly due to an honest neutrality, and to such good



offices consistent with that as we have opportunities of rendering.—The activity and success of the small force employed in the Mediterranean in the early part of the present year, the reinforcements sent into that sea, and the energy of the officers having command in the several vessels, will, I trust, by the sufferings of war, reduce the barbarians of Tripoli to the desire of peace, on proper terms. Great injury, however, ensues to ourselves, as well as to others interested, from the distance to which the prizes must be brought for adjudication, and from the impracticability of bringing hither such as are not sea-worthy. The bey of Tunis having made requisitions unauthorised by our treaty, their rejection has produced from him some expressions of discontent. But to those who expect us to calculate whether a compliance with unjust demands will not cost us less than a war, we must leave as a question of calculation for them also, whether to retire from unjust demands will not cost them less than a war. We can do to each other very sensible injuries by war. But the mutual advantages of peace make that the best interest of both. Peace and intercourse with the other powers on the same coast continue on the footing on which they are established by treaty. In pursuance of the act, providing for the temporary government of Louisiana, the necessary officers for the territory of Orleans, were appointed in due time to commence the exercise of their functions on the 1st day of October. The distance, however, of some of them, and indispensable previous arrangements, may have retarded its commencement in some

of its parts. The form of government thus provided, having been considered but as temporary, and open to such future improvements, as further information of the circumstances of our brethren there might suggest, it will of course be subject to fair consideration. In the district of Louisiana it has been thought best to adopt the division into subordinate districts which had been established under its former government. These being five in number, a commanding officer has been appointed to each, according to the provisions of the law; and so soon as they can be at their stations, that district will also be in its due state of organization. In the mean time, their places are supplied by officers before commanding there, and the functions of the governor and judges of Indiana having commenced, the government, we presume, is proceeding in its new form. The lead mines in that district offer so rich a supply of that metal as to merit attention. The report now committed will inform you of their state, and of the necessity of immediate inquiry into their occupation and titles. With the Indian tribes established within our newly-acquired limits, I have deemed it necessary to open conferences for the purpose of establishing a good understanding and neighbourly relations between us. So far as we have yet learned, we have reason to believe that their dispositions are generally favourable and friendly. And with these dispositions on their part, we have in our hands means which cannot fail for preserving their peace and friendship. Instead of an augmentation of military force, proportioned to an augmentation of frontier, I propose a moderate enlargement



largement of the capital employed in that commerce, as a more effectual, economical, and humane instrument for preserving peace and good neighbourhood with them.— On this side the Mississippi, an important relinquishment of native title has been received from the Delawares, that tribe desiring to extinguish the spirit of hunting, and to convert superfluous lands into the means of improving what they retain, has ceded to us all the country between the Wabash and the Ohio, south of, and including the road from the Rapids towards Vincennes, for which they are to receive annuities in animals and implements of agriculture. The Pinkeshaws having some claim to the country ceded by the Delawares, it has been thought better to quiet that claim by fair purchase also. So soon as the treaties on this subject shall have received their constitutional sanctions, they shall be laid before both houses. The act of Congress of February 28, 1803, for building and employing a number of gun-boats is now in a course of execution to the extent there provided, for the obstacle to naval enterprise, which vessels of this construction offer to our sea-port towns, their utility towards supporting, within our waters, the authority of the law, the promptness with which they will be manned by the seamen and militia of the place, in the moment they are wanting, the facility of their assembling, from different parts of the coast, to any point where they are required in greater force than ordinary, the economy of their maintenance, and preservation from decay, when not in actual service, and of the competence of our finances to this defensive provi-

sion, without any new burthen, are considerations which will have due weight with congress in deciding on the expediency of adding to their number from year to year, as experience will test their utility, until all our important harbours, by these and auxiliary means, shall be secured against insult and opposition to the laws. No circumstance has arisen since your last session, which calls for any augmentation of our militia force. Should any improvement occur in the militia system, that will be always seasonable.— Accounts of the receipts and expenditure of the last year, with estimates for the ensuing one, will be, as usual, laid before you. The state of our finances continue to fulfil our expectations: eleven millions and a half of dollars received in the course of last year, ending the 30th of September last, have enabled us, after meeting all the ordinary expences of the year, to pay upwards of 3,600,000 dollars of the debt incurred, exclusive of interest. This payment, with those of the two preceding years, has extinguished upwards of twelve millions of principal. But in the discharge of the great duties confided to you by our country, you will take a broader view of the field of legislation. Whether the great interests of agriculture, manufactures, commerce, navigation, can, within the pale of your constitutional powers, be aided in any of their relations; whether laws are provided in all cases where they are wanting; whether any abuses take place in their administration, or to that of the public revenues? Whether the organization of the public agents, or of the public force, is perfect in all its parts? In fine, whether any thing



can be done to advance the general good? Are questions within the limits of your functions, which will necessarily occupy your attention. In these and all other matters which you, in your wisdom, may propose for the good of our country, you may count with assurance on my hearty co-operation and faithful execution.

Thomas Jefferson.

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*Proclamation by Dessalines, as Governor-General of the Island, dated at the Cape, April 28, 1804; first Year of Independence.*

Crimes, the most atrocious, such as were until then unheard of, and would cause nature to shudder, have been perpetrated. The measure was overheaped. At length the hour of vengeance has arrived, and the implacable enemies of the rights of man have suffered the punishment due to their crimes. My arm, raised over their heads, has too long delayed to strike. At that signal, which the justice of God has urged, your hands, righteously armed, have brought the axe upon the ancient tree of slavery and prejudices. In vain had time, and more especially the infernal politics of Europeans, surrounded it with triple brass; you have stripped it of its armour; you have placed it upon your heart, that you may become (like your natural enemies) cruel and merciless. Like an overflowing mighty torrent, that tears down all opposition, your vengeful fury has carried away every thing in its impetuous course. Thus perish all tyrants over innocence, all oppressors of mankind!—What then? Bent for many ages under an iron yoke:

the sport of the passions of men, or their injustice, and of the caprices of fortune; mutilated victims of the cupidity of white Frenchmen; after having fattened with our toils these insatiate blood-suckers, with a patience and resignation unexampled, we should again have seen that sacrilegious horde making an attempt upon our destruction, without any distinction of sex or age; and we, men without energy, of no virtue, of no delicate sensibility, should not we have plunged in their breast the dagger of desperation? Where is that vile Haytian, so unworthy of his regeneration, who thinks he has not accomplished the decrees of the Eternal, by exterminating these blood-thirsty tygers? If there be one, let him fly; indignant nature discards him from our bosom; let him hide his shame far from hence: the air we breathe is not suited to his gross organs: it is the pure air of liberty, august and triumphant.—Yes, we have rendered to these true cannibals war for war, crime for crime, outrage for outrage: yes, I have saved my country; I have avenged America. The avowal I make of it, in the face of earth and heaven, constitutes my pride and my glory. Of what consequence to me is the opinion which contemporary and future generations will pronounce upon my conduct? I have performed my duty; I enjoy my own approbation; for me that is sufficient. But what do I say? The preservation of my unfortunate brothers, the testimony of my own conscience, are not my only recompence: I have seen two classes of men, born to cherish, assist, and succour one another—mixed in a world, and blended together—crying for vengeance, and disputing



disputing the honour of the first blow.—Blacks and yellows, whom the refined duplicity of Europeans has for a long time endeavoured to divide; you, who are now consolidated, and make but one family; without doubt it was necessary that our perfect reconciliation should be sealed with the blood of your butchers. Similar calamities have hung over your proscribed heads; a similar ardour to strike your enemies has signalised you: the like fate is reserved for you: and the like interests must therefore render you for ever one, indivisible and inseparable. Maintain that precious concord, that happy harmony amongst yourselves: it is the pledge of your happiness, your salvation, and your success: it is the secret of being invincible. Is it necessary, in order to strengthen these ties, to recall to your remembrance the catalogue of atrocities committed against our species; the massacre of the entire population of this island, meditated in the silence and *sang-froid* of the cabinet; the execution of that abominable project, to me unblushingly proposed, and already begun by the French, with the calmness and serenity of a countenance accustomed to similar crimes. Guadaloupe, pillaged and destroyed; its ruins still reeking with the blood of the children, women, and old men put to the sword; Pelage (himself the victim of their craftiness), after having basely betrayed his country and his brothers; the brave and immortal Delgresse, blown into the air with the fort which he defended, rather than accept their offered chains. Magnanimous warrior! that noble death, far from enfeebling our courage, serves only to rouse within us the determination of

avenging or of following thee. Shall I again recall to your memory the plots lately framed at Jeremie? the terrible explosion which was to be the result, notwithstanding the generous pardon granted to these incorrigible beings at the expulsion of the French army? The deplorable fate of our departed brothers in Europe? and (dread harbinger of death) the frightful despotism exercised at Martinique? Unfortunate people of Martinique, could I but fly to your assistance, and break your fetters! Alas! an insurmountable barrier separates us. Perhaps a spark from the same fire which enflames us, will alight into your bosoms: perhaps, at the sound of this commotion, suddenly awakened from your lethargy, with arms in your hands, you will reclaim your sacred and imprescriptible rights.—After the terrible example which I have just given, that, sooner or later, Divine justice will unchain on earth some mighty minds, above the weakness of the vulgar, for the destruction and terror of the wicked; tremble, tyrants, usurpers, scourges of the new world! our daggers are sharpened; your punishment is ready! sixty thousand men, equipped, inured to war, obedient to my orders, burn to offer a new sacrifice to the names of their assassinated brothers. Let that nation come, who may be mad and daring enough to attack me.

Already at its approach, the irritated genius of Hayti, arising out of the bosom of the ocean, appears; his menacing aspect throws the waves into commotion, excites tempests, and with his mighty hand disperses ships, or dashes them in pieces; to his formidable voice the laws of nature pay obedience; diseases,



eases, plague, famine, conflagration, poison, are his constant attendants. But why calculate on the assistance of the climate and of the elements? Have I forgot that I commanded a people of no common cast, brought up in adversity, whose audacious daring frowns at obstacles and increases by dangers? Let them come, then, these homicidal cohorts! I wait for them with firmness and with a steady eye. I abandon to them freely the sea shore, and the places where cities have existed; but woe to those who may approach too near the mountains! It were better for them that the sea received them into its profound abyss, than to be devoured by the anger of the children of Hayti.—“War to death to tyrants!” this is my motto! “liberty! independence!” this is our rallying cry.—Generals, officers, soldiers, a little unlike him who has preceded me, the ex-general Toussaint Louverture, I have been faithful to the promise which I made to you when I took up arms against tyranny, and whilst the last spark of life remains in me I shall keep my oath—“Never again shall a colonist or an European set his foot upon this territory with the title of master or proprietor.” This resolution shall henceforward form the fundamental basis of our constitution.—Should other chiefs, after me, by pursuing a conduct diametrically opposite to mine, dig their own graves and those of their own species, you will have to accuse only the laws of destiny, which shall have taken me away from the happiness and welfare of my fellow citizens. May my successors follow the path I shall have traced out for them! It is the system best adapted for consolidating their pow-

er; it is the highest homage they can render to my memory.—As it is derogatory to my character and my dignity to punish the innocent for the crimes of the guilty, a handful of whites, commendable by the religion they have always professed, and who have besides taken the oath to live with us in the woods, have experienced my clemency. I order that the sword respect them, and that they be unmolested.—I recommend anew and order to all the generals of departments, &c. to grant succours, encouragement, and protection to all neutral and friendly nations, who may wish to establish commercial relations in this island.

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*Proclamation by Dessalines, dated at the Cape, May 8, 1804; first Year of Independence.*

Scarce had the French army been expelled, when you hastened to acknowledge my authority: by a free and spontaneous movement of your heart, you ranged yourselves under my subjection. More careful of the prosperity than the ruin of that part which you inhabit, I gave to this homage a favourable reception. From that moment I have considered you as my children, and my fidelity to you remains undiminished. As a proof of my paternal solicitude, within the places which have submitted to my power, I have proposed for chiefs none but men chosen from amongst yourselves. Jealous of counting you in the rank of my friends, that I might give you all the time necessary for recollection, and that I might assure myself of your fidelity, I have hitherto restrained the burning ardour of my soldiers.



soldiers. Already I congratulated myself on the success of my solicitude, which had for its object to prevent the effusion of blood; but at this time a fanatic priest had not kindled in your breasts the rage which predominates therein: the incensed Ferrand had not yet instilled into you the poison of falsehood and calumny. Writings, originating in despair and weakness, have been circulated; and immediately some amongst you, seduced by perfidious insinuations, solicited the friendship and protection of the French; they dared to outrage my kindness, by coalescing with my cruel enemies. Spaniards, reflect! On the brink of the precipice which is dug under your feet, will that diabolical minister save you, when with fire and sword I shall have pursued you to your last entrenchments? Ah! without doubt, his prayers, his grimaces, his relics, would be no impediment to my career. Vain as powerless, can he preserve you from my just anger, after I shall have buried him, and the collection of brigands he commands, under the ruins of your capital! Let them both recollect that it is before my intrepid phalanxes that all the resources and the skill of Europeans have proved ineffectual: and that into my victorious bonds the destiny of the captain-general Rochambeau has been surrendered. To lure the Spaniards to their party, they propagate the report that vessels laden with troops have arrived at Santo Domingo. Why is it not the truth? They little imagine that, in delaying to attack them until this time, my principal object has been to suffer them to increase the mass of our resources, and the number of our

victims. To spread distrust and terror, they incessantly dwell upon the fate which the French have just experienced: but have I had reason to treat them so? The wrongs of the French, do they appertain to Spaniards? and must I visit on the latter the crimes which the former have conceived, ordered and executed upon our species? They have the effrontery to say, that, reduced to seek safety in flight, I am gone to conceal my defeat in the southern part of the island. Well then! Let them learn that I am ready; that the thunderbolt is going to fall on their heads. Let them know that my soldiers are impatiently waiting for the signal to go and re-conquer the boundaries which nature and the elements have assigned to us. A few moments more, and I shall crush the remnant of the French under the weight of mighty power. Spaniards! you, to whom I address myself, solely because I wish to save you; you who, for having been guilty of evasion, shall speedily preserve your existence only so far as my clemency may deign to spare you; it is yet time; abjure an error which may be fatal to you; and break off all connections with my enemy, if you wish your blood may not be confounded with his. Name to me, without delay, that part of your territory on which my first blow is to be struck, or inform me whether I must strike on all points without discrimination. I give you fifteen days, from the date of this notification, to forward your last intentions, and to rally under my banners. You are not ignorant that all the roads of St. Domingo in every direction are familiar to us; that more than once we have seen your dispersed bands fly before us.

In



In a word, you know what I can do, and what I dare ; think of your preservation. Receive here the sacred promise which I make, not to do any thing against your personal

safety or your interest, if you seize upon this occasion to show yourselves worthy of being admitted among the children of Hayti.

CHARACTERS.



# CHARACTERS.

*Account of the late Sir William Jones, &c. &c. &c. From his Memoirs by Lord Teignmouth.*

**H**IS father was the celebrated philosopher and mathematician, who so eminently distinguished himself in the commencement of the last century; and a short, but more accurate sketch of his life than has hitherto appeared, may be acceptable to the lovers of science.

Mr. William Jones was born in the year 1680, in Anglesea; his parents were yeomen or little farmers on that island, and he there received the best education they were able to afford; but the industrious exertion of vigorous intellectual powers supplied the defects of inadequate instruction, and laid the foundation of his future fame and fortune. From his earliest years Mr. Jones discovered a propensity to mathematical studies, and having cultivated them with assiduity, he began his career in life by teaching mathematics on board a man of war; and in this situation he attracted the notice, and obtained the friendship of lord Anson. He afterwards established himself as a teacher of mathematics in London, where, at the age of twenty-six, he published his *Synopsis Palmariorum Matheseos*, a decisive proof of his early and

consummate proficiency in his favourite science.

The private character of Mr. Jones was respectable; his manners were agreeable and inviting; and these qualities not only contributed to enlarge the circle of his friends, whom his established reputation for science had attracted, but also to secure their attachment to him.

Among others who honoured him with their esteem, I am authorized to mention the great and virtuous lord Hardwicke. He was also introduced to the friendship of lord Parker, (afterwards president of the royal society), which terminated only with his life; and amongst other distinguished characters in the annals of science and literature, the names of sir Isaac Newton, Halley, Mead, and Samuel Johnson, may be enumerated as the intimate friends of Mr. Jones.

After the retirement of Lord Macclesfield to Sherborne Castle, Mr. Jones resided with his lordship as a member of his family, and instructed them in the sciences. In this situation he had the misfortune to lose the greatest part of his property, the accumulation of industry and economy, by the failure of a banker; but the friendship of lord Macclesfield diminished the weight of the loss, by procuring for him a sine-  
cure



cure place of considerable emolument.

In this retreat he became acquainted with Miss Mary Nix, the youngest daughter of George Nix, a cabinet-maker of London, who, although of low extraction, had raised himself to eminence in his profession; and, from the honest and pleasant frankness of his conversation, was admitted to the tables of the great, and to the intimacy of Lord Macclesfield. The acquaintance of Mr. Jones with Miss Nix terminated in marriage, and from this union sprang three children; the last of whom, the late Sir William Jones, was born in London, on the eve of the festival of St. Michael in the year 1746: the first son, George, died in his infancy; and the second child, a daughter, Mary, who was born in 1736, married Mr. Rainsford, a merchant retired from business in opulent circumstances. This lady perished miserably, in the year 1802, in consequence of an accident from her clothes catching fire.

Mr. Jones survived the birth of his son William but three years: he was attacked with a disorder, which the sagacity of Dr. Mead, who attended him with the anxiety of an affectionate friend, immediately discovered to be a polypus in the heart, and wholly incurable. He died soon after, in July 1749, leaving behind him a great reputation, and moderate property.

The care of the education of William now devolved upon his mother, who, in many respects, was eminently qualified for the task. Her character, as delineated by her husband, with somewhat of mathematical precision, is this:—"that she was virtuous without blemish, gene-

rous without extravagance, frugal but not niggard, cheerful but not giddy, close but not sullen, ingenious but not conceited, of spirit but not passionate, of her company cautious, in her friendship trusty, to her parents dutiful, and to her husband ever faithful, loving, and obedient." She had, by nature, a strong understanding, which was improved by his conversation and instruction. Under his tuition she became a considerable proficient in algebra; and, with a view to qualify herself for the office of preceptor to her sister's son, who was destined to a maritime profession, made herself perfect in trigonometry, and the theory of navigation.

In the plan adopted by Mrs. Jones for the instruction of her son, she proposed to reject the severity of discipline, and to lead his mind, insensibly, to knowledge and exertion, by exciting his curiosity, and directing it to useful objects. To his incessant importunities for information on casual topics of conversation, which she watchfully stimulated, she constantly replied, *read, and you will know*; a maxim, to the observance of which he always acknowledged himself indebted for his future attainments. By this method, his desire to learn became as eager as her wish to teach; and such was her talent of instruction, and his facility of retaining it, that in his fourth year he was able to read, distinctly and rapidly, any English book. She particularly attended, at the same time to the cultivation of his memory, by making him learn and repeat some of the popular speeches in Shakespeare, and the best of Gay's Fables.

In this year of his life, Jones providentially escaped from two accidents,



cidents, one of which had nearly proved fatal to his sight, the other to his life. Being left alone in a room, in attempting to scrape some soot from a chimney, he fell into the fire, and his clothes were instantly in flames: his cries brought the servants to his assistance, and he was preserved with some difficulty; but his face, neck, and arms were much burnt. A short time afterwards, when his attendants were putting on his clothes, which were imprudently fastened with hooks; he struggled, either in play or in some childish pet, and a hook was fixed in his right eye. By due care, under the directions of Dr. Mead, whose friendship with his family continued unabated after his father's death, the wound was healed; but the eye was so much weakened, that the sight of it ever remained imperfect.

His propensity to reading, which had begun to display itself, was, for a time, checked by these accidents; but the habit was acquired, and, after his recovery, he indulged it without restraint, by perusing eagerly any books that came in his way, and with an attention proportioned to his ability to comprehend them. In his fifth year, as he was one morning turning over the leaves of a Bible, in his mother's closet, his attention was forcibly arrested by the sublime description of the angel in the tenth chapter of the Apocalypse; and the impression which his imagination received from it was never effaced. At a period of mature judgment, he considered the passage as equal in sublimity to any in the inspired writers, and far superior to any that could be produced from mere human compositions; and he was fond of retracing and mentioning

the rapture which he felt when he first read it. In his sixth year, by the assistance of a friend, he was initiated in the rudiments of the Latin grammar, and he committed some passages of it to memory; but the dull elements of a new language, having nothing to captivate his childish attention, he made little progress in it; nor was he encouraged to perseverance by his mother, who, intending him for a public education, was unwilling to perplex his mind with the study of a dead language, before he had acquired a competent knowledge of his native tongue.

At Michaelmas, 1753, in the close of his seventh year, he was placed at Harrow school, of which the worthy and amiable Dr. Thackeray was then head master. The amusements and occupations of a school-boy are of little importance to the public; yet it cannot be uninteresting or unimportant to trace the progress of a youth of genius or abilities, from his earliest efforts to that proficiency in universal literature which he afterwards attained. During the two first years of his residence at Harrow, he was rather remarked for diligence and application than for the superiority of his talents, or the extent of his acquisitions; and his attention was almost equally divided between his books and a little garden, the cultivation and embellishment of which occupied all his leisure hours. His faculties, however, necessarily gained strength by exercise; and, during his school vacations, the sedulity of a fond parent was, without intermission, exerted to improve his knowledge of his own language. She also taught him the rudiments of drawing, in which she excelled.



In his ninth year he had the misfortune to break his thigh-bone in a scramble with his school-fellows, and this accident detained him from school twelve months. After his relief from pain, however, the period of his confinement was not suffered to pass in indolence; his mother was his constant companion, and amused him daily with the perusal of such English books as she deemed adapted to his taste and capacity. The juvenile poems of Pope, and Dryden's translation of the *Æneid* afforded him incessant delight, and excited his poetical talents, which displayed themselves in the compilation of verses in imitation of his favourite authors. But his progress in classical learning, during this interval, was altogether suspended; for, although he might have availed himself of the proffered instruction of a friend, in whose house he resided, to acquire the rudiments of Latin, he was then so unable to comprehend its utility, and had so little relish for it, that he was left unrestrained to pursue his juvenile occupations and amusements; and the little which he had gained in his first two years was nearly lost in the third.

On his return to school he was, however, placed in the same class which he would have attained if the progress of his studies had not been interrupted. He was, of course, far behind his fellow-labourers of the same standing, who erroneously ascribed his insufficiency to laziness or dullness; while the master, who had raised him to a situation above his powers, required exertions of which he was incapable; and corporal punishment and degradation were applied for the non-performance of tasks which he had

never been instructed to furnish. But, in truth, he far excelled his school-fellows in general, both in diligence and quickness of apprehension; nor was he of a temper to submit to imputations which he knew to be unmerited. Punishment failed to produce the intended effect; but his emulation was roused. He devoted himself incessantly to the perusal of various elementary treatises, which had never been explained, nor even recommended to him; and, having thus acquired principles, he applied them with such skill and success, that in a few months he not only recovered the station from which he had been degraded, but was at the head of his class: his compositions were correct, his analyses accurate, and he uniformly gained every prize offered for the best exercise. He voluntarily extended his studies beyond the prescribed limits, and by solitary labour, having acquired a competent knowledge of the rules of prosody, he composed verses in imitation of Ovid, a task which had never been required from any of the students in the lower school at Harrow.

In his twelfth year Jones was removed into the upper school. Of the retentive powers of his memory, at this period, the following anecdote is a remarkable instance: his school-fellows proposed to amuse themselves with the representation of a play; and at his recommendation they fixed upon the *Tempest*: as it was not readily to be procured, he wrote it for them so correctly from memory, that they acted it with great satisfaction to themselves, and with considerable entertainment to the spectators. He performed the character of Prospero.

His diligence increased with his advancement



advancement in the schools; he now entered upon the study of the Greek tongue, the characters of which he had already learned for his amusement. His genius and assiduity were also displayed in various compositions, not required by the discipline of the school. He translated into English verse several of the epistles of Ovid, all the pastorals of Virgil, and composed a dramatic piece on the story of Meleager, which he denominated a tragedy; and it was acted, during the vacation, by some of his school-fellows, with whom he was most intimate. In his own play he performed the part of the hero.

In the usual recreations of his school-fellows at Harrow, Jones was rarely a partaker; and the hours which they allotted to amusement, he generally devoted to improvement. The following anecdote strongly indicates the turn of his mind, and the impression made by his studies. He invented a play, in which Dr. William Bennet, bishop of Cloyne, and the celebrated Dr. Parr, were his principal associates. They divided the fields in the neighbourhood of Harrow according to a map of Greece, into states and kingdoms; each fixed upon one as his dominion, and assumed an ancient name. Some of their school-fellows consented to be styled barbarians, who were to invade their territories, and attack their hillocks, which were denominated fortresses. The chiefs vigorously defended their respective domains against the incursions of the enemy; and in these imitative wars, the young statesmen held councils, made vehement harangues, and composed memorials, all, doubtless, very boyish, but calculated to fill their minds with ideas of legislation

and civil government. In these unusual amusements, Jones was ever the leader; and he might justly have appropriated to himself the words of Catullus:

*Ego gymnasii flos, ego decus olei.*

Dr. Thackeray retired from the superintendence of the school at Harrow when his pupil had attained his fifteenth year. It was a singular trait in the character of this good man and respectable tutor, that he never applauded the best compositions of his scholars, from a notion which he had adopted, that praise only tended to make them vain or idle. But the opinion which he gave of Jones in private was, that he was a boy of so active a mind, that if he were left naked and friendless on Salisbury plain, he would, nevertheless, find the road to fame and riches.

Dr. Thackeray was succeeded by Dr. Sumner; and for his information of the course of study pursued at Harrow, a plan of the lectures and exercises in the upper school was accurately delineated by Jones, at the suggestion of the principal assistant, who presented it to the new master, with many encomiums on the talents of his favourite scholar. He annexed it to a collection of his compositions, including his translation of the pastorals of Virgil. Dr. Sumner quickly distinguished him; and of the two complete years which he passed under that excellent instructor, it is sufficient to say, that he employed them in reading and imitating the best ancient authors; nor did he confine himself merely to the compositions of Greece and Rome; he learned the Arabic characters, and studied the Hebrew language sufficiently to enable him



to read some of the original Psalms. His ardour for knowledge was so unlimited, that he frequently devoted whole nights to study, taking coffee or tea as an antidote to drowsiness: and his improvement by these extraordinary exertions was so rapid, that he soon became the prime favourite of his master, who, with an excusable partiality, was heard to declare, that Jones knew more Greek than himself, and was a greater proficient in the idiom of that language. Nor was he less a favourite with his fellow-students than with his master. He acquired popularity with them, by the frequent holidays that rewarded the excellence of his compositions. His reputation at the same time was so extensive, that he was often flattered by the enquiries of strangers, under the title of *the great scholar*.

During the vacations, his application was directed to improve his knowledge of French and arithmetic, to which he also added the study of the Italian. Books he had always at command; for his mother, who contemplated with delight the progress of her son, with a wise liberality, allowed him unlimited credit on her purse. But of this indulgence, as he knew that her finances were restricted, he availed himself no farther than to purchase such books as were essential to his improvement.

The period of tuition under Dr. Sumner passed rapidly, to the mutual satisfaction of the master and scholar, until Jones had reached his seventeenth year, when it was determined to remove him to one of the universities. Cambridge was

recommended by Dr. Sumner, who had received his education there; but Dr. Glasse, who had private pupils at Harrow, and had always distinguished Jones by the kindest attention, recommended Oxford. His choice was adopted by Mrs. Jones, who, in compliance with the wishes of her son, had determined to reside at the university with him, and greatly preferred the situation of Oxford.

In the Spring of 1764 he went to the university for the purpose of being matriculated and entered at college; but he returned to Harrow for a few months, that he might finish a course of lectures which he had just begun, and in which he had been highly interested by the learning, eloquence, taste, and sagacity of his excellent instructor. They separated soon after, with mutual regret, and in the following term he fixed himself at Oxford.

A collection of English poems, composed by Mr. Jones, at Harrow, was presented by him to his friend Parnell,\* in 1763. The first and longest of the collection, containing more than three hundred and thirty lines, is entitled *Prolusions*, and is a critique on the various styles of pastoral writers. This was written by Mr. Jones, at the age of fifteen, and is the original of the poem which he afterwards published under the title of *Arcadia*.

The remaining poems in the collection consist of translations and imitations of Horace, Sophocles, and Theocritus; Saul and David, an ode; and a Satire on the inordinate love of novelty.

\* The late sir John Parnell, who filled the office of chancellor of the exchequer, in Ireland.



A manuscript of these poems, in the hand-writing of Mr. Jones, was presented to lady Jones by sir John Parnell, a few weeks only before his death. We select as a specimen of Mr. Jones's poetical talents, at the age of fourteen, the shortest in the collection, in imitation of a well known ode of Horace, and addressed to his friend Parnell :—

How quickly fades the vital flower !  
 Alas, my friend ! each silent hour  
 Steals unperceived away :  
 The early joys of blooming youth,  
 Sweet innocence and dove-ey'd truth  
 Are destin'd to decay.

Can zeal drear Pluto's wrath restrain?  
 No—tho' an hourly victim stain  
 His hallow'd shrine with blood,  
 Fate will recal her doom for none :  
 The scepter'd king must leave his throne  
 To pass the Stygian flood.

In vain, my Parnell, wrapt in ease,  
 We shun the merchant-marring seas ;  
 In vain we fly from wars :  
 In vain we shun th' autumnal blast,  
 (The slow Cocytus must be past,)  
 How needless are our cares !

Our house, our land, our shadowy grove,  
 The very mistress of our love,  
 Ah me ! we soon must leave !  
 Of all our trees, the hated boughs  
 Of cypress shall alone diffuse  
 Their fragrance o'er our grave.

To others shall we then resign  
 The numerous casks of sparkling wine  
 Which frugal now we store ;  
 With them a more deserving heir  
 (Is this our labour, this our care?)  
 Shall stain the stucco floor. 1760.

The new situation of Mr. Jones, at the university, did not at first correspond with his expectations. Under the tuition of a master, who saw with admiration his capacity and application, who was anxious to as-

sist his exertions, and rewarded their success with unlimited applause, his ardour for learning had been raised to a degree of enthusiasm ; at the university he expected to find a Sumner or an Askew in every master of arts, and generally the same passion for literature which he had himself imbibed. It was evident that such extravagant expectations must be disappointed ; and from the public lectures he derived little gratification or instruction : they were much below the standard of his attainments, and, in fact, were considered as merely formal ; and instead of pure principles on subjects of taste, on rhetoric, poetry, or practical morals, *he complained* that he was required to attend dull comments on artificial ethics, and logic, detailed in such barbarous Latin, that he professed to know as little of it as he then knew of Arabic. The only logic then in fashion was that of the schools ; and in a memorandum written by himself, which is our authority for these remarks, we find an anecdote related of one of the fellows, who was reading Locke with his own pupils, that he carefully passed over every passage in which that great metaphysician derides the old system.

After the residence of a few months at the university, on the 31st of October, 1764, Mr. Jones was unanimously elected one of the four scholars on the foundation of Sir Simon Bennett, to whose munificence he was ever proud to acknowledge his obligations. The prospect of a fellowship, to which he looked with natural impatience, was, however, remote, as he had three seniors.

His partiality for oriental literature



ture now began to display itself in the study of the Arabic, to which he was strongly incited by the example and encouragement of a fellow-student of great worth and abilities, who had acquired some knowledge in that celebrated language, and offered him the use of the best books, with which he was well provided. In acquiring the pronounciation, he was assisted by a native of Aleppo, who spoke and wrote the vulgar Arabic fluently, but was without any pretensions to the character of a scholar. Mr. Jones accidentally discovered him in London, where he usually passed his vacations, and prevailed upon him to accompany him to Oxford, under a promise of maintaining him there. This promise he was obliged exclusively to fulfil for several months, at an expence which his finances could ill afford, being disappointed in the hopes which he had entertained that some of his brother collegians might be inclined to avail themselves of the assistance of the Syrian, and participate with him in the expence of his maintenance.

In the course of his application to this ancient language, he discovered, what he never before suspected, a near connexion between the modern Persic and Arabic, and he immediately determined to acquire the former. He accordingly studied it with attention in the only Persian Grammar then extant; and having laboured diligently in the Gulistan of Sadi, assisted by the accurate, but inelegant version of Gentins, and at the well-chosen praxis at the close of Meninski's grammar, he found his exertions rewarded with rapid success.

His vacations were passed in Lon-

don, where he daily attended the schools of Angelo, for the purpose of acquiring the elegant accomplishments of riding and fencing. He was always a strenuous advocate for the practice of bodily exercises, as no less useful to invigorate his frame, than as a necessary qualification for any active exertions to which he might eventually be called. At home his attention was directed to the modern languages; and he read the best authors in Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese, following in all respects the plan of education recommended by Milton, which he had by heart; and thus, to transcribe an observation of his own, with the fortune of a peasant, giving himself the education of a prince.

If the literary acquisitions of Mr. Jones at this period be compared with his years, few instances will be found in the annals of biography, of a more successful application of time and talents, than he exhibits; and it is worthy of observation, that he was no less indebted to his uncommon industry and method for his attainments, than to his superior capacity.

A mind thus occupied in the pursuit of universal literature, was little susceptible of the passions of avarice or ambition; but, as he was sensible that the charges attending his education, notwithstanding his habitual attention to economy, must occasion a considerable deduction from the moderate income which his mother possessed, he anxiously wished for a fellowship, that he might relieve her from a burden which she could ill support. If the prospect of acquiring that advantage had not been remote, no tempta-

tempta-



temptation would have seduced him from the university; but at the period when he began to despair of obtaining it, he received, through Mr. Arden, whose sister was married to his friend Sumner, an offer to be the private tutor of Lord Althorpe, now earl Spencer. He had been recommended to the family of this nobleman by Dr. Shipley, to whom he was not then personally known, but who had seen and approved his compositions at Harrow, and particularly a Greek oration in praise of Lyon, an honest yeoman, who founded the school at that place in the reign of Elizabeth. The proposal was cheerfully accepted by Mr. Jones, and in his nineteenth year he went to London, and was so delighted with the manners of his pupil, then just seven years old, that he abandoned all thoughts of a profession, and resolved to devote himself to the faithful discharge of the important duties of his new situation. He had the satisfaction to find that this determination would probably restore him to the society of his best and most-respected friend, Dr. Sumner, as he understood from Mr. Arden, that his pupil, after some preliminary instruction, would be fixed at Harrow.

He was now placed in a sphere perfectly new to him: if he quitted the university with a regret proportioned to his increasing attachment to it, his change of situation offered other advantages, amongst which he justly esteemed his introduction into the first ranks of society, and a residence in one of the most agreeable places in the kingdom. He had new objects to engage his observation, and an interesting occupation, from the discharge of

which he derived great satisfaction; his application to literature was pursued without interruption, for although he resided at Wimbledon until the approach of the winter only, he found sufficient leisure to compose many of his English poems, and to read the greatest part of the Old Testament in Hebrew, particularly the book of Job, and the prophets, which he studied with great attention.

In the course of the following summer, by an unexpected concurrence of circumstances, a fellowship, which, in his estimation, gave him absolute independence, was bestowed upon him, and he went for a short time to Oxford, that he might go through the regular forms of election and admission. He was accordingly elected fellow on the foundation of Sir Simon Bennet, on the 7th of August, 1766.

On his return to Wimbledon, he was flattered by an offer from the duke of Grafton, then at the head of the treasury, of the place of interpreter for Eastern languages: but, although the acceptance of it might not have interfered with his other pursuits, he declined it politely, but without hesitation, earnestly requesting that it might be conferred upon Mirza, whose character he wrote. This disinterested solicitation was unnoticed; and his disappointment made him regret his ignorance of the world in not accepting the proffered office, under a resolution to consign the entire emoluments of it to his Syrian friend.

During his summer residence at Wimbledon, he formed an acquaintance to which he owed the future happiness of his life. He there



saw, for the first time, Anna Maria, the eldest daughter of Dr. Shipley, then dean of Winchester: but whatever impressions her person and conversation made upon the heart of Mr. Jones, his fixed ideas of an honourable independence, and a determined resolution never to owe his fortune to a wife, or her kindred, excluded all ideas of a matrimonial connexion. In different circumstances he might perhaps have then solicited an alliance, which he afterwards courted and obtained.

The family of Lord Spencer removed late in autumn to London; and Mr. Jones, with his usual avidity to acquire the accomplishments of a gentleman, as well as those of a scholar, privately arranged a plan with Gallini, who attended the younger part of the family, for receiving instructions from him in dancing: at the same time he continued his morning attendance, without intermission, at the two schools of Angelo, with whose manners he was extremely pleased. Before he left London, he had an opportunity, which he did not neglect, of learning the use of the broad-sword from an old pensioner at Chelsea, who had been active, as his scars proved, in many engagements, and whose narrative propensity frequently amused him.

The acquisition of his new accomplishment, by Gallini's assistance, had been made with secrecy; and the display of it enabled him to participate with much satisfaction, in the evening amusements at Althorpe, where he passed the winter with his pupil. But his greatest delight was furnished by an excellent library, in which he found intellectual treasures of the highest value in his estimation; scarcely a single

book escaped his attention; and some of the most rare he perused with indefatigable application. It was at this period, in the 21st year of his age, that he began his commentaries on Asiatic poetry, in imitation of Dr. Lowth's prelections at Oxford, on the sacred poetry of the Hebrews.

The summer of 1767 opened a new scene to him: the indisposition of lord Spencer rendered a journey to Spa advisable for the restoration of his health, and Mr. Jones attended the family: but his residence on the continent was too short to gratify his curiosity. At Spa he remained only three weeks, part of which he dedicated to the lessons of Janson, of Aix-la-Chapelle, a most incomparable dancing-master, and part to the acquisition of the German language, in which he so far succeeded; as to be able to read Gessner with delight, assisted only by an excellent German Grammar and Dictionary; the pronunciation he had formerly learnt from a fellow-collegian, who had passed some years at Brunswick. He would gladly have availed himself of the instruction of a German master; but none was to be found at Spa, and his finances were unequal to the expence of procuring that assistance from Aix-la-Chapelle. Notwithstanding these occupations, he found leisure to participate in all the amusements of the place.

In the winter of 1767 Mr. Jones resided with his pupil at Althorpe: here his excursions into the regions of literature were unlimited, and as his application was directed with his usual perseverance, he nearly completed his commentaries, transcribed an Arabic manuscript on Egypt and the Nile, borrowed from Dr. Russell,



sell, and copied the keys of the Chinese language, which he wished to learn.

From Althorpe he removed in the spring of 1768 to Wimbledon, where he received a proposal from Mr. Sutton, then under-secretary to the duke of Grafton, the account of which we shall relate nearly in his own words.

The king of Denmark, then upon a visit to this country, had brought with him an eastern manuscript, containing the life of Nadir Shah, which he was desirous of having translated in England. The secretary of state, with whom the Danish minister had conversed upon the subject, sent the volume to Mr. Jones, requesting him to give a literal translation of it in the French language; but he wholly declined the task, alledging for his excuse, the dryness of the subject, the difficulty of the style, and chiefly his want both of leisure and ability, to enter upon an undertaking so fruitless and laborious. He mentioned, however, a gentleman, with whom he was not then acquainted, but who had distinguished himself by the translation of a Persian history, and some popular tales from the Persic, as capable of gratifying the wishes of his Danish majesty. Major Dow, the writer alluded to, excused himself on account of his numerous engagements, and the application to Mr. Jones was renewed. It was hinted that his compliance would be of no small advantage to him, at his entrance into life; that it would procure him some mark of distinction, which would be pleasing to him; and, above all, that it would be a reflection upon this country, if the king should be obliged to carry his manuscript into France. Incited by

these motives, and principally the last, unwilling to be thought churlish or morose, and eager for reputation, he undertook the work, and sent a specimen of it to his Danish majesty, who returned his approbation of the style and method, but desired that the whole translation might be perfectly literal, and the oriental images accurately preserved. The task would have been far easier to him if he had been directed to finish it in Latin; for the acquisition of a French style was infinitely more tedious, and it was necessary to have every chapter corrected by a native of France, before it could be offered to the discerning eye of the public, since in every language there are certain peculiarities of idiom, and nice shades of meaning, which a foreigner can never attain to perfection. The work, however arduous and unpleasant, was completed in a year, not without repeated hints from the secretary's office, that it was expected with great impatience by the court of Denmark. The translation was not published until 1770. Forty copies, upon large paper, were sent to Copenhagen, one of them, bound with uncommon elegance, for the king himself, and the others as presents to his courtiers.

What marks of distinction he received, or what fruits he reaped from his labours, he thought it would ill become him to mention at the head of a work, in which he professed to be the historian of others, and not of himself; but to repel the false assertions which appeared in an advertisement on this subject in the public papers, containing a most unjust reflection on the king of Denmark, he considered it as a duty imposed upon him by the laws of justice



justice and gratitude, to print at the beginning of his translation the honourable testimony of regard, which his majesty, Christian VII. sent publicly to London a few months after the receipt of the work, together with the letter of thanks which he returned for so signal a token of his favour. From these documents it appears that his Danish majesty sent to him a diploma, constituting him a member of the royal society of Copenhagen, and recommended him in the strongest terms to the favour and benevolence of his own sovereign.

In detailing the circumstances attending the first publication of Mr. Jones, we have carried the narrative to its conclusion, with some anticipation of the order of time. Part of the summer of 1768 he passed at Tunbridge, where his private studies formed his chief occupation; and the winter of that year in London. In the beginning of this year Mr. Jones formed an acquaintance with Reviczki, afterwards the imperial minister at Warsaw, and ambassador at the court of England, with the title of count. This learned and accomplished nobleman was deeply captivated with the charms of oriental literature; and the reputation of Mr. Jones as an oriental scholar attracted his advances towards an intimacy, which were eagerly received. After their separation they commenced a correspondence, which was cultivated with attention for many years. Of this correspondence much has been lost, and many of the remaining letters are defaced and mutilated. They generally wrote in Latin, and occasionally in French, on literary subjects chiefly, but more particularly on oriental literature.

In this year lord Althorpe was settled at Harrow, and Mr. Jones, who accompanied him there, had the satisfaction of seeing himself restored to the society of Dr. Sumner. Their enthusiasm for literature was equal: the master contemplated with delight, unmixed with envy, a rival of his own erudition in his scholar, who acknowledged with gratitude his obligations to his preceptor. Their intercourse, although interrupted, had never been discontinued; and Mr. Jones seldom suffered any considerable time to elapse without visiting Harrow. During his residence there, at this period, he transcribed a Persian grammar, which he had three years before composed for the use of a school-fellow who had been designed for India, but had since relinquished that object for a commission in the army.

The plan of the epic poem which he mentions in letters to his Polish friend, was sketched during his residence at Spa, in July 1770. The subject of the poem was the supposed discovery of our island by Tyrian adventurers, and he proposed to exhibit under the character of the prince of Tyre, that of a perfect king of this country; a character which he pronounces the most glorious and beneficial of any that the warmest imagination can form. It represents (to quote his own words) the dangers to which a king of England is necessarily exposed, the vices which he must avoid, and the virtues and great qualities with which he must be adorned. On the whole, "Britain Discovered" is intended as a poetical panegyric on our excellent constitution, and as a pledge of the author's attachment to it: as a national epic poem, like those



those of Homer, Virgil, Tasso, and Camöens, designed to celebrate the honours of his country, to display in a striking light the most important principles of politics and morality, and to inculcate these grand maxims that nothing can shake our state, while the true liberty of the subject remains united with the dignity of the sovereign, and that in all states virtue is the only sure basis of public and private happiness. He reserved the completion of the poem to a period of leisure and independence which never arrived: and although, after an interval of some years, he resumed the idea of composing an epic poem on the same subject, but with considerable alterations, he never extended the execution of it beyond a few lines.

The anticipation of future prospects, suggested by the fervor of youthful imagination, is too common to all, but particularly to men of genius, to excite much surprise; and of them it has been generally and justly remarked, that what has been performed by them bears little proportion to what has been projected. In their progress thro' life, impediments occur to the execution of their plans, which the mind at first eagerly overlooks; whilst time, imperceptibly advancing, deprives them of the power, and even of the inclination, to complete what has been designed with so much ardour. They find, what experience daily proves, that the duties of life can only be properly performed when they are the primary objects of our regard and attention.

On the 30th of April, 1772, Mr. Jones was elected a fellow of the

royal society, and admitted on May the 14th of the same year.

The kindness of a contemporary student has furnished an anecdote in proof of his particular aversion to the logic of the schools, that in an oration which he pronounced in University hall, he declaimed violently against Burgersdicius, Cracanthorpius, and the whole body of logicians in the college of queen Phillippa, his opposite neighbour.

Of his uncommon industry, many proofs might be enumerated, and among others, the copying of several Arabic manuscripts, of which one was the entertaining romance of Bedreddin Hassan, or Aladdin's lamp, from a most elegant specimen of Arabian calligraphy.

Nor was he less remarked for an affectionate attention to his mother and sister, who resided at Oxford; such portion of his time as he could spare from his studies was given to their society; and during his occasional absence from the university, he was regular in his correspondence with his mother.

In the commencement of 1774 he published his Commentaries on Asiatic Poetry. This work was received with admiration and applause by the oriental scholars of Europe in general, as well as by the learned of his own country. It was perhaps the first publication on eastern literature, which had an equal claim to elegance and erudition. This work was begun by Mr. Jones in 1766, and finished in 1769, when he was in his twenty-third year; but with the same solicitude which he had exhibited on other occasions, to lay his compositions before the public in the greatest possible perfection, he had repeatedly submitted



ted the manuscript to the examination and critical remarks of his learned friends.

At the conclusion of the Commentaries we find an elegant address to the Muse, in which Mr. Jones expresses his determination to renounce polite literature, and devote himself entirely to the study of the law. He was called to the bar in January 1774, and had discovered, as he writes to an intimate friend, that the law was a jealous science, and would admit no partnership with the Eastern muses. To this determination he appears to have inflexibly adhered for some years, notwithstanding the friendly remonstrances and flattering invitations of his learned correspondents. He had about this time an intention of publishing the mathematical works of his father; and with this view circulated proposals, but, for what reason we know not, he abandoned it.

The ambition of obtaining distinction in his profession could not fail to animate a mind always ardent in the pursuit of the objects which it had in view, nor was he of a temper to be satisfied with mediocrity where perfection was attainable. His researches and studies were not confined to any one branch of jurisprudence, but embraced the whole in its fullest extent. He compared the doctrines and principles of ancient legislature with the later improvements in the science of law; he collected the various codes of the different states of Europe; and collected professional knowledge wherever it was to be found. If the reader recollect the enthusiasm displayed by Mr. Jones in the prosecution of his oriental studies, the extent and depth of his attainments in the literature of Asia, and the high reputation

which he had acquired for them, he will readily applaud his resolution and perseverance in renouncing his favourite pursuits. That he acted wisely will be admitted; but the sacrifice of inclination to duty, affords an example of too great use and importance to pass without particular observation.

In 1775, for the first time, he attended the spring circuit and sessions at Oxford, but whether as a spectator or actor, on that occasion, we are not informed. In the following year he was regular in his attendance at Westminster Hall.

In 1778 Mr. Jones published a translation of the speeches of Isæus, in causes concerning the law of succession to property at Athens, with a prefatory discourse, notes critical and historical, and a commentary.

The works of Isæus had long been neglected; the subject of them was dry, and his technical language, as Mr. Jones observes, was unintelligible to the herd of grammarians and philologers by whom the old monuments of Grecian learning were saved from destruction. To rescue them from obscurity, and to present them to the student of our English laws in his native language, was a task which required the united qualifications of classical erudition and legal knowledge, and which he discharged with equal pleasure and success.

From the public occurrences in which Mr. Jones was engaged, we now turn to a domestic calamity, the death of his mother, which involved him in the deepest affliction. If, as a parent, she had the strongest claims upon the gratitude and affection of her son, the obligations of filial duty were never more cheerfully  
and



and zealously discharged, than by Mr. Jones. To her able instruction he was indebted for the first rudiments of literature; she directed his early studies, formed his habits and his taste; and, by the closest attention to economy, was enabled to promote his progress in learning, by supplying the funds for this purpose. From the period of his obtaining a fellowship, he had declined receiving any assistance from her purse; and as his professional profits increased, his own was ever at her disposal. During his residence at Oxford, the time which he did not employ in study or college duties, was devoted to her: his attention was equally the result of principle and affection. She was the confidant of his plans, hopes, and occupations, and he invariably consulted her on all occasions, where his most important interests were concerned. The kindness, as well as the sincerity of his affection, was shewn in numberless instances, which never failed to attract the observation of his friends and associates, although they are too minute to be particularized; and the satisfaction which he derived from the distinction to which his abilities had raised him, was re-doubled from the consideration that his mother participated in it.

In the beginning of 1783 Mr. Jones published his translation of the seven Arabian poems which he finished in 1781. It was his intention to have prefixed to this work, a discourse on the antiquity of the Arabian language and characters, on the manners of the Arabs in the age immediately preceding that of Mahommed, and other interesting information respecting the poems, and the lives of the authors, with a

critical history of their works; but he could not command sufficient leisure for the execution of it. Some of the subjects intended for this dissertation, appeared in a discourse on the Arabs, composed some years afterwards; and from the manner in which it was written, it is impossible not to regret the irrecoverable loss of the larger discussion which he originally proposed. The poems present us with a curious specimen of the manners of the natives of Arabia, and on this account must be particularly interesting to those, who consider the study of human nature in all its varieties, as an instructive object of contemplation. "They exhibit (to use the words of Mr. Jones) an exact picture of the virtues and vices of the Arabs in the age of the seven poets, their wisdom and their folly, and shew what may be constantly expected from men of open hearts and boiling passions, with no law to control, and little religion to restrain them."

The period was now arrived, when Mr. Jones had the happiness to gain the accomplishment of his most anxious wishes. In March 1783, during the administration of lord Shelburne, he was appointed a judge of the supreme court of judicature at Fort William, at Bengal, on which occasion the honour of knighthood was conferred upon him; and in the April following he married Anna Maria Shipley, the eldest daughter of the bishop of St. Asaph. we have remarked the early impression made upon the affections of sir William Jones by this lady, and the honourable determination which he formed upon that occasion; and if (to use lord Teignmouth's words) I should have succeeded in imparting



parting to my readers any portion of that interest which I feel in his personal concerns, they will see him with pleasure receiving the rewards of principle and affection.

The bishop of St. Asaph, of whose respectable character and high literary reputation it is unnecessary to remind the public, possessed too enlightened an understanding not to appreciate the early distinguished talents and virtues of sir William Jones, and their friendship was cemented by an union of political principles, and the zealous admiration each felt for the constitution of their country. The bishop, in the choice of a son-in-law, had every reason to indulge the pleasing hope that he had consulted, as far as human foresight can extend, the happiness of his beloved daughter, nor were his expectations disappointed.

For his appointment to India Mr. Jones was indebted to the friendship of lord Ashburton; the intelligence of his success was communicated to Mr. Jones in the following letter of congratulation, to which is subjoined one from the celebrated Franklin, on the same occasion.

“ My dear Sir,      *March 3, 1783.*

“ It is with little less satisfaction to myself than it can give you, that I send you the inclosed, and I do assure you, there are few events, in which I could have felt so sensible a mortification as in that of your finally missing this favourite object. The weather suggests to me, as no slight topic of congratulation, your being relieved from such a journey, and under such circumstances as your last favour intimates you had in contemplation for Wednesday; but when I consider this appointment

as securing to you at once two of the first objects of human pursuit, those of ambition and love, I feel it a subject of very serious and cordial congratulation, which I desire you to accept and to convey accordingly.—I am with every good wish,

Dear sir,

Your faithful humble servant,  
Ashburton.”\*

*Passy, March 17, 1783.*

“ Dear sir,

“ I duly received your obliging letter of November 15. You will have since learnt how much I was then and have been continually engaged in public affairs, and your goodness will excuse my not having answered it sooner. You announced your intended marriage with my much respected friend Miss Anna Maria, which I assure you gave me great pleasure, as I cannot conceive a match more likely to be happy, from the amiable qualities each of you possess so plentifully. You mentioned its taking place as soon as a prudent attention to worldly interests would permit. I just now learn from Mr. Hodgson that you are appointed to an honourable and profitable place in the Indies; so I expect now soon to hear of the wedding, and to receive the profile. With the good bishop's permission, I will join my blessing with his; adding my wishes that you may return from that corrupting country with a great deal of money honestly acquired, and with full as much virtue as you carry out with you.

\* \* \* \* \*

I thank you for your good wishes respecting me. Mine for your welfare and prosperity are not less earnest

\* The celebrated Dunning.



earnest and sincere; being with great truth, dear sir,

Your affectionate friend,  
And most obedient servant,  
Benjamin Franklin."

We have mentioned the literary productions of sir William Jones in the order in which they were published. We observe however, two compositions which had escaped our attention:—an abridged history of the life of Nadir Shah, in English, and a history of the Persian language, intended to be prefixed to the first edition of his Persian grammar.

The reader will peruse with pleasure the following lines from the Arabic, written by sir William Jones, in 1783, and addressed to lady Jones:—

While sad suspense and chill delay  
Bereave my wounded soul of rest,  
New hopes, new fears, from day to day  
By turns assail my lab'ring breast.

My heart with ardent love consumes,  
Throbs with each agonizing thought;  
So flutters, with entangled plumes,  
The lark in wily meshes caught.

There she with unavailing strain  
Pours through the night her warbl'd  
grief;  
The gloom retires, but not her pain,  
The dawn appears, but not relief.

Two younglings wait the parent bird,  
Their thrilling sorrows to appease:  
She comes,—ah no! the sound they  
heard  
Was but a whisper of the breeze.

Sir William Jones embarked for India in the Crocodile frigate, and in April 1783 left his native country, to which he was never to return, with the unavailing regret and affectionate wishes of his numerous friends and admirers.

In the course of the voyage he stopped at Madeira, and in ten additional weeks of prosperous sailing from the rugged islands of Cape Verd, arrived at Hinzuan or Joanna. Of this island, where he remained a few days only, he has published an interesting and amusing description. He expatiates with rapture on his approach to it, delineates with the skill of an artist the beauties of the scenery, and sketches with the discriminating pen of a philosopher, the characters and manners of the unpolished but hospitable natives. The novelty of the scene was attractive, and its impression upon his mind is strongly marked by the following just and elegant reflection, which in substance is more than once repeated in his writings:—"If life were not too short for the complete discharge of all our respective duties, public and private, and for the acquisition even of necessary knowledge in any degree of perfection, with how much pleasure and improvement might a great part of it be spent in admiring the beauties of this wonderful orb, and contemplating the nature of man in all its varieties!"

From Hinzuan to the Ganges nothing material occurred, and he landed at Calcutta in September, 1783. His reputation had preceded his arrival, which was anxiously expected, and he had the happiness to find, that his appointment had diffused a general satisfaction, which his presence now rendered complete. The students of the Oriental languages were eager to welcome a scholar, whose erudition in that branch of literature was unrivalled, and whose labours and genius had assisted their progress; while the public rejoiced in the possession of a magi-



a magistrate, whose probity and independence were no less acknowledged than his abilities.

In December 1783, he entered upon his judicial functions, and at the opening of the sessions, delivered his first charge to the grand jury. The public had formed a high estimate of his oratorical powers, nor were they disappointed. His address was elegant, concise, and appropriate: the expression of his sentiments and principles was equally manly and conciliatory, and calculated to inspire general satisfaction, as the known sincerity of his character was a test of his adherence to his profession. In glancing at dissensions, which at no remote period had unfortunately prevailed between the supreme executive and judicial powers in Bengal, he shewed that they might and ought to be avoided, that the functions of both were distinct, and could be exercised without danger of collision, in promoting what should be the object of both, the public good.

The society of sir William Jones was too attractive to allow him to employ his leisure hours in those studies which he so eagerly desired to cultivate, and although no man was more happy in the conversation of his friends, he soon found that the unrestrained enjoyment of this gratification was incompatible with his attention to literary pursuits. He determined therefore to seek some retirement at no great distance from Calcutta, where he might have the benefit of air and exercise, and prosecute his studies without interruption, during the vacations of the supreme court. For this purpose he made choice of a residence at Chrishnagen, which had a particu-

lar attraction to him, from its vicinity to a Hindu college.

In 1785, a periodical work was undertaken at Calcutta, under the title of the Asiatic Miscellany, which has been ignorantly ascribed to the Asiatic society, with whose researches it had no connexion. The title of the work indicates the nature of its contents, which consisted chiefly of extracts from books published in Europe, relating to India, of translations from Oriental authors, and of poems and essays. The editor was occasionally assisted by the literary talents of gentlemen in India, and we find in the two first volumes, which were published in the years 1785 and 86, the following compositions of sir William Jones, who never neglected any opportunity of contributing to the advancement of oriental literature:—The tale of the enchanted fruit; six hymns, addressed to as many Hindu deities; a literal translation of twenty tales and fables of Nizami, expressly intended to assist the students of the Persian language; besides often smaller pieces, from which I quote with pleasure the following beautiful tetrastick, which is a literal translation from the Persian:—

On parent knees, a naked new-born  
child,  
Weeping thou sat'st, whilst all around  
thee smil'd:  
So live, that, sinking in thy last long  
sleep,  
Calm thou may'st smile when all around  
thee weep.

The uniformity which marked the remaining period of his allotted existence admits of little variety of delineation. The largest portion of each year was devoted to his professional



professional duties and studies ; and all the time that could be saved from these important avocations, was dedicated to the cultivation of science and literature. Some periods were chequered by illness, the consequence of intense application ; and others were embittered by the frequent and severe indispositions of the partner of his cares and the object of his affections. The climate of India, (as he had already found occasion to remark, in a letter to a friend), had been unpropitious to the delicate constitution of his beloved wife ; and so apprehensive was he of the consequences, that he intended, unless some favourable alteration should take place, to urge her return to her native country, preferring the pang of separation for five or six years, to the anguish, which he should hardly survive, of losing her.

While business required the daily attendance of sir William Jones in Calcutta, his usual residence was on the banks of the Ganges, at the distance of five miles from the court ; to this spot he returned every evening after sun-set, and in the morning rose so early, as to reach his apartments in town by walking, at the first appearance of the dawn. Having severely suffered from the heat of the sun, he ever afterwards dreaded and avoided an exposure to it ; and in his hymn to Surya, he alludes to its effect upon him, and to his moon-light rambles, in the following lines :—

Then roves thy poet free,  
Who with no borrow'd art,  
Dares hymn thy power and durst provoke thy blaze,  
But felt the thrilling dart  
And now on lowly knee  
From him who gave the wound the balm prays.

The intervening period of each morning until the opening of the court, was regularly allotted and applied to distinct studies. He passed the months of vacation at his retirement at Crishna-nagur in his usual pursuits.

Among other literary occupations in which he employed himself during the two last years, (1788 and 89) it is to be noticed that he undertook the office of editor of the elegant poem of Hatesi, or the unfortunate loves of Laili and Mujnoon, an Arabian youth and princess. The benevolent object of his labours renders them interesting, as the book was published at his own expence, with a declared appropriation of the produce of the sale to the relief of insolvent debtors in the gaol at Calcutta.

The manner in which he mentions the travels of Mr. Bruce, shews, that he was not one of those sceptics who doubted of his veracity. In a paper which he presented to the society in Calcutta, he recites a conversation with a native of Abyssinia, who had seen and known Mr. Bruce at Gondar, and who spoke of him in very honourable terms.

The constitution of lady Jones, which was naturally delicate, had suffered so much from repeated attacks of indisposition, that a change of climate had long been prescribed by the physicians, as the only means of preserving her life ; but her affectionate attachment to her husband had hitherto induced her to remain in India, in opposition to this advice, though with the full conviction that the recovery of her health, in any considerable degree, was impossible. At an earlier period, when the extent of the field of investigation appeared boundless,



sir William Jones had declared his determination to remain in India until the close of the century, if it should please God to prolong his life. But affection set limits to his zeal for knowledge, and when it was finally settled that lady Jones should return to England, he determined himself to follow the ensuing spring, hoping by this period to have discharged his engagements with the government of India. She embarked in December 1793.

I now turn to the last scene of the life of sir William Jones. The few months allotted to his existence after the departure of lady Jones, were devoted to his usual occupations, and more particularly to the discharge of that duty which alone detained him in India,—the completion of the digest of the Hindoo and Mahomedan law. But neither the consciousness of acquitting himself of an obligation which he had voluntarily contracted, nor his incessant assiduity, could fill the vacuity occasioned by the absence of her, whose society had sweetened the toil of application, and cheered his hours of relaxation. After her departure he mixed more in promiscuous society; but his affections were transported with her to his native country.

On the evening of the 20th of April, or nearly about that date, after prolonging his walk to a late hour, during which he had imprudently remained in conversation in an unwholesome situation, he called upon lord Teignmouth, and complained of agueish symptoms, mentioning his intention to take some medicine, and repeating jocularly an old proverb, that ‘an ague in the spring is medicine for a king.’ He had no suspicion at the time of

the real nature of his indisposition, which proved, in fact, to be a complaint common in Bengal, an inflammation in the liver. The disorder was, however, soon discovered by the penetration of the physician, who after two or three days was called in to his assistance; but it had then advanced too far to yield to the efficacy of the medicines usually prescribed, and they were administered in vain. The progress of the complaint was uncommonly rapid, and terminated fatally on the 27th of April, 1794. “On the morning of that day, his attendants, alarmed at the evident symptoms of approaching dissolution, came precipitately to call the friend who has now the melancholy task of recording the mournful event: not a moment was lost in repairing to his house.—He was lying on his bed in a posture of meditation, and the only symptom of remaining life was a small degree of motion in the heart, which after a few seconds ceased, and he expired without a pang or groan. His bodily sufferings, from the complacency of his features, and the ease of his attitude, could not have been severe; and his mind must have derived consolation from those sources where he had been in the habit of seeking it, and where alone, in our last moments, it can ever be found.”

An anecdote of sir William Jones, upon what authority we know not, has been recorded that immediately before his dissolution he retired to his closet, and expired in the act of adoration to his Creator. Such a circumstance would have been conformable to his prevailing habits of thinking and reflection, but it is not founded on fact.

The funeral ceremony was performed



formed on the following day with the honours due to his public station; and the numerous attendance of the most respectable British inhabitants of Calcutta evinced their sorrow for his loss, and their respect for his memory.

In the short space of forty-seven years, by the exertion of rare intellectual talents, he acquired a knowledge of arts, science, and languages, which has seldom been equalled, and perhaps never surpassed. A mere catalogue of the writings of sir William Jones would shew the extent and variety of his erudition: a perusal of them would prove that it was no less deep than miscellaneous. Whatever topic he discusses, his ideas flow with ease and perspicuity; his style is always clear and polished; animated and forcible when his subject requires it. His philological, botanical, philosophical, and chronological disquisitions; his historical researches, and even his Persian grammar, whilst they fix the curiosity and attention of the reader by the novelty, depth, or importance of the knowledge displayed in them, always delight by elegance of diction. His compositions are never dry, tedious, nor disgusting; and literature and science come from his hands adorned with all their grace and beauty.

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*Particulars of the Life of William Edwards, the self-taught Welsh Bridge-builder.—From Malkin's Account of South Wales.*

William Edwards was the son of a farmer, who had two other sons and a daughter. The family lived in the parish of Eglwysilan, in the county of Glamorgan, very near

the spot which was hereafter to be the foundation of its celebrity.—William Edwards was born in the year 1719. His father died when he was only two years old. He was the youngest son. He, with his other two brothers and sister, lived with their mother on the farm till he was about sixteen or eighteen years of age. When he had reached his fifteenth year he frequently repaired the walls, or stone fences, of the farm. Every traveller who is acquainted with Wales must have remarked, that such fences are common in the mountain district. He was observed to perform his work in a style uncommonly neat and firm, and with an expedition surpassing that of most others. Some friends observing this, advised the elder brother to encourage him in this employment, not only on their own farm, but in the service of any neighbours who might wish to engage him. William readily assented to this proposal, and worked almost continually at wall-building, for which occupation his talents were in eager request. He added his earnings regularly to the common stock of his mother and his brothers, who carried on the business of the farm. The fences in this part are called, in technical phraseology, dry walls, from the circumstance of their being constructed without any mortar. Some time after he had exercised his ingenuity in this way, some masons, regularly brought up to the trade, came to the neighbourhood for the purpose of erecting a shed for shoeing horses at a smith's and farrier's shop. William Edwards admired the neatness with which they constructed the pillars and other parts of the shed, and felt an anxious wish for the ability to do



the same. He often left his work and came to a field opposite the smith's shop, where the masons were employed. He observed that with the common mason's hammer of the country, one end of which is also an axe, they were able to dress their stones very neatly; and this led him to the discovery, that the principal reason why he could not do the same, arose from his hammer not being steeled. He made all possible haste therefore to procure from a smith some hammers better suited to his purpose, such as he observed those masons to use; and found that with them he could execute his dry walling much better, and with a neatness far beyond what he had before been able to accomplish.—Being thus furnished with proper tools, and having acquired a degree of dexterity in the use of them, he aspired to a higher rank in his profession; and from a dry-wall builder, hoped to become a builder of houses. Soon afterwards he undertook to build a little workshop for a neighbour; and gained great applause for the propriety with which he performed his contract. A very short period had elapsed before he was employed to erect a mill in his own parish, and it was in the prosecution of this building, that he first became acquainted with the principles of an arch. When this mill was finished, it did not merely meet with cold approbation, but was admired by all approved judges as an excellent piece of masonry. He was now considered as the best workman in that part of the country. Employment was thrust upon him on better grounds than Malvolio's greatness; and as skill and fidelity are indispensibly requisite in a business, which requires the evidence

of time and experience to detect faults, not then to be remedied, application was generally made to W. Edwards, by those who wished to avoid both disappointment and altercation. In 1746 he undertook to build a new bridge over the river Taff, at the spot, the singularities of which have introduced him to our attention. This he executed in a style superior to any thing of the kind in this, or indeed in any other part of Wales, for neatness of workmanship and elegance of design.—It consisted of three arches, elegantly light in their construction. The hewn stones were excellently well dressed and closely jointed. It was admired by all who saw it. But this river runs through a very deep vale, that is more than usually woody, and crowded about with mountains. It is also to be considered, that many other rivers of no mean capacity, as the Crue, the Bargoed Taff, and the Cunno, besides almost numberless brooks that run through long, deep, and well-wooded vales or glens, fall into the Taff in its progress. The descents into these vales from the mountains being in general very steep, the water in long and heavy rains collects into these rivers with great rapidity and force; raising floods that in their descriptions would appear absolutely incredible to the inhabitants of open and flat countries, where the rivers are neither so precipitate in their courses and projections, nor have such hills on each side to swell them with their torrents. Such a flood unfortunately occurred after the completion of this undertaking, which tore up the largest trees by the roots, and carried them down the river to the bridge, where the arches were not suffi-



sufficiently wide to admit of their passage; Here therefore they were detained. Brushwood, weeds, hay, straw, and whatever lay in the way of the flood, came down and collected about the branches of the trees, that stuck fast in the arches, and choaked the free current of the water. In consequence of this obstruction to the flood, a thick and strong dam, as it were, was thus formed. The aggregate of so many collected streams, being unable to get any further, rose here to a prodigious height, and with the force of its pressure carried the bridge entirely away before it. William Edwards had given the most ample security, both in his own person and the sureties of respectable friends, for the stability of the bridge during the space of seven years. Of course he was obliged to erect another, and he proceeded on his duty with all possible speed.—The bridge had only stood about two years and a half. The second bridge was of one arch, for the purpose of admitting freely under it whatever incumbrances the floods might bring down. The span or chord of this arch was one hundred and forty feet; its altitude thirty-five feet; the segment of a circle whose diameter was one hundred and seventy feet. The arch was finished, but the parapets not yet erected, when such was the pressure of the unavoidably ponderous work over the haunches, that it sprung up in the middle, and the key-stones were forced out. This was a severe blow to a man who had hitherto met with nothing but misfortune in an enterprize, which was to establish or ruin him in his profession. William Edwards, however, possessed a courage which did not easily forsake him, so that he

was not greatly disconcerted. He engaged in it the third time; and by means of three cylindrical holes through the work over the haunches, so reduced the weight over them, that there was no longer any danger from it. These holes or cylinders rise above each other, ascending in the order of the arch, three at each end, or over each of the haunches. The diameter of the lowest is nine feet; of the second six feet; and of the uppermost, three feet. They give the bridge an air of uncommon elegance. The second bridge fell in 1751. The third which has stood ever since, was completed in 1755. It is generally supposed, that William Edwards experienced the liberality of some gentlemen in the county, which was increased by the gratuities of others, who came from many parts of the kingdom to see the bridge and its builder; but of this we have no clear or certain accounts, nor do his family know that he was ever indebted for any emolument but to his own industry and abilities.

Hitherto the Rialto was esteemed the largest arch in Europe, if not in the world. Its span or chord was ninety-eight feet. But New-bridge is forty-two feet wider; and was, till lately, if it be not still so, and I am not aware that its claim to this distinction is invalidated, the largest arch in the world, of which we have any authentic account. The fame of this bridge introduced William Edwards to public notice; and he was employed to build many other bridges in South Wales. One of the next bridges that he constructed was Usk-bridge, over the river Usk, at the town of Usk, in Monmouthshire. It was a large and handsome work. He afterwards built the following



lowing bridges in the order of succession which is here assigned them. A bridge of three arches over the river Towy; Pontar Towy, over the same river, about ten miles above the town of Swansea. This was of one arch, its chord eighty feet, with one cylinder over the haunches. Bettws-bridge in Caermarthenshire, consisting of one arch, forty-five feet in the span. Llandovery-bridge, in the same county, consisting of one arch, eighty-four feet in the span, with one cylinder over the arches. Wychbree-bridge, over the river Towy, about two miles above Morriston: this has one arch, ninety-five feet in span, twenty feet in altitude, with two cylinders over each of the haunches, to relieve them. He built Aberavon-bridge in Glamorganshire, consisting of one arch seventy-feet in span, fifteen feet in altitude, but without cylinders. He likewise built Glasbury-bridge, near Hay, in Brecknockshire, over the river Wye: it consists of five arches, and is a light, elegant bridge. The arches are small segments of large circles or high piers, as best adapted to facilitate the passage of floods under the bridge, and travellers over it.

William Edwards devised very important improvements in the art of bridge-building. His first bridges of one arch he found to be too high, so as to be difficult for carriages, and even horses, to pass over. The steeps at each end of New-bridge in particular are very inconvenient, from the largeness and altitude of the arch. This peculiarity, it is true, adds much to its perspective effect as a part of the landscape; but the sober market-traveller is not recompensed for the toil of ascending and descending an

artificial mountain, by the comparison of a rainbow and the raptures of a draughtsman. He avoided this defect in his subsequent works; but it was by a cautious gradation that he attempted to correct his early and erroneous principles, and to consult the ease of the public, at the same time that he surmounted the greatest difficulties of his occupation. At length he discovered, not by reading, conversation, or any other mode of extrinsic instruction, but by dint of his own genius, matured in the school of experience, that where the abutments are secure from the danger of giving way, arches of much less segments, and of far less altitude, than general opinion had hitherto required, are perfectly secure, and render the bridges much easier for carriages to pass over, and in every respect adapt them better to the purposes of a ready and free communication. Impressed with the importance of those rules, by which he had assiduously perfected his own practice, he was in the habit of considering his own branch of architecture as reducible to three great requisites: durability, the freedom of the water flowing under, and the ease of the traffic passing over. These are certainly maxims of peculiar importance in bridges of one arch, which are not only the best adapted to situations where tremendous floods occur, but in many cases are the only bridges securely practicable in mountain vallies.

The literary knowledge of William Edwards was at first confined to the Welsh language, which he could read and write from early youth. He was supposed to be rather obstinate when a boy; an imputation which generally rests on genius, that sees beyond the scope of those



those by whom it is controlled. His own account of this alleged temper was, that he always considered whether any thing that was proposed to him, or any principle he was required to act upon, coincided with his own ideas of rectitude. If he found that it did, he firmly persisted in it. His general character was that of uncommon resolution and inflexibility. He was very wild, as it is commonly reported of him, till about eighteen years of age. After that period, he became very steady and sedate. A neighbour instructed him a little in arithmetic. About the age of twenty or twenty-one, he undertook the building of a large iron forge at Cardiff, and lodged with a person named Walter Rosser, a baker, and blind. This man taught English reading. William Edwards was alive to every opportunity of improvement, and rapidly acquired what he eagerly pursued. He seems, indeed, to have possessed a mind, that could not easily be stopped in its progress. To the two languages, however, his attainments in literature were confined; but their application to the various branches of study in which he was engaged, afforded constant exercise even to his industry and spirit of enquiry. After he had performed his engagements at Cardiff, he built many good houses, with several forges and smelting-houses, and was for many years employed at works of this nature by John Morris, of Clasemont, esq.

Caerphilly castle is in his native parish. He has often been heard to say, that he would frequently visit that celebrated ruin, and study the principles of its excellent masonry, with all its various peculiarities, appearing in those venerable remains.

He considered himself to have derived more important knowledge from this, than from any other circumstance. Indeed, his principles were formed on those of the Caerphilly castle masonry. He was, what may with sufficient propriety be termed, a mason of the ancient castle, or Gothic school. His manner of hewing and dressing his stones was exactly that of the old castle-masons. He put them together in a style of closeness, neatness, and firmness, that is never seen but in those ancient, and, as far as we know, everlasting edifices. His son is perhaps the only workman remaining, who on any occasion practises the ancient masonry; and in the modern he is equally a proficient.

The full complement of business, which usually attends a high reputation in any line, might be supposed to have engrossed all the time and thoughts of a self-taught man. But William Edwards united with his trade the occupation of a farmer during the whole of his life. Nor was Sunday, though a sabbath, a day of rest to him; for then he had clerical functions to exercise. In his religious sentiments he was a dissenter, of the denomination styled Independents. About 1750 he was regularly ordained according to the usage of the sect of which he was a member; and about the same time was chosen minister of the congregation meeting at a chapel in his native parish, where he officiated for forty years, and till he died. He was a Calvinist, but of a very liberal description: indeed he carried his charity so far, that many persons suspected he had changed his opinions, and for that reason spoke very unhandsomely of him. For a length of time during the last years



of his ministry, he always avoided in his discourses those points of doctrine that were more peculiarly in dispute between the Calvinists and other parties. He frequently repeated and enforced a maxim, well worthy the adoption of the most enlightened and eminent divines: that the love of God and of our neighbour is the ultimate end of all religions, which having attained, their possessors had arrived at their object; and that it is against the spirit of Christianity to suppose, that among all parties, be they what they may, there are not many who have indisputably obtained this distinguishing characteristic. Few among his party were considered to be so edifying in their discourses as he was, and this specimen has a strong tendency to accredit the opinion: but sentiments of such liberality and moderation must have been suspected of trenching a little on the soundness of his Calvinism. Another principle of his evinced that his judgment was equal to his candour. He always declared it to be the duty of a religious society, to support their minister decently; and for this reason he took from his congregation the stipulated salary, though he never converted a single farthing of it to his own use, but distributed the whole among the poor members of the church, and even added very considerably to this largess from his own personal property. He very wisely alleged, that though a lucrative business would have allowed him to officiate gratuitously, his successor might be differently circumstanced; and the people, relieved from a burden for a time, would look with an evil eye on an instructor, who had it not in his power to exhibit similar disin-

terestedness. So judicious a mixture of prudence and generosity might furnish a lesson to certain indiscriminating enthusiasts, who brand with the opprobrious name of hire those fair emoluments, from which respectable abilities, however or wherever employed, are entitled to derive ease and competence. From these authentic notices it will sufficiently appear, that those who have termed him sarcastically, or, by way of ridicule, a methodist preacher, have egregiously misrepresented him. He never officiated at any of the methodist meetings. He frequently preached at the dissenting meeting-house of the rev. Lewis Rees, father of Dr. Abraham Rees, the editor of the new Encyclopedia. This meeting-house was situated near Morriston, the building of which he superintended. Many of his discourses were taken down in short-hand by William Jones, clerk to Mr. Padley, of Swansea. They were always delivered in Welsh. It may well be supposed that he detested an intolerant or persecuting spirit, and always reprobated the rancour of too many dissenters towards the established church. He was well respected by the most intelligent and liberal of all sects and parties, and died, very much lamented by all who knew him, in the seventieth year of his age, in the year 1789, and in his native parish of Eglwysilan, where he lies buried in the church-yard. He had six children: four sons, and two daughters. Thomas, David, and Edward, were brought up to their father's trade; William was shot at Gibraltar in the American war.

His son David is likewise very skilful in bridge-building, the principles of which he learnt by working



ing with his father. Among many others, he built in Caermarthen-shire, Landilo-bridge, of three very light, elegant, and large arches, over the river Towy, six miles above the town of Caermarthen; Edwinsford-bridge, over the river Cothy; Pont-loyring, over the river Taw, that divides the counties of Caermarthen and Pembroke; Bedwas-bridge, over the Remny; and last of all, Newport-bridge, over the Usk, in Monmouthshire: and this, if we consider the impediments with which he had to struggle here, must be allowed to have been a very arduous undertaking. The difficulty of making good foundations, together with the hazards attending Welsh mountain floods from the land, and the furious Severn tides from the Bristol Channel, might have deterred a less enterprising artist: but he surmounted every obstacle, and completed it in 1801. It consists of five arches, supported by high piers. The central arch is seventy feet in the span, and twenty-two feet and a half high from the base or chord of the arch. The other arches are each sixty-two feet in the span, and twenty-two feet in altitude. The piers are fourteen feet wide at the springing of the arches. The height, from low-water mark to the top of the parapet, is fifty-seven feet. It is a very ornamental, magnificent, scientific, and conveniently constructed bridge.

Mr. David Edwards lives at present in Glamorganshire, in a good farm of about five hundred pounds per annum. He is very much respected in his neighbourhood; simple in his manners, hospitable in his house, and very intelligent in his profession. His son William, brought up to the same trade, is a very skil-

ful mason, and particularly so in all kinds of bridge and water-works. He now superintends many of the locks and bridges of the Kennet and Avon navigation from London to Bristol: but his father is not informed whether he has yet entered into a contract for the rebuilding of Caerleon-bridge, in Monmouthshire. The present is an uncommon instance of the same taste and talents pervading a family for three generations. Bridge-building and farming seem destined to be their hereditary employments.

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*An Account of Goronwy Owen: from Bingley's Excursions into North Wales.*

Goronwy Owen, a man inferior in talent and genius to none which Wales has produced, was born in the year 1722; and his father having only a small farm to support his family upon, Goronwy's schooling was acquired in the neighbouring village of Llanallgo. During his early years, he exhibited such marks of application and abilities, that at the age of fifteen he was taken as an assistant in the grammar-school at Pwllheli. Here he found employment for some time. In 1741 he went to Oxford; but, from the poverty of his parents, he was supported in that university by the munificence of Mr. Lewis Morris. Four years afterwards he received holy orders at Bangor, and became curate to the bishop, at Llanfair. The bishop soon removing him, to make way for one of his own friends, he accepted the curacy of Oswestry, and in the same year received priest's orders at St. Asaph. In the year following he married, and in 1748 he



he removed to Donnington, near Shrewsbury, where he served a church, and taught a school, for about twenty-six pounds a year. He changed his residence in 1753 (with his wife and two children), to serve the curacy of Walton, near Liverpool, for which, and the care of a school, he was allowed forty pounds and a house. Here he found all the articles of life so expensive, that, in a letter to his intimate friend, Mr. Richard Morris, of the Navy-office, the brother to Lewis Morris, he expresses a wish that he could obtain in Wales, in exchange for it, a curacy of only thirty pounds. On this slender, and hard-earned pittance, his family was almost starving, when, two years afterwards, he was induced to remove to London, in search of something more valuable. His friend, Lewis Morris, applied for preferment to lord Powis, but his application was unsuccessful, and poor Goronwy was compelled to accept, for a short time, the curacy of North-holt, in Middlesex. Here he was once more on the point of starving, when the rectory of St. Andrews, in the county of Brunswick, in Virginia, worth about two hundred pounds per annum, was obtained for him; and, in the month of November, 1757, he sailed from this country to take possession of it. Here his situation seems to have been still distressing. He had to live among men whose whole conduct he detested, and whose interest he found was pursued at the expence of every thing worthy and honourable. In only two letters that have been received by his friends in this country, of the great number that he wrote, he complains, that all his letters from

hence were opened before they came to his hands. With one of these letters he himself travelled seventy miles, and with the other nearly as far, to secure them a passage, by delivering them himself to captains of vessels. In one of them, dated July 1767, he states the loss of all his family, except one boy.

Thus had this poor fellow, though a man of the highest talents, to struggle with misfortune through every part of his life; and the close attention that, in England, he paid to the duties of his station as a schoolmaster, and his application to the study of languages and general literature, during what ought to have been hours dedicated to rest, with the necessary anxieties for his family, tended greatly to undermine his health. His character throughout appears to have been free from stain. He was not ambitious, a comfortable subsistence seems to have been the utmost limits of his wishes, yet his country did not give it; and with every qualification that could render him of use to society, he was banished from his native home, to seek an asylum, for a mere existence, in a voluntary transportation from every thing he held dear and valuable.

The acquirements of Goronwy Owen were very extensive. To a perfect acquaintance with the Latin and Greek languages, he added a knowledge of Hebrew, Chaldee, Arabic, and Syriac. His Latin odes have been universally admired for the purity of their language, and for the elegance of their expression. As a Welsh poet, he ranks superior to all since the days of Dafydd ap Gwilym. Those parts of his works that have been printed, are considered



dered as perfect models of Welch poetry. He translated some of the odes of Anacreon into Welsh verse; of this attempt he modestly says, in a letter to Mr. R. Morris, in his peculiarly playful manner, "I have lately taken a fancy to my old acquaintance Anacreon; and as he had some hand in teaching me Greek, I have endeavoured to make him talk in Welsh, and that in metre, too." His poetry consists chiefly of odes, moral, serious, and religious; but his most celebrated performance is a poem on the day of judgment, "Cywydd y Farn fawr." The ideas in this are so grand, and it is throughout so crowded with poetic images, as deservedly to raise it superior to the works of any but a few of the most eminent bards.—He had also a general knowledge of antiquities, which, from his various letters that are extant, he seems to have pursued with considerable ardour.

A full character of the talents and poetry of Goronwy Owen was written by Mr. Lewis Morris to Mr. Vaughn of Nannau, in the hopes of obtaining for him some preferment in the church. "I wrote to you some time ago in behalf of peor Goronwy Owen, the greatest genius either of this age, or that ever appeared in our country; and perhaps few other countries can boast his equal for universal knowledge."—"I have two or three of his poems, the best that ever were written in our language (the Welsh), and such as will endure so long as there is good sense, good nature, and good learning in the world. It is a pity, and the greatest of pities, that such a man as this, who is not only the greatest of poets, but a great master of language, should la-

bour under the hardship of keeping a school, and serving a curacy, in the middle of Carn Saeson (Saxon heap, the English people), and all for the paltry income of twenty-six pounds a year."—"I should like, of all things, to have him in Merionethshire; but he wishes to be in Anglesea, his native country. I am told you have some interest with the bishop of Bangor; if you can get this man a living, you will not only make him immortal, but you will make me immortal too; and if you are hard-hearted enough to refuse me immortality, when to be had on such easy terms, I shall think you very cruel. My next letter shall bring you "Cywdd y Gem," which is the last poem he has written: the subject is a search for happiness. Dedwyddyd (happiness) is the gem he has searched for in all corners of the world, and after a great many fine descriptions, and researches with the help of learning and philosophy, after consulting the writings of Solomon and some others, he finds that the gem is not among those on crowns, mitres, and caps, nor, in short, does he discover it any where in the world. He then finds a book written by another son of David, which directs him where it is to be found, and he gives a lively description of the country (heaven). This is the subject, but nothing can equal the beautiful turns and expressions throughout the whole poem, which renders the writer worthy not only of a paltry rectory, but of the favour of all the men of sense in our country; and the performance itself is not only an honour to the ancient Britons, but to human nature in general."—After giving some specimens of his poetry, Mr. Morris goes on:—"These lines will



will last for ever, in spite of enemies—neither fire nor water can destroy them, nor will they perish till the world falls to pieces, and man is no more.” After another specimen from one of his poems, of the song sung by the morning stars on the creation of the world, he concludes, “When I see in Milton, in Dryden, or in Pope, such nervous lines as these, and such grand expressions as this poem contains, I shall admire them as much as I do Goronwy Owen, and not till then.”\*

It is to be remarked, that in one of Goronwy's letters to his friends, previous to his departure from this country, he laments that his friend Lewis Morris had taken some offence at his conduct, and had not only withdrawn his attentions, but had even spoken in very disrespectful terms of him. He was himself, however, superior to pique, and continued to express his gratitude and friendship to the last. On the death of his friend he composed an elegy, beautifully expressive of his sense of the loss of so good and useful a man. Goronwy Owen died in Virginia, but the time of his death I have not been able to ascertain.

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*Memoranda of the late Mr. Pennant.  
From the same.*

This indefatigable and useful writer was born at Bychton, in the parish of Whitford, on the 14th of June, 1726. He was a lineal descendant from Tudor Trevor, who married Angharad the daughter of

Howel Dda, prince of North Wales.†

He became possessed of the estate at Downing by the death of his father David Pennant; and having discovered a rich mine of lead ore on it, he was enabled, by means of the emoluments arising from this, to make considerable improvements. Here he principally resided.

“The house itself,” he informs us, “has little to boast of. I fortunately found it incapable of being improved into a magnitude exceeding the revenue of the family. It has a hall which I prefer to the rural impropriety of a paltry vestibule; a library; a parlour capable of containing more guests than I ever wish to see in it at a time, septem convivium; novem convicium! and a smoking room, most antiquesly furnished with ancient carvings, and the horns of all the European beasts of chase. This room is now quite out of use, as to its original purpose. Above stairs is a good drawing-room, in times of old called the dining-room, and a tea-room, the sum of all that are really wanted. I have Cowley's wish realized,—a small house and a large garden!”

The library contains, he says, a numerous collection of books, principally of history, natural history, and classics. “My own labours,” he adds, “might fill an ordinary book room.”

In his History of Whiteford and Holywell, he mentions another house called Downing, on the opposite side of the Dingle, about three hundred yards from this man-

\* Letter dated 7th October 1752. It is deposited among the Plâs Gwyn MSS.

† The name is truly Welsh, derived from pen, the head, and nant, a narrow valley, the house of Bychton, the ancient family mansion, being seated at the head of a very considerable dingle.



sion, the property of Thomas Thomas, esq. Fierce feuds, as usual, in days of yore, raged, according to his relation, between the two families. "These Montagues used to take a cruel revenge on their neighbour Capulet, by the advantage of a stream which ran through their grounds, in its way to our kitchen, where it was applied to the turning of a spit. "How often," says he, "has that important engine been stopped before it performed half its evolutions! our poor Capulet swearing, lady crying, cook fuming, and nurse screaming! But

To hear the children mutter,  
When they lost their bread and butter,  
It would move a heart of stone."

Till the advancement of Richard Pennant, esq. in the year 1783, to the title of Penrhyn, the family, according to his own account, was never distinguished by any honours beyond the most useful one, that of a justice of the peace: and "I should blush," he says, "if a Pennant could be found who, through lack of public spirit, sloth, or selfishness, would decline that great constitutional office!"

The first sheriff of this house was Pyers Pennant, who discharged that trust in 1612. He had the fortune to marry the daughter of a family not famed for placidity, or the milder virtues. Valde, valde, irritabile genus! "And from them, Tom," an aunt used often to tell him, "we got our passion;" and frequently had the wise Welsh caution, Beware of a breed!

The fruits of this marriage soon appeared, for Thomas, the eldest son, in a "furor brevis," killed his miller. He was indicted for manslaughter, tried and convicted, but afterwards pardoned.

When Mr. Pennant was about twelve years old, the father of Mrs. Piozzi presented him with a copy of Willughby's Ornithology. This first gave a taste for the study of natural history, which he afterwards pursued with so much avidity, and from which the world has obtained so much instruction and benefit.

The high gratification that he derived from this delightful science, and a desire of examining the island that gave him birth, induced him, about his twentieth year, to make, from Oxford, the tour of Cornwall. In this expedition he obtained a considerable knowledge of the mineralogy of the west of England. Not long afterwards, he went over the principal parts of Ireland; but such, he informs us, "was the conviviality of the country, that his journal proved as *meagre* as his entertainment was *gras*; so it never was a dish fit to be offered to the public."

In the year 1755 he began a correspondence with Linnæus, which ended only when the age and infirmities of that justly celebrated man obliged him to desist. To the talents of Mr. Pennant, Linnæus subscribed in the highest terms; and two years after the commencement of their acquaintance, Mr. Pennant was, at his instance, elected a member of the Royal Society at Upsal.

In 1761, he published his first work, the folio edition of his British Zoology.

Four years after this he made a short tour to the continent, during which he became personally acquainted with Le Comte de Buffon. While in Paris, he passed much of his time with this naturalist, and afterwards



afterwards spent some days with him, at his seat at Monbard.

At Ferney he visited Voltaire. "He happened," says Mr. P., which is nearly the whole account he gives of him, "to be in good humour, and was very entertaining; and, in his attempt to speak English, convinced us that he was a perfect master of our oaths and our curses."

At Bern he commenced acquaintance with Baron Haller, and at the Hague with Dr. Pallas. His meeting with the latter gave rise to his *Synopsis of Quadrupeds*, and afterwards, in a second edition, to his *History of Quadrupeds*. A work of this nature was commenced by Pallas, at the desire of Mr. Pennant, on a plan somewhat similar to that of Ray's *Synopsis*; but this gentleman being invited to Petersburg, by the empress of Russia, his employments there did not allow him sufficient leisure to carry it on: it was, therefore, transferred from his to Mr. Pennant's hands; but from Pallas he continued to receive considerable improvements and corrections.

In 1769 he made his first tour into Scotland, a country at that time almost as little known to its southern brethren as Kamtschatka. He published an account of his journey, which proved that the northern parts of Great Britain might be visited with safety, and even with pleasure; and from this time Scotland has formed one of the fashionable British tours. A candid account of this country was so great a novelty, that the impression was instantly bought up, and the following year another was printed, and as soon sold. By this work he endeavoured to reconcile the affections of two nations which had been

set at variance by evil designing people; and he received ample testimony from several of the Scots, of their approbation and satisfaction.

In 1772, he performed his longest journey; his second tour in Scotland, and voyage to the Hebrides; and he returned rich in civic honours, receiving the usual compliments of every corporated town. The publication of this tour obtained the applause that it justly merited.

It was in this journey that Mr. Pennant became acquainted with Mr. Hutchinson, of Barnard-castle, the author of the *Histories of Durham and Cumberland*. The first interview was sufficiently whimsical: Mr. Pennant thus relates it:—"I was mounted on the famous stones in the church-yard of Penrith, to take a nearer view of them, and see whether the drawing I had procured, done by the rev. Dr. Todd, had the least foundation in truth. Thus engaged, a person of good appearance, looking up at me, observed, 'what fine work Mr. Pennant had made with these stones!' I saw he had got into a horrible scrape; so, unwilling to make bad worse, descended, laid hold of his button, and told him, 'I was the man!' After his confusion was over, I made a short defence, shook him by the hand, and we became, from that moment, fast friends."

He made, previous to the year 1778, several journies over the six counties of North Wales, in which he collected ample materials even for their history. His work on this country appeared, at different periods, in two volumes in quarto. Of its merits I am able to speak in terms somewhat positive, having myself examined nearly every place in



in this division of the principality that Mr. Pennant had visited. I can pronounce of it, that, for accuracy, it is throughout (when the necessary allowance is made for alterations that have taken place in the lapse of four and twenty years) almost unexceptionable. What it wants in elegance of style is sufficiently compensated by quantity of matter; and the antiquarian, the artist, and the philosopher, may alike derive from it information and instruction.

His Arctic Zoology appears to have been commenced about this period. At first this was designed only to comprehend the zoology of North America, and it was intended to bear that title as a colony of Great Britain. But the moment that country became separated from us, he determined upon an alteration in his plan; taking in all the animals of the northern parts of the old continent, he resolved to render it a more-general work, and therefore gave it the above title. This was so well received by the public, as to be translated into German by professor Zimmerman; that part of it which relates to the north of Europe was translated into Swedish; and the introduction into French.

In the year 1779, when the discontent began to grow so high, that even the little county of Flint took a share in the attempt to procure a redress of grievances, he was desirous of rendering every assistance in his power to allay the popular fury. He exerted himself among his neighbours, and reasoned some of them again into their senses. He also framed a speech to deliver at a general meeting, but when the time arrived, such was his diffidence, that he had not courage enough to rise

up; and therefore, as the only method he had to resort to for the circulation of this opinion, he printed the *Lenitive Intention*.

The following is an enumeration of his different publications, with their dates:

British Zoology, folio edition 1761  
—— second edition, two vols. 8vo. 1768

—— vol. iii. 8vo. 1769

—— 103 additional plates, &c. 8vo. 1770

—— fourth edition, three vols. 8vo. 1776

—— vol. iv. containing worms, &c. 1777

Synopsis of Quadrupeds, eight vols. 1771

History of Quadrupeds, being the second edition of the Synopsis, two vols. 4to. 1781

—— third edition, two vols. 4to. 1792

Genera of Birds, 8vo. 1773

Indian Zoology, two vols. 4to. 1779

—— second edition, 4to. 1792

Arctic Zoology, two vols. 4to. 1784

—— Supplement to, 4to. 1787

—— second edition, two vols. 4to. 1792

Tour in Scotland, in 1769, 8vo. 1771

—— second edition, 8vo. 1772

—— third edition, 4to. 1774

Tour in Scotland, in 1772, forming

vol. ii. 4to. 1774

—— vol. iii. 4to. 1775

—— fifth edition, three vols. 4to. 1790

Tour in Wales, vol. i. 4to. 1778

—— vol. ii. 4to. 1781

—— second edition, two vols. 4to. 1784

Journey from Chester to London, 4to. 1782

Account of London, 4to. 1790

—— second and third editions 1791

Literary Life, 4to. 1793

History



- History of Whitford and Holywell,  
4to.....1796  
 Outlines of the Globe, vols. i. and  
 ii. 4to.....1798  
 Miscellanies, only 30 copies, from a  
 private press.  
 History of the Patagonians, from  
 the same press.

Posthumous Publications.

- Outlines of the Globe, vol. iii. and  
 iv. 4to.....1781  
 Journey from London to Dover, 4to.  
 1801  
 Journey from Dover to the Isle of  
 Wight, 4to.....1801

The two last of these form also two of the volumes of the work denominated by Mr. Pennant, "Outlines of the Globe." This, in manuscript, occupies two and twenty folio volumes, and uncommon expence was bestowed on them, in ornaments and illuminations. No more than six have been yet published.

The writing of his numerous works, their correction, and the additions to the subsequent editions, with his various other duties, kept both his mind and body in active and continual employment.

To his regular and temperate mode of life, and his riding exercise, for he performed all his different tours on horseback, with the perfect ease that he enjoyed on these pleasing excursions, he attributes the almost uninterrupted good health he enjoyed for nearly seventy years. His general time of retiring to rest was ten o'clock; and he rose, both in summer and winter, at seven. He carefully avoided that meal of excess, a supper; "and my soul," says he, "rises with vigor to its employs, and does not, I trust, disappoint the end of its Creator:

Behold how pale the seated guests arise,  
 From suppers, puzzled with varieties!  
 The body too with yesterday's excess,  
 Burthen'd and tir'd shall the poor soul  
 depress;  
 Weigh down this portion of celestial  
 birth,  
 This breath of God, and fix it on the  
 earth."

His favourite exercise seems to have been on horseback, and this he continued, as far as he was able, to the latest part of his life, "considering the absolute resignation of the person to the luxury of a carriage, to forbode a very short interval betwixt that and the vehicle which is to carry us to our last stage."

In the year 1792, the sixty-seventh of his age, he says of himself, "though my body may have somewhat abated its wonted vigor, yet my mind still retains its powers, its longing after improvement, its wish to see new lights through the chinks which time has made." And, speaking of his great attempt, the Outlines of the Globe: "Happy is the life that could beguile its fleeting hours without injury to any one, and, with addition of years, continue to rise in its pursuits. But more interesting, and still more exalted subjects, must employ my future span."

Some of these latter observations appear in his "Literary Life," which contains his biography so far as relates, principally, to his literary concerns, to the commencement of the year 1793. This, although published by himself, he whimsically denominated a posthumous work, the name in dotted characters,

THOMAS PENNANT  
 subscribed to the advertisement, indicating



dicating it to be sent into the world by departed literary spirit. From this time he declares himself determined to appear in no new works before the public, yet the activity of his mind would not suffer him, even in this advanced age, entirely to resign himself to private labours and domestic concerns; accordingly he wrote, and in 1796 printed, the "History of Whitford and Holywell," the word

## RESURGAM

appropriately occupying the leaf preceding the title. He afterwards published also the two first volumes of the "Outlines of the Globe."

The loss of an amiable daughter, in the year 1794, had so great an effect upon his mind, that he was never able perfectly to recover it. In April ensuing he had the misfortune to snap the patella of his knee in descending a flight of steps. This accident confined him long to his room, but he recovered from it in a wonderful manner.

Towards the latter end of the year 1796 he began to be affected by the pulmonary complaint, which at length terminated his life. His mental faculties, however, still continued in a great measure unimpaired, till the month of October, 1798, when his disorder began to wear a serious aspect. He was from this time confined to his bed, and on the sixteenth of December, closed his existence without a groan. Conscious of approaching dissolution, he met the stroke with the utmost composure and resignation.

Thus was society deprived of one of its most active, and one of its most valuable members. Of the industry and talents of Mr. Pennant, his election as member of various literary institutions, both

at home and abroad, bear satisfactory evidence:

Antiquarian Society, Nov. 1754.

Royal Society at Upsal, Feb. 1757.

Royal Society of London, Feb. 1767.

Royal Academy of Dronthiem, Mar. 1769.

L. L. D. at Oxford, May 1771.

Societas Physiographica, Lond. June 1783.

American Philosophical Society at Philadelphia, April 1791.

Royal Academy of Sciences at Stockholm, May 1784.

Royal Society at Edinburgh, Hon. Mem. Jan. 1785.

Society of Antiquaries at Perth, Hon. Mem. Dec. 1785.

Linnean Society of London, Hon. Mem.

In the writings of Mr. Pennant we are not to look for any of those brilliant effusions of genius that mark the pen of some of the modern naturalists and travellers. But if he did not possess their fire, he had the more valuable requisites of untarnished principle, and a scrupulous adherence to truth. Perseverance, industry, and correctness, are their leading characteristics. His reading was extensive, particularly in the zoological branches of natural history. He possessed a retentive memory, and a considerable rapidity of composition, his works being generally printed, with little or no correction, as they flowed from the pen.

As to his private character, he was religious without bigotry; and, from principles the most pure and disinterested, firmly attached to the established church. He was a steady friend to our excellent constitution; and, when the spirit of democracy



with which the mania of a neighbouring country appeared desirous of overwhelming our kingdom, was spreading abroad, he resisted its efforts with all his might. In times of scarcity he materially alleviated the distresses of the neighbouring poor by the importation of grain. If he had foibles, let them be buried in his grave, and let the first who is without, draw them from thence to his dispraise. To sum up the general character of Mr. Pennant in few words, he was a man of upright conduct and the most unshaken integrity, uniting to a good head that valuable counter part so often wanting, an excellent heart.

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*The Streets of Paris described; or Sketches of the Habits and Manners of the lower Orders of Parisians; contained in Letters to a Lady, by the celebrated Dramatist Kotzebue.*

My dear friend,

The proverb, "Tell me what company you keep, and I will tell you what you are," is, perhaps, liable to many exceptions; for only very independent men are at liberty to choose their company: I should like to propose another proverbial saying, "Tell me how your room looks, and I will tell you what kind of man you are." These two exceptions may sometimes belie the rule; but, upon the whole, I challenge every reader to look about among his acquaintance, whether the appearance of the room does not frequently resemble the character of its inhabitant?

You ask me, why this introduction? My answer is, we are now in Paris. The capital is, as it were,

the room of a nation; and if I succeed in making you a little better acquainted with modern Paris, I am also of opinion, I shall have partly portrayed the French nation.

Please to favour me with your arm! For what? To take a walk through the streets of Paris in this fine autumnal weather. You will not be sorry for it. No foreigner should neglect such a walk; for the quays, boulevards, &c. present the most entertaining spectacle from morning till night. As often as the weather permitted, I rambled about on foot, stopped wherever a little crowd was gathering; I looked, I listened, gaped too, if you please, amused myself like a prince, and often picked up a grain of experience to deposit in my memory.

Behold in one place a wheel of fortune made of glass; are you not surprised? Here extremes meet; one of the most enlightened nations of Europe, seems likewise to be the most superstitious. At the corners of every street, you find cunning people, who in every possible manner allure passengers, to announce to them, infallibly, what numbers will be prizes in the next drawing of the numerous French lotteries; and such a prophet has always a crowded circle about him. This dirty wheel of fortune has a hole on the top; the ragged fellow who stands behind it, has made a kind of an instrument of the back bone of a goose, which he applies to the hole with great gravity, and almost without moving his lips imitates the speaking of Punch, which sounds exactly as if some little demon were sitting in the wheel, and addressing the auditors. If the curious draw near, the goose's bone suddenly jumps off the hole, and the ghostly voice in-



vites the bystanders, whose hands are already in motion, under the most splendid assurances of drawing the numbers which are to be prizes. Two sous is the usual price of all such never-failing prophecies.

A little farther another has a large board with letters exposed, tell him only your initials he immediately draws your name from the board, and in a hole behind it, finds you all you desire to know. This way of divination has been found too simple by a third. Behold that table where all sorts of neat little figures are driven round by clock-work. At first sight, it does not look at all like the sanctuary of a lottery prophet; but you will soon perceive, that on the middle pole which goes through the table, a zodiac is fastened over the puppets, in which the months are inscribed and which turns round with them. Higher up you behold another circle bearing the ninety numbers. Now only please to touch with your finger the puppet you think most endowed with the gift of soothsaying: for instance, this Turkish emperor who holds his sceptre so majestically high; all the figures immediately begin to run, the zodiac turns round, as do the numbers, and you wait in patience for the result.

Now the clock-work is run down, the emperor of Turkey stands still, and points with his sceptre to the month of August, exactly above which is No. 78. Can any thing be more natural and certain than that by taking this number for this month, you will win great sums upon it? You laugh that people should thus seriously give themselves up to children's play. Begging your pardon, it is, in fact,

doing no more than a philosopher, who, taking his chair, draws up with two demonstrating fingers the curtain of futurity, as he would unroll a piece of paper?

Let us go farther, and see this brilliant inscription: the golden chain of fate. This valuable chain consists of ninety cases, or wrappers of gilt paper, which are wound on a wheel, like yarn to be unreeled, and turned by a blind man. You choose one of these paper cases, the blind man opens it, and the number it contains again makes your fortune. But should you be absolutely determined not to make it in the lottery, you will at least be curious enough to learn your future destinies, and the past likewise if you please.

In front of the Pont Neuf stands a conjurer, who expressly announces himself to be privileged by the police, and who has devoted his talent chiefly to the lottery: as men had much rather win money, than look into futurity. At your desire the same personage opens you the book of fate for two sous, and with wondrous fluency of speech, relates to you all that has happened and will happen. Though twenty people, one after another, different by professions, age, and sex, should all appeal to his skill, it does not put him out of countenance; he stares at one after the other, reads in their eyes and whole countenance, speaks to each for at least two minutes, is very grave all the while, makes use of the choicest terms of language, says in about an hour, (so long I imagine I staid), certainly not the same thing twice over, never stops or stammers, makes a slight bow at last; asks for nothing, addresses those who follow,



follow, takes what the preceding drop into his hand, and puts it into his pocket without looking at it.

This man, in any other situation, would certainly have been an excellent speaker. The countenances of his consulters form the most diverting part of the scene. The utmost devotion, perfect resignation, and firm belief, are deeply impressed in every feature. As the man always expresses himself particularly relative to the past with such artful duplicity, he cannot fail, with the help of his ingenious powers of fancy, to hit the truth with regard to several of his hearers. I have often remarked, with what amazement people stared at him, and how many a lady turned away with tears in her eyes. Thus the same Parisians, who but a few years ago carried about the goddess of Reason, though only on their shoulders, believe in divination, and surround by hundreds the first pretended prophet they meet.

A Frenchman possesses an inexhaustible fund of polite and agreeable turns, which, though every one knows they are unmeaning, yet draw an approving smile from all his hearers. There, stands a fellow twisting a puppet's coat on his forefinger, and sometimes letting a little devil peep out, waving his hand briskly towards heaven, and exclaiming, "there it flies." This flat and stale joke he seasons very admirably with a ready account of every thing the little imp will see in his flight over Paris; now he sees the gun-boats on the Seine, of which he adds a pompous description; now a young lady just rising from bed, whom he describes with every possible fascination. Ample as is the matter with which he is fur-

nished by his flying devil (*diable volant*), copied from the devil upon two-sticks (*diable boiteux*), still he knows how to change his amusements in a clever manner.

He suddenly calls a boy out of the crowd, who may be about ten years of age, putting his hand on his head, he asks him very solemnly, "Are you married, my lad?" The younster stares at him and says, "No."—"Swear then," continues the jester with a gruff voice, "swear that you are not married."—The boy is obliged to hold up his hand and swear. "Now I'll make thy fortune." He gives him a box and promises to conjure so many hundred louis d'ors into it. But before he begins his *hocus pocus*, he very genteelly addresses the public, saying, "You will perhaps ask, gentlemen, why with this facility of making gold, I do not make my own fortune? 'Tis because it is already made. All that I am doing here, is entirely for your amusement." He now conjures the box full of gold; at least it becomes as heavy in the hand, as if there were really gold in it. To be sure, on opening it, nothing is found but a stone. But, can the conjurer help it, that the boy is a natural or illegitimate child; or owes, at least, his supposed legitimacy to his mother having told a tale about his real origin? He declares with an arch look, that he very seldom meets with instances of the kind; that such things seldom occur at Paris; and quickly digresses to some other subject.

All these are only jokes for the populace; but they are delivered without decency being offended, and are, indeed, not without wit. You will allow that a nation, among whom



whom the common people join so heartily in laughing at this kind of wit, must be advanced in cultivation a step farther than many other nations. But let us go on to his neighbour, who carefully watches till the wit, whom we have just left, makes a pause—when he immediately calls out with a loud voice, “Gentlemen, while my neighbour is taking breath, permit me to show you a most remarkable experiment;” without waiting for an answer, he carries round a box from which he desires the people to draw questions, relative to money, health, love, the constancy or inconstancy of a beloved object, legacies expected, &c. &c. While the question is taking out of the box, the professor of a thousand arts stands at a distance to prove that he needs not be acquainted with the subject of it. Then upon receiving two sous in ready cash, he first answers the question, and, in the next place gives a complete character of the inquirer, his temper, his good and bad qualities, and adds some good advice respecting the regulation of his future conduct. Thirdly, and lastly, he gives the five numbers which will come out at the next drawing; the whole printed on pretty good paper.

I cannot indeed conceive how this man, considering the expence he is at, can still have sufficient profit left out of two pence to support this merry life; this thought frequently occurs to me. Listen to that man further on, who offers with a loud voice, and for two pence, to every passenger, the rules of piquet. The little book consists of about two sheets; and though I cannot see any person who buys a single copy of him, yet I have found

him on the same spot for this fortnight, and he still lives.

Attend to that girl crying till she is hoarse, “Fifty tooth-picks for two sous, *cinquante cure-dents pour deux sous!*” She sells but little of her goods; she is ugly, nobody will buy; and yet she lives. I prefer those cunning wits, whose industry speculates upon that inexhaustible fund, the curiosity of mankind. Here stands an old woman, who reads, with a harsh voice, from a printed sheet of blotting paper; what has happened in the last sitting of the council of state. She hardly closes her mouth before her more aged neighbour opens her faded lips, pours forth a torrent of printed eloquence against the perfidy of the English; pointing, at the same time, to a wooden cut which decorates her hand-bill, and in which his Britannic majesty is very ill-treated. The droll delivery of the two old women is heard gratis, and their hand-bills cost only one sous.

Let us quit these haggard figures for yon pretty round-faced wench, who has set up a table, on which stands about half a dozen of tin or plated candlesticks. She holds a woollen rag in her hand, which she dips into a red powder, and, while she rubs the candlesticks quite bright, she extols, in a mellifluous tone, and with dimples in her cheeks, the admirable qualities of her powder. She asks the bystanders for thimbles or shoe-buckles, gives them back as bright as new, and even promises to cure pimples in the face with her powder; but no one offers his face for this experiment. A merry soldier goes by, shews her a scar on his cheek, and laughing, asks whether she can re-



move that too? She answers, yes; and promises, for this purpose, to pay him a visit in the evening. I could wager that this girl has invented a powder which yields more profit, and costs less, than the golden powder of the famous alchemists.

But what is that sailor doing with his microscope? where did he get this dirty instrument, patched together with wire? what does he shew through it? Nothing more or less than a flea: for this he gets one sous. Only see his neighbour, about one hundred yards farther, knows likewise how to turn trifles to the best account. The cunning dog found means to get a few sheets of the paper which painters use to draw transparencies, and now shews for onesous to the wondering crowd, how pictures can be copied with the utmost expedition.

Let us enter this booth, where the inscription announces a wonder. He who will not believe, let him come and see! What pray?—A flea drawing an elephant; a flea conducting a carriage with six horses carrying ladies and gentlemen; a flea on whose foot a metal ball has been fastened with a golden chain, with which he merrily leaps to and fro. All this is not fiction. A man has really taken the vast trouble to make the elephant, carriage, chains, &c. of gold so very small, and to fasten them to the flea.

But still more ludicrous and more inventive is the artist's producing two flies fighting a duel with the small sword. It is thus contrived: two flies are fastened to two needles, placed perpendicularly behind their wings, so that they keep their six legs stretched out before them. They are fixed very nearly facing

each other, and a little ball of cork is then given to each of them, in which is fastened a small straw. As soon as this ball touches their feet, they endeavour to seize it to hold themselves by: on this touch the ball keeps moving backwards and forwards, and consequently the straw turns against the enemy. Each party moving in the same manner, the two straws often clash together like two swords; and this constitutes the duel of the flies.

Close by this fencing and hopping-room, we are invited to undertake a little journey of several hundred leagues, on mechanical horses, with the great promise, that this great distance shall be travelled in a time incredibly short. Well; we laugh sarcastically, and yet enter. No sooner is the dirty curtain raised, than we are convinced, at the first look, that we see nothing before us but a kind of carroussel, remarkable only for its requiring no person to turn it; as the rider, by tightly pulling the bridle, sets the centre wheel in motion, and consequently turns himself with great velocity.

This fun costs only four sous. But that you may not throw away your money, I warn you against yonder bald-pated fellow, who has put up a large tube of paste-board, directed towards the sky, and civilly asks every body to look up. On this occasion he makes a long speech, which the crowd think very learned, about different vapours and their properties; assuring them that the glasses in his tube are so finely polished, that the vapours before it are concentrated into various extraordinary forms. It cannot be done in all weathers, but this particularly is a day to exhibit every thing



thing in the most charming manner. I confess to you, my dear friend, that old bald-pate lately spoke so well and so ingeniously, that I suffered myself to be tempted to step before his tube. He then pulled a thread, unperceived, and a centaur passed between my eye and the ordinary window-glass, which he probably cut out of some book of prints, such as are usually manufactured at Nuremberg. I suddenly withdrew my head quite ashamed, and sneaked away to make room for another.

But why should I be ashamed, thought I, as I retired; this daily happens in my own country, where great poets and philosophers, with much bawling, hold their tubes before our eyes, promising us, God knows what wonders. We are good-natured; we look into them, and what do we behold? Some little monster of the puppet-fair.

But I forget that you are tired of your walk. If the weather remain fine, we will continue it to-morrow for an hour; for I assure you, we have many curious and diverting things yet to see.

## LETTER II.

This day, my sweet friend, we pursue our excursion in dry weather. The objects will not always be of the same merry cast as before, and I will not answer for it that a tear may not now and then steal into your eye. Just by, we meet with a blind man singing his song in simple and affecting accents. Beside him lies a faithful guide, the shaggy dog, sometimes shaking his bell. Not far from him sits another blind man, who probably cannot sing: instead of singing, a kind of stage stands before him, on which several bells

of various tones are suspended, which he puts in motion with threads. He does not beg aloud; but only puts his hand now and then into his hat, to try whether he can grasp the charitable token of some passing benefactor. He generally draws his hand back empty.

We do not go far, without encountering a third poor wretch bereft of the most valuable of the senses. He has an old harpsichord placed before him on the Boulevards, and is thumping a sonata with all his might. Numbers of people stop to hear his performance; but the pewter cup, fastened in front of his instrument, seldom resounds with the boon of pity.

We scarcely leave him, when we meet a fourth blind man endeavouring to touch the heart by means of a fiddle out of tune. He plays it walking: his dog fastened by a little chain to a button of his waistcoat, goes cautiously before him. However, I once witnessed how this poor skeleton of a dog was irresistibly tempted, by a bone which had been thrown away, to run into a corner, where his unsuspecting master was on the point of dashing against the wall all his wealth—his head and his violin. But among the many blind men who are to be met with in the streets of Paris, singing, playing, or ringing, none gather a more inquisitive crowd round them, than two men who play at piquet the live-long day; not to lose, but to win money: who, with the most wonderful discrimination, feel and name the cards, contrive to interest every one who has the least idea of the game for some minutes, and when they retire at night, are ways both winners.

But let us leave these blind people



ple, the sight of whom only dejects those possessed of vision. Though the Parisians, steeled by custom, for the most part pass them with indifference. I often saw elderly women, especially in the evening, who, to judge from their baskets, were cookmaids, and who by giving alms to the poor blind, no doubt, hoped to stifle the reproaches of their consciences for taking too large a market-penny.

Let us rather direct our steps to you musical artist, who by the dexterity he has acquired really deserves admiration. He alone plays a whole symphony (*concertante*) upon five instruments at once. With one hand he grasps and holds a double flageolet, whose mouth-pieces he constantly moves to and fro on his lips; sometimes, too, he plays both at the same time: with the other he fingers the harp very dexterously: with one foot he beats a tabor, and with the toes of the other he rattles the castanet. It sounds very well, you hear; and the poor devil fags as hard as Mademoiselle Maillard in the great opera, dearly earning his few sous.

Don't let us pass yon harper without dropping a trifle into his plate. His execution certainly is not the most pleasing; but the poor young girl who stands by him with her eyes fixed on the ground, singing, constantly singing, is entitled to our mite, because her downcast looks seem to say: "I know very well I sing badly, but my father wants bread!" The two children, who sing a duet on the bridge, do quite the reverse. The song is intended to move the heart, and would produce that effect if the children did not squall so thoughtlessly, and look about in such an impudent

manner. Their look and notes only raise the idea that they will one day become two worthless creatures.

A group of children to whom I shall not lead you, for fear of giving you too much pain, is much more likely to excite pity. In the Rue Vivienne I have seen, for more than three weeks, yet always in the evening when it was dark, three wretched children lying in the mud. The eldest, a boy of about ten years, sat reclined against the wall, holding on his lap another wrapped in rags, three years old at farthest, and usually moaning. By his side sat or lay a third symbol of misery, about five years old. These children did not beg; but had the end of a tallow candle placed before them, near which, upon a rag, lay a paper with the following simple and moving inscription: "We have neither father nor mother." Few of the passengers remained unmoved, and the street being much frequented, they always obtained a rich harvest. With pleasure I remarked that the soldiers in particular gave, and gave the most. One night I found one of those people deeply affected. He wore large black whiskers, which, in wild contrast with the emotion of the muscles of his face, lighted by the glimmer of the candle, threw their shade upon a tear. He surveyed the group for some minutes in silence; the poor little wretch was just whining dolefully, because it was cold. The soldier briskly put his hand in his pocket, gave to the elder boy two pieces of silver coin (I believe two twelve-sous pieces), on condition of his carrying the child home immediately and warming it. He repeated this condition three or four times, and made the boy as often promise



promise to perform it. He then retired. As he turned round I accosted him.—“You certainly are a father,” said I. “Oui, monsieur,” answered he, rather roughly, and hastened away. I stopped some time to see whether the boy would keep his promise, and take the children home; but he did not. That the police should have suffered such a scene for so many weeks, does not please me. It seems almost impossible that the poor children should remain in health all the winter.

In Paris beggars seldom or never ask charity. You only hear at times, *Monsieur, je meurs de faim* (sir, I am starving), whispered behind you. Every pauper endeavours to establish a kind of just claim to what is given him. One runs with a broom in his hand, when he sees a person crossing a dirty part of the street, and quickly sweeps away the mud; another profits of a shower, which fills the middle of the street with water, lays a plank across, and in a friendly manner helps you over. He judges who can afford to give him something by their clothes: all that he supposes to be poor he suffers to pass gratis: and if a handsome girl appear, he escorts her with the utmost gallantry.

But it does not rain now, and I had almost forgotten that we are to see the bustle in the streets. Should you not think that something very remarkable is going forward in yonder crowded circle of people? An old rope dancer, perhaps superannuated, has taught some idle, blackguard boys to tumble head over heels. A couple of his pupils seem to have escaped, with a view of carrying on business on their own account. At the corner of yon street they have spread a piece of

carpet, so full of holes that it scarcely hangs together. They have endeavoured to give to their own rags the look of those worn by tumblers; and while one is rolling and tumbling about the carpet, the other endeavours to imitate the drollery of a buffoon.

That fellow with his cups is as little worth attention; he is a common juggler. But if you step behind the curtain for a moment, you will not repent it. You will find an extraordinary female, to whom nature has granted the ornament of man—a long, thick, black, capuchin beard. It is no deception, for I examined it closely. She is between twenty and thirty, has weak eyes, shaded by a pair of very bushy and coal-black brows. If you fancy to yourself a face thus decorated, covered above with a dirty white turban, with two full, white breasts; and the arms, feet, and neck, thickly overgrown with hair, you certainly will not think it a tempting figure. Were it not for her bosom, and her singing in such a clear and shrill voice, as to make people run away, no one would think he was looking at a woman. “She is a native of Norway,” said her keeper, “and was born five hundred leagues beyond Bergen!!”

I pretended to be a Dane, and questioned her in her native language. This quite puzzled the poor bearded lady. “I was brought to Paris by my father, when only three years old,” replied she, in a Parisian accent. Let us quit this object, to whom the petulance of nature has refused the usual attributes of feminine beauty. Let us rather cast a transient look on the numerous articles exposed to sale. We shall often find the most singular



lar contrasts:—here you are offered baskets full of dogs of various breeds; there portraits of our Saviour, consisting of only a sheet of paper, containing the well-known spurious passage in Josephus.

In this small portable booth, filled with a great variety of articles, each is sold for eighteen sous—in that for twenty-five; and you find many things among them which you can scarcely conceive it possible to sell at so low a price. Close to them are laid upon a cloth a whole mountain of books of every description. “Buy, gentlemen!” cries the owner, “take your choice! six sous apiece!” Another envious hawker, to spoil his trade, offers his heap of literary productions at four sous. They generally consist of insipid novels; yet I have frequently found many good things among them: such as odd volumes of madame de Sevigné’s *Letters*, &c. I have put my hand on them the second or third touch. If one were to take time, and a little trouble, a small collection of good books might be formed for a few livres.

The old books on the ballustrade of the Pont Neuf, and on several of the quays, are more conveniently exposed, but dearer, though dog-cheap, according to the vulgar phrase. To judge from the very handsome manner in which most of them are bound, they are the remains of libraries that have been destroyed. Here the most valuable works are often found complete, in excellent condition, and at very moderate prices.

I perceive that the jewellers glittering shop attracts your eyes:—your taste is good. More elegant workmanship is found neither at Augsburgh nor Vienna. I have no where met with works of art that

can be compared with these, except in the manufactory of the excellent counsellor of state De Busch, at Petersburg. It is difficult to leave this place without purchasing something. It is here that you feel tempted to envy the rich. But you doubtless perceive something characteristic of the present time in France, in the contents of that window, which is full of gold or gilt shrines for the host; a proof that there is now a great demand for this sacred article. Who has gained most by the temporary suppression of the Roman catholic religion?—The goldsmiths.

I entreat you to go a step farther; for the man who exposes such a variety of stuffed animals, deserves admiration as an artist, and has certainly attained perfection in his art. Every thing lives and seems to move. You stretch out your hand to rescue the fowl from that fox, which is carrying it off in his jaws: you feel pain at seeing that hawk stick his talons in the defenceless fieldfare: you stop delighted before the cage in which the canaries are hatching, and the hens feeding their brood: you smile at the fine shaggy spaniel carrying a lanthorn in his mouth; you fancy he stops only because the person whom he is lighting is not quite close enough to him. A great number of single birds decorate the back part of the shop. This charming art affords the Parisians this advantage, that a person who possessed a faithful dog, a favourite bird, or any other animal he was fond of, does not lose it entirely after its death. For a trifling consideration he preserves its exterior figure as natural as life. The prices of these curiosities are very low. The stuffing of a small bird, for instance,



stance, costs only three francs, if the bird is furnished by the customer; otherwise a little more, in proportion to the rarity of the animal.

This theatre of inanimate bodies is, in some measure, preferable to that which swarms with living creatures, but which is rendered offensive by the disagreeable exhalations. If, however, you can stay a few moments in the latter shop without feeling indisposed, you will obtain some idea of Noah's ark, which could scarcely have been celebrated for its pleasant smell. Here you see lodged in a vast number of cages, grey, green, and party-coloured parrots, white cockatoos, superb India ravens, all of which scream at once, in such a manner as to deafen you. But you must not think that because birds are so plentiful, they are to be bought cheap; no: you could not purchase any of these for less than eight louis, unless it were yon sparrow-like parrot, that cannot speak, and never will learn; that you may perhaps buy for three louis. These foreigners with variegated plumage justly occupy the first row in the aviary. Next to them come pigeons and fowls of the rarest species in great numbers; Turkish ducks, pearl hens, gold and silver pheasants, singing birds of every kind, from the nightingale to the greenfinch. Between these are placed spaniels, pug-dogs, squirrels, guinea-pigs, hares, and rabbits.—And here pigeons and young weasels, birds, and Angora cats are seen living in the greatest harmony by the side of each other. The walls are hung with cages from top to bottom, and even the whole outside of the shop next the street, is covered with them. Now let us en-

ter this beautiful repository of household furniture, in which taste is subservient to luxury, and sometimes the contrary. But why should we trouble ourselves concerning this? we foreigners, who can carry nothing along with us! How great houses are here furnished, I shall not shew you in the street. For the same reason, let us quickly pass this china warehouse, glittering with gold, where the brittle materials exhibit the most pleasing variety of colours. A charming sight indeed, indeed! and which has attracted my notice many a quarter of an hour.

Don't mind the woman, who absolutely wants to force upon you a ticket of the national lottery.—“Seventy-five thousand livres to be gained for a trifle,” she incessantly cries, as if she had been taught by a Brunswick lottery-office keeper; but more modest than the latter, she does not pester you with letters, but only follows you to the corner of the street. Now you have got rid of her, a good-natured savoyard, who, if you please, will clip, wash, and comb, your dog—offers to clean your shoes. But you like to trust your feet only to female hands, and by proceeding a few steps farther, you may satisfy that modest scruple.

I now propose to walk slowly down the Quay de l'Ecole, and thus to terminate this day's excursion. We shall leave to the left all the coffee-houses and restaurateurs however inviting may be the inscriptions painted in large characters on the glass-doors and windows: cold and warm breakfasts, fork breakfasts (*dejeuners à la fourchette*), rum and rack punch, ice-cheese, milk-coffee, chocolate, &c. The next door neighbour invites us to a game à la poule; the



the next to him offers a game at billiards; and a third offers capital March beer. But all in vain: we will walk on. Nor will we suffer ourselves to be tempted by the chestnuts roasted in the streets, nor the apples and grapes, nor the dirty ganymedes, who fill tin pots with an insipid beverage resembling the *sbit* in Russia. Such a potful costs indeed only one sous; but I shall advise you rather to drink clean water, which you may have for nothing. Ah! how lively is the street which leads along the Seine! To the left is a row of elegant shops, where the productions of every part of the world, nay, even those of other worlds (for even the celebrated stones which dropped from the moon can be bought here) are exposed for sale. And then the motley multitude of people, hackney coaches, and cursed cabriolets!—Now look down the river on the right. All the washerwomen in the world seem to be collected here. Ranged in rows, in long boats covered with roofs; they are employed in mercilessly beating each separate piece of linen, which they afterwards throw into heaps. They brandish their thick muscular arms, and deal powerful blows, yet little noise is heard from their strokes, because they drown it with their charming prattle.

What this group wants in beauty is supplied by the different floating baths on the Seine, of which those of Vigie are particularly worthy of notice. In point of order and elegance, they are, however, in my opinion, far inferior to the floating bath at Berlin: but the superior magnitude of the Parisian is more striking, and some of them are ren-

dered more agreeable by being surrounded by odoriferous flowers and shady trees.

Let us, for a moment, ascend this new bridge, of which the government have made a superb present to the Parisians for their convenience and pleasure. Its pavement is as even and level as the floor of an apartment. As a flight of steps leads up to it at each end, so that neither horsemen nor carriages can annoy the pedestrians, it will become one of the most pleasant promenades in spring and autumn for the fashionable world. It possesses another advantage, which is, that one sous must be paid for the liberty of walking on it, so that you are certain of not being molested by beggars.

What a charming view on both sides of this bridge! Every morning you may here see the curious spectacle of flat-bottomed boats, intended for the invasion of England, manœuvring on the Seine. The soldiers, it is true, are still very indifferent hands at rowing; and if the drummer, who is stationed on an elevated part of the boat, does not beat time, the vessel, with its numerous oars on each side, sometimes resembles a waggon going over a bridge composed of loose planks, which successively rise and fall as the vehicle proceeds. With a little more practice the men will do better, if the sea be only as patient an element as the Seine.

Industry and activity every where accompany this river. Here it turns mills to furnish the inhabitants with food; higher up it carries vessels laden with charcoal, to warm them; farther down the water is drawn from its centre to the shore, and there pumped through linen strain-



ers into casks, to afford a pure beverage to the thirsty. These heaps of corn have likewise been borne up its bosom, and it conveys those pipes of wine unadulterated into the cellars of the anabaptists. Here you see a motley mixture of buyers and sellers. Take care not to go too near those black coal-heavers with your white robe; and keep out of the way of those merry quarrelsome Auvergnats, who are fighting for fun so seriously hard, that the blows would kill either you or me, if we were to receive such a drubbing. They likewise speak a gibberish, of which we do not understand a syllable.

Let us retire from this confused crowd into that square. Alas! it is the Place de Grève, where formerly criminals only suffered death, but which, during the reign of terror, was stained with the blood of many illustrious characters. Here is the spot on which the guillotine was long permanent, and in yon corner is the lamp-post on which Foulon was hanged. You shudder. We will quit this place, which, a few days previous to the last execution, served for the exhibition of shews. For future executions, government has provided another place, in a different quarter of the town; where, I did not take the trouble to enquire, for I am not fond of such spectacles.

In order to draw your lively imagination from these melancholy subjects, we will mingle with the crowd surrounding that mountebank dressed in scarlet. This man, with his aquiline nose, pretends to speak French with an Italian accent. "I am just arrived from Naples," says he. "I have heard of the good people of Paris. It is not interest

that brings me hither: no, it is only the desire to be of service to the great nation, and the good people of Paris. Look here, gentlemen, at this invaluable medicine: every bottle of it costs, upon my honour, six livres, but I am satisfied if I can administer relief to suffering humanity. I ask nothing, nothing at all: I give away my bottles—yes, yes—I give them away. How? does nobody call? Indeed the people of Paris are better than they have been represented to me; they are too proud, too generous, they will have nothing given them. Well! not to offend your delicacy, I will set a price upon it. Instead of six livres, I ask only six sous. Buy! buy! buy!" And behold multitudes rush forward to purchase. Now we go home laughing; don't we, my sweet friend?

### LETTER III.

I lately mentioned to you, my dear lady, the portrait of our Saviour, which may be had for one sous on the Boulevards; to-day I will make you acquainted with a similar speculation. Look at that sheet of paper, decorated with large wooden cuts, and printed only on one side; it contains, notwithstanding, nothing less than the "Lives and Manners of the Nations of Europe: Vies et Mœurs des Nations de l'Europe," says the superscription. For my part, being a German, and only knowing the manners of nations from thick volumes in quarto, my curiosity is naturally excited, and I read with pleasure the quintessence of the judgment and prejudices of Frenchmen respecting themselves and their neighbours. The following are examples:

"In religion, the German is unbelieving;



believing; the Englishman devout; the Frenchman zealous; the Italian ceremonious; the Spaniard a bigot.

“ In keeping his word, the German is faithful; the Englishman safe; the Frenchman giddy; the Italian cunning; the Spaniard a cheat.

“ In giving advice, the German is slow; the English resolute; the Frenchman precipitate; the Italian nice; the Spaniard circumspect.

“ In love, the German does not understand it; the Englishman loves a little here and there; the Frenchman every where; the Italian knows how one ought to love; the Spaniard loves truly.

“ In external appearance, the German is tall; the Englishman well made; the Frenchman well looking; the Italian of the middle size; the Spaniard frightful.

“ In dress, the German is shabby; the Englishman superb; the Frenchman changing; the Italian a tatterdemalion; the Spaniard decent.

“ In manners, the German is clownish; the Englishman barbarous; the Frenchman easy; the Italian polite; the Spaniard proud.

“ In keeping a secret, the German forgets what he has been told; the Englishman conceals what he should divulge, and divulges what he should conceal; the Frenchman blabs every thing; the Italian does not utter a word; the Spaniard is mysterious.

“ In vanity, the German boasts little; the Englishman despises all; the Frenchman praises every thing; the Italian values little what is of little value; the Spaniard is indifferent to all.

“ In eating and drinking, the German is a drunkard; the Englishman a lover of sweets; the

Frenchman delicate; the Italian moderate; the Spaniard niggardly.

“ In offending and doing good, the German does neither good nor bad; the Englishman does both without reason; the Italian is prompt in beneficence, but vindictive; the Spaniard indifferent in both respects.

“ In speaking, the German speaks little and badly, but writes well; the Frenchman speaks and writes well; the Englishman speaks badly, but writes well; the Italian speaks well, writes much and well; the Spaniard speaks little, writes little, but well.

“ In address, the German looks like a blockhead; the Englishman resembles neither a fool nor a wise man; the Frenchman is airy; the Italian is prudent, but looks like a fool; the Spaniard is quite the reverse.

“ In laws, the German laws are indifferent; the Englishman has bad laws, but observes them well; the Frenchman has good laws, but observes them badly; the Italians and Spaniards have good laws; the former observes them negligently, the latter rigidly.

“ Servants, are companions in Germany; slaves in England; masters in France; respectful in Italy; submissive in Spain.

“ Diseases—Germans are particularly infested with fleas; the English with whitlows; the French with the small-pox; the Italians with the plague; and the Spaniards with wens.

“ The women are housewives in Germany; queens in England; ladies in France; captives in Italy; slaves in Spain.

“ In courage, the German resembles a bear; the Englishman a lion;



tion; the Frenchman an eagle; the Italian a fox; and the Spaniard an elephant.

“In the sciences, the German is a pedant; the Englishman a philosopher; the Frenchman has a smattering of every thing; the Italian is a professor; and the Spaniard a profound thinker.

Magnificence—In Germany the princes; in England the ships; in France the court; in Italy the churches; in Spain the armories; are magnificent.

“Husbands (make the conclusion), in Germany they are masters; in England servants; in France companions; in Italy schoolboys; and in Spain tyrants.”

I will readily grant you, my dear madam, that one-third of these singular characteristics is untrue, and sometimes absurd; but the other two thirds I could vouch to be true. With regard to us Germans, we have the least reason to complain of the painter; if he had but omitted the horrid libel that we do not understand how to love, and that among us husbands are masters, we might then be well satisfied with him.

Now let us, if you please, walk further up this library suspended by threads; it borders on another of musical productions, which is followed by a third, consisting of pictures: among the musicals, you find all the new ariettas, duets, &c. from the most popular French and Italian operas: among the pictures, a representation of every thing that is most interesting to the Parisians; for example, Fanchon, the lute girl; the fine drum-major of the consular guard, with his enchanting whiskers; the first consul's superbly dressed mameluke; and of course, the first

consul himself, in a thousand different attitudes, especially with his drawn sword in his hand, replanting the cross, Faith presenting him with a palm branch, and the other two consuls by his side; or the beautiful madame Recamier, with her face half veiled.

Plenty of caricatures are likewise to be met with here, and the king of England is at present the general mark at which the French direct the shafts of their satire; for which they are, however, not only more abundantly, but even more wittily, requited by their transmarine neighbours; for it must be confessed, that among twenty French caricatures, there is scarcely one that has any claim to wit. Here you see the king between his good and evil genius, throwing himself into the hands of the latter; there an Englishman riding upon a Calcutta turkey; on the pommel of the saddle are wine-hampers with bottles, and below is written, “the attack.” The companion to this print is the defeat, where the same Englishman is seen flying on a fleet stag, losing his hat and tobacco-pipe. Here the duke of C—mbr—ge is driving the Hanoverian post-waggon, and behind it is a cask, on which is written Hanoverian blood; there an army of frogs, whose general wears British regimentals, and rides on a lobster, while a Frenchman takes up one frog after the other, and cuts them in two with his broad sabre. At other times, an elephant is laying hold of the king's cup, and dashing it with his trunk into a well; on the cup is to be read this inscription, “Thou must go to pieces after all.”

In some of these wretched productions,



ductions, Mr. Pitt is represented riding on his m—j—sty's back, on the sea shore, peeping at the French ships in the offing; here the sovereign leaps over the channel, and in his jump loses his crown; there he picks up a number of paper cases, on which the names of his dominions are written, but, unable to hold them all, he lets some of them fall. Hanover is already on the ground, Ireland just tumbling, and Malta appears very loose. Here the English are seen flying before a cloud of dust, raised by a flock of sheep; and there Mr. Pitt exercising his troops, all of whom have pig's heads. The caricature which may perhaps be called the wittiest, is the following: a maker of trusses for ruptures presents the king with a new truss, on which is written, "observation des traités—the observance of treaties." At his majesty's feet lie two broken bandages, one bearing the inscription, "forces navales—or, naval forces;" the other, "levée en masse—raising in a mass." Thus you see that politics are the axis round which every thing turns. A few only of these distorted figures attack the manners of the English; such as, for instance, the English family in Paris, where a huge, clumsy Englishman, stuffed with roast beef, leads two stiff misses by the arm, who make a very awkward curtesy, &c. &c.

Hence it appears, on the whole, that no doubt is entertained as to the success of a descent upon England; and if you will not credit the printsellers, you may bestow your belief on that fellow, who, surrounded by hundreds of hearers, is singing a ballad, describing to a tittle all the occurrences of the future landing. If you wish to hear

his vain, bombastic prophecies, permit me, in the mean time, to go to that statuary's barred yard, which is so full of busts and statues, of marble stone, good and bad, that there is scarcely a narrow winding foot-path left to the artist's door; nor am I ashamed to stop before this shop with children's play-things, where Fanchon, the lute-player, again performs a distinguished part, and where I observe a circumstance which is quite a riddle to me, viz. that the French, who are so fond of toys, are far behind the people of Nuremburg in inventing and fabricating children's toys; and the Nurembergers again are perhaps as much excelled by the people of Berlin.

If you are by this time tired of the squalling of the ballad-singer, we will saunter about the garden of the Capuchin's, where there are tigers and monkeys, where Franconi exhibits his equestrian feats, where the spirits appear at night, and where, in a word, a thousand different spectacles are to be gazed at from morning till night. Here stands for a moment a portable booth, hung with old carpet, in which my dear punchinello is very amiably fighting with the devil. Two hocus-pocus men attract crowds on both sides; one by cups, the other by tricks with cards. A much greater concourse of people gathers round a man whose whole apparatus consists of a chafing-dish full of glowing charcoal, and about half a dozen small pieces of asbestos. He begins with an impressive account of the expedition to Egypt: whilst his neighbour represents at the same time in his show-box, to those who like to see it, what heroic exploits were achieved by his assistance in  
that



that country against mamelukes and crocodiles ; and how he once stripped one of the slain men of his shirt, and found that it did not consist of linen, as usual, but of a fossil fabricated into cloth, which the Egyptians use for the sake of convenience, as they need not wash or dry their shirts, but only throw them into the fire in the evening, and take them out again in the morning as white as snow.

In order to impress on the minds of his hearers a conviction of the truth of what he says, he seizes one of the needles, to which he has fastened a small bit of asbestos, and turns it round in the mud till the original colour cannot be distinguished ; he then throws it into the chafing-dish, and while it is glowing, continues to harangue his audience for a few minutes longer, when he draws it out of the fire, and, to the great astonishment of all the spectators, quite purified by the fiery element.

One of my neighbours, who seemed to be a wit, compared his whole process to the French revolution ; which likewise arose pure, new, and brilliant, out of the glowing fire. I wish, with all my heart, that nobody could dispute the truth of this assertion.

#### LETTER IV.

The strong woman who is to be seen in this hut of planks, is still more disgusting than the female with the long black beard. With the latter, pity gains the upper hand ; for how can the poor creature help being obliged to wear a beard so immensely long ? but with the former, disgust and indignation get the better of compassion. The one merely obeys nature, the other sets

her at defiance. She suffers three men to tread upon her body, which is stretched out in a hollow posture ; she suffers iron to be forged upon it, and exhibits other *tours des forces*, from which you, my dear, very properly turn away. But how can I help it ? You must creep with me into another hut of this kind to see the incombustible Spaniard, who really excites as much horror as admiration. Do you see the jar of oil, bubbling and boiling over a coal fire ? the young man, who takes it off, drinks a hearty draught of its burning contents without distorting a feature, rinses his mouth for a long time with it as if it were fresh water, and spits it out still boiling ; he then, with the remainder of the oil in the pot, washes his hands, arms, face, and even eyes, which, however, he shuts. Having been purified by the fire, like the asbestos, he takes a walk, by way of change, with his naked feet upon a piece of red hot iron, and to refresh himself, he even licks the glowing metal with his tongue. If this poor youth be equally insensible to the flames of love, he is undoubtedly to be pitied. All this is no imposture, but really happens as I have now related ; but whether, as some assert, he causes a kind of salamander-ointment to be rubbed into his skin, which is not to be perceived, I shall leave undetermined.

To efface these unpleasant impressions, let us for a few minutes step before this little fortress, of which you find many patterns on the Boulevards. It is a new kind of game at nine-pins, at which you not only see boys, but even respectable looking citizens delight to play. It is, indeed, preferable to the usual game, as it takes up much less room,



and may be removed from one place to another. This little fortress is about the height of a man, built in the form of an amphitheatre; below it has a draw-bridge, over which the walls are gradually raised, and on them a number of soldiers stationed at intervals. Eight or ten yards from the fortress a wooden mortar (or even a cannon) is planted, from which, as with the children's guns, a ball is discharged. The force of the mortar is calculated exactly according to the distance, from eight to ten paces. The skill in this play consists in taking so good an aim, as to knock down one or more soldiers at once, or even in accurately hitting the very centre, in which case, the draw-bridge falls, and by means of the spring, which has been touched by the ball, a state coach with six horses comes out: in others a white flag is hoisted at the top of the fort; the ball is lost within, and comes out again at the bottom. This pretty game has manifold advantages over the common game at nine-pins; it can be exhibited in the smallest garden, nay, even in any room in the least spacious. It requires but trifling bodily exertion, so that even ladies may play. It is interesting, because the aiming and hitting premises a certain dexterity and practice; in short, by describing this game, I hope to have furnished a pleasing supplement to the gymnastic exercises.

Decorum not permitting us, my dear friend, to partake of this game, on the Boulevards, we had better look awhile at those poor little canary birds, who are instructed in yonder booth in all sorts of arts directly contrary to their nature. Here one turns a spit; another drives his fel-

low in a wheelbarrow; a third stands centry with his gun, sword, and grenadier's cap; a fourth does not stir from his master's shoulder, though he beat the drum loud enough to make one run away; a fifth fires a cannon, the burning cork of which knocks a sixth down from the table, and leaves him on the ground for dead; a seventh sits in the very middle of a flaming wheel, as quiet and merry as if perched upon a rose-bush in its native island. You have probably often seen such things in Germany, though not in equal perfection; but one observation relative to these birds, you have perhaps never heard. It was made by their teacher and master, and affords matter of reflection. "The hen," said he, "certainly takes every thing much quicker than the cock, and I can generally render them very skilful at the expiration of a few weeks, but they soon forget, and soon die." Methinks his argument respecting the feathered tribe may be equally applied to his tormentors, men; for if our belles learn moral or æsthetic arts, they do not indeed die of it, but their loveliness generally finds its tomb in them.

Having yet half an hour to spare, let us make use of it to see two celebrated fountains. The fountain in the Rue Grenelle is really very fine, but the street narrow and obscure; the fountain has not a free exposure on all sides, and the great building is, besides, deformed by all sorts of signs. On the right is a large painted cow, because milk is sold there; on the left is a carpenter's sign, &c. To me, pardon the heresy, if it really be one, it will always appear ridiculous to raise such a building with two wings to such a height.



height of three stories to decorate it with columns and statues, and all this on account of the two lions' heads below, a few feet above the ground, which you do not even perceive, because there is no stream of water; but what little remains must be brought up by pumping.

Of the inscription, which is for the most part erased, only these words remain: "For the use of the citizens, and for the ornament of the city." The conclusion alone is true, and that only in part. This end might have been obtained much more splendidly in another manner.

We have still a long way to the other fountain in the market of the Innocents, (*marché des Innocens*) I shall therefore quickly conduct you by the infamous Abbaye, which you will recognize by its small distant turrets at the corners. In the inner part of the court the windows are secured in a manner so singular, and cruelly inventive, that the prisoner can absolutely see nothing, though a little light comes in at the top. The windows resemble a box in which caterpillars or cockchafers are shut up, the covers of which are placed slanting, that these animals may have just a little air. Here is the door, out of which the victims were thrown during the epoch of terror; here we stand on the spot, where the lurking cannibals received and tore them to pieces; this is the kennel where human blood flowed like water. O! let us hasten away! it is a terrible spot! and I would not even accept of a palace as a gift, if it were facing the Abbaye, though a more modern inscription says that it is now used only as a military prison.

Now we are in the *marché des Innocens*. The fountain may be

fine when the water flows; but it is still worse than that in the Rue Grenelle, as not a single drop can be pumped out, it being quite dry. The large bason, which stands at a considerable height in the centre, looks like a round tea-table, which has just been placed there, and forms an odd contrast with the surrounding objects. Upon the whole, this monument is altogether extremely filthy, and out of repair. To indemnify you, however, for being disappointed in your expectation, please to cast a look on the fine market-place, which, by its spaciousness and bustling scenes, is far more interesting than that useless piece of architecture. There, in numerous rows, monstrous fat women, called Poissardes, or fish-women, are seated under large umbrellas, between eight and ten feet in diameter, forming, if viewed from above, a roof resembling that of the ancient Roman soldiers, when advancing with their shields thrown over their heads, in a manœuvre, called the *testudo*. These umbrellas are not the property of those women, but hired in the market for a few sous. Thus screened from the rain and the sun, you may here admire mountains of butter, shoals of fish, stores of eggs, towers of apples and pears, gardens of flowers, and great quantities of grapes and other sorts of fruits, together with a party-coloured mixture of vegetables, among which, the large dazzling, white, and neatly raised heaps of cauliflowers, afford a spectacle particularly pleasing. Listen a little, meanwhile, to the energetic *patois* (gibberish) of the stout market women, an energy from which you have now nothing to fear; and if the view of so many dainties has



created an appetite, let us quickly throw ourselves into a *fiacre* (hackney-coach), and drive to the *Restaurateur*.

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*Narrative of a late extraordinary Imposture, the pretended Dauphin. From the same.*

This singular story, which, as far as I know, has not acquired much publicity, will create the more astonishment, if I assure my readers, that there is a great number of people in France, who do not only firmly and implicitly believe that Louis XVII. is still alive, but even assign very plausible reasons for the assertion. If some palpable falsehoods did not intervene, we might at least confess that the matter is possible. I shall first relate the story, as it has been placed on the records of the government and their tribunals, and afterwards as the hero and his partisans have wished to represent it.

Jean Marie Hervagault is the son of a tailor at St. Lo, of a prepossessing figure, features bearing great resemblance to those of Louis XVI. fair, slender, lively, communicative, without suspicion, quickly penetrating, and feigning innocence in a masterly manner; of course a person of great endowments, but of no education. He is supposed to be a natural son of the duke of Valentinois, who possessed estates in Normandy. The strange events of the revolution disordered his senses; he saw that many had raised themselves from obscurity, and he wished to do the same. In September, 1796, he left his father's house, and strolled as a vagabond about the country, declaring himself to be the son of a

family of rank, reduced to distress by the revolution. His youth, his innocent appearance, and the plausibility of his story, every where procured him a favourable reception and relief. He had no passport, but was never asked for one. He became bolder, and attempted likewise to carry on his trade in the towns. He came to Cherbourg, but was soon taken up as a vagrant. His father, the tailor, being apprized of this, hastened to fetch him, and was not a little surprised to find him richly provided with money and jewels. He brought him back to St. Lo, where the brisk young blade did not, however, stay long, but soon ran away a second time, strolled through the department of Calvados; and having improved both in body and in mind, he became more ingeniously inventive in his stories than at first. He sometimes passed for a son of the prince of Monaco, and sometimes for the heir of the duke d'Urselles in the Netherlands. He thus raised himself step by step, and ere long made himself a relation of Lewis XVI. of the emperor Joseph II. and of the king of Prussia. For the sake of his safety, which was threatened, he travelled in women's clothes, pretending that he was just arrived from England, whither he had been taking some money to his emigrant father.

Many, very many people of rank and education were deceived, for he flattered their former prejudices; the ladies in particular shewed a decided partiality for him, because he addressed their hearts. His adventures began to attract some notice, and he was arrested a second time in female attire, and conducted to prison at Bayeux, at the distance of



only ten leagues from St. Lo. His father came again to procure his deliverance, which, in consideration of his youth, was indulgently granted, and the lad replaced under paternal authority. He was now to learn the trade of a tailor, an insufferable thought to his mind. He broke loose a third time.

In 1797 he was in the diligence, or stage coach, between Laval and Alençon, very plainly and decently habited according to his sex. Not far from the latter place, he alighted, and ran off to a village by the road side, called Les Joncherets. Being benighted, he begged quarters of a peasant, who directed him to the house of Mademoiselle Talon Lacombe for better accommodation. To this lady he declared himself to be one of the family of Montmorency, who had a castle and estates near Dreux, but was obliged to fly from his persecutors. She conceived a lively interest for his situation, and supplied him with money and clothes, which he promised to repay upon his arrival at Dreux. Here he lived for a while much at his ease, acted the part of a man of quality, and presented, for instance, the ostler, who saddled his riding horse, with a louis-d'or.

At last he found himself induced to set off, and Mademoiselle Lacombe accompanied him to Dreux, to get back the value of what she had advanced him. They safely reached the place; but both castle and estates had vanished. Can any thing be more natural? The revolution accounts for every thing. Poorer by fifty louis-d'ors, and richer in experience, the lady returned home. The young hero continually gained in boldness. In the month of May, 1798, he ventured in the diligence

to Meaux, only eight leagues from Paris, and alighted at the inn, where he indeed obtained some refreshment; but, having no passport, was refused a night's lodging. The wife of a Paris merchant, Laravaine, who happened to be at Meaux, took pity on him, and permitted him to sleep in her warehouse. This encouraged him to ask farther favours, and he succeeded. He represented himself as a rich farmer's son of Domery, who had fled to avoid being enrolled as a recruit, and madame made him a present of four louis-d'ors, upon which he hired a place in the diligence for Strasbourg.

About one league from Chalons he disappeared, and the postillion in vain waited his return. He went to the village of Mery, and wished to make good his story at the castle of Guignaucourt; but, being suspected, he was put under arrest, and taken before the justice of peace at Cernon. Being asked who he was, he mysteriously replied: "He had no answer to make to such a question." He was sent to Chalons, where, being again asked to give his name, he proudly said, "You will learn it but too soon." At last he said, he was called Louis Antoine Jean Francois de Langueville; that his father was dead, and that his mother, madame Saint Emilie, lived at Beauzeville, near Pont Ademar, in the department of Eure. It must be confessed, that it is impossible to tell a lie more circumstantially.

Confined in the prison of Chalons, Hervagault assumed an air of grandeur, and a mysterious deportment; he tempted the curious, gave significant hints, and in short, ere long, it was whispered about: It is the Dauphin! the son of Louis



XVI.! The jailer himself believed the story, and advanced him money. The wives of two merchants of the towns Saignes and Felize, were initiated in the secret, which soon spread about; and no one any longer doubted. His figure, his manners—"You need but see him," exclaimed the credulous souls, "to recognize him at the very first look."

All the inhabitants of Chalons, of the privileged orders, were by degrees made confidants and adherents; and they all vied with each other in supporting this last ill-fated offspring of their kings. His table was daily served with dainties of every description, his rooms were elegantly furnished, masters were given him, the jailer treated him with deference and respect; he was allowed to walk about as often as he pleased, but always in the disguise of a female; in fine, his dungeon was, as it were, metamorphosed into a pleasure-house.

Meanwhile the persons who were let into the secret were not sufficiently discreet. A word dropped here and there, in the gladness of their hearts, aroused the vigilance of the magistrates; and, after this masquerade was played two months, Hervagault was made to undergo stricter examinations. With artifice and gestures that seem to belie his words, he now declared that he was the son of a taylor at St. Lo. The father was applied to in writing, confirmed the truth of the declaration, and the offender was sentenced to one month's imprisonment. This mild punishment was considered as a victory by those who thought they really knew the secret: during his trial, they trembled lest the real origin of the prisoner should not escape discovery. In order to free

him from the prying vigilance of the police, they abundantly furnished him with money and jewels, and thus facilitated his retreat. He was very well satisfied with the issue, and now began to act his part at Vire, in the department of Calvados. Here he made but a few proselytes, was soon arrested again, and with greater severity doomed to two years' imprisonment. As the inhabitants of Vire only considered him as a young vagabond, he would have passed these two years very sorrowfully, had not his faithful adherents at Chalons continued to support him, on which occasion the consoling Madame Saignes conducted the correspondence. This woman really wished him well, and advised him to apply the time of his confinement to the improvement of his education; but he gave way to drinking, and at the end of two years left the prison worse than when he entered. Madame Saignes herself went to fetch him from Vire to Chalons, into the bosom of his faithful and devoted friends. The most splendid preparations were made for his reception. He arrived, received congratulations, had flowers strewed at his feet, and was treated with the most distinguished respect. In short, the horn of plenty was again most copiously poured out on the taylor's son of St. Lo.

When the police discovered these proceedings, his partizans, upon deliberation, found it expedient to send the dauphin on his travels. His route was so contrived that he every where found confidential friends, who, being previously informed of his supposed high birth, shewed him all the respect due to that exalted station. He was once at Rheims, twice



twice at Vitry le Français, and often at different country seats, where balls, concerts, and feasts of every kind, were given in honour of him. At Vitry he was splendidly and conveniently lodged at the house of Madame de Rambecour, whose husband closely followed all his footsteps, waited upon him with the most attentive zeal, and served him like a valet. On St. Louis's day, a superb fête was prepared for him, it being the feast of the Saint whose name he bore. The ladies sung songs composed in honour of him. In the confidential circles which he frequented, they always called him, *mon prince*! His portrait was handed about as that of the dauphin, and it was reported that the pope himself had imprinted a mark on his leg, to know him again by. Finally a letter was handed about from a bishop, in which this deluded prelate writes in expressions of the profoundest respect for this young vagabond; and, by his example, convinced many who were still wavering in their belief. Already was a court formed round Louis XVII.; he had immediately his favourites, and was going to nominate those who were to hold the great offices of his household. Many names of consequence were to be found amongst them. They all glowed with enthusiasm, and prepared to make the greatest sacrifices. Men of birth and rank deemed themselves fortunate in being able to perform the meanest drudgery of menial service for him. Misers turned spendthrifts, that they might have the honour of entertaining him. It was very natural that such proceedings should not escape the eye of a vigilant police. Fouché was informed at Paris of all that was going for-

ward at Vitry; and a warrant put an end to the farce.

But when even taken into custody, Hervagault conducted himself with a loftiness and dignity that struck all present with a kind of dubious awe. His most downcast confidants surrounded him with the most heartfelt reverence; one of them, highly moved, begged leave to embrace him, and the taylor's son negligently tendered his hand to kiss. The very first night of his incarceration, a most splendid feast was given at the prison. Intercessions were made for his release upon bail, but in vain; all that could be obtained was to mitigate, as much as possible, the rigours of his captivity. He was constantly served in the most sumptuous manner, and so accustomed to his high style of living, that once a chicken, a pigeon, with a sallad and custard, being served for his supper, he thought proper to find the fare incomplete, and indignantly dashed the mess on the ground. Adnet, the notary, called him, in his prison, Monseigneur, and was most graciously rewarded with the appellation of, *mon petit page*, *mon petit valet de chambre d'amitie*. Thus he acted his part dispassionately, and with an air of the utmost importance. —Going to mass, a servant carried his prayer-book and cushion. He appointed a secretary, and made him sign in his name that of Louis Charles. Where a man bears a great name, said he to the justices, he is sure to be exposed to persecution. The mayor of Vitry, owing to the great concourse of people, found himself, at last, under the necessity of putting him under close confinement, and, at the same time, intercepted the enormous supplies of



of wine and good cheer sent for his use. No person, but those absolutely necessary to attend him, was permitted admission without a ticket.

Meanwhile his offence was by no means considered as in a political view, but merely as a matter belonging to the correctional police, to the enquiry and punishment of which it was accordingly left. Madame Saignes was likewise taken up as his accomplice; but there being no proof to convict her, she was acquitted in consequence. Hervagault, in the beginning of the year 1802, was sentenced to four years imprisonment, as a sharper, and abuser of the credulity of the people, and confined accordingly in the house of correction at Ostend. Both the delinquent and the attorney general, though upon different grounds, appealed against this sentence to the government.

The matter was now to be treated at Rheims, when a new and very important actor suddenly burst upon the scene of this tragi-comedy. The aged prelate L. de S. . . . bishop de V. . . . a man venerable for his integrity, universally respected for the austerity of his manners, and his profound learning, expressed his conviction, that Hervagault was the real and genuine dauphin. He had even spoke to the surgeons that had anatomised the corpse of the pretended dauphin in the Temple, who had informed him it was not that of the real one. He resolved upon freeing his young monarch from the chains of captivity, lent out considerable sums to effect this purpose, abandoned the very functions of his office, came to Rheims, corresponded with the prisoner by means of the keeper of the jail, and thought

himself sure of his being the identical person. The dauphin's death appeared to him a mere political lie of the national convention. He even thought it his duty to give to the neglected prince a good education, and endeavoured to accomplish this end with the purest and sincerest intentions. He sent him amongst other works one day, *Le Genie du Christianisme*, by Chateaubriant, and the tragedy of *Athalie*, upon which he received, to his surprise, this answer: "Do you mock me? all this I know by heart."

All the fears of the prelate were, lest the object of his care should be sentenced to transportation. To prevent this, he strained every nerve, and made use of the interest of every friend he could command in Paris: he drew up a list of those persons to whom he intended to entrust the fate of the dauphin. In it were found, amongst others, the names of Brissac, Necker, Madame de Stael, Montesson, Roquelaure, Angouleme, Talleyrand, Puys de Segur, Boufflers, La Harpe, &c. some believed him, some did not; some called him a Blondel, some a Joab. The correspondence was carried on in cyphers; it even went so far, that the project was formed to marry the dauphin with a distant relation of the royal family. Hervagault at first seemed to wave the proposal, for he had (as the reader will presently be informed) sworn the oath of fidelity and affection to the queen of Portugal's most amiable sister, but from political motives he yielded, and it was resolved to make levies of men for his service.

But ere these negotiations could possibly ripen, the trial before the criminal tribunal at Rheims was once more



more publicly revised, and that in the presence of a numerous multitude of people, who (all were in favour of the accused,) loudly murmured against the prosecuting attorney-general, and with enthusiastic fervour applauded the official defender of Hervagault. The judges, however, would not suffer themselves to be misguided, and confirmed the original sentence. While they were deliberating on the subject in another room, the most painful anxiety was depicted in the countenance of every spectator in court. — Hervagault heard his sentence with composure, with a smile of contempt; and his partisans, instead of giving credit to the juridical decision, obstinately persevered in their former pre-conceived opinion. They continued to wait upon him with royal service in the place of his detention. He had by him, amongst other effects, a silver cup, on which were the letters L. C. (Louis Charles) engraved and decorated with an antique French crown. This he pretended to the jailor was his cypher. None of his adherents deserted his cause; on the contrary, their zeal redoubled, and the venerable bishop V. . . . always headed them. Nay, the latter did not confine his zeal to presents and good advice, he even resolved most actively to exert himself; and being informed that it was intended to bring his illustrious pupil from Rheims to Soissons, he determined to rescue him on the road from the hands of his persecutors. This youthful project of an old head was betrayed; the bishop and his papers were seized; and it evidently appeared, upon proof, that it was his intention to make the taylor's son of St. Lo act the part of the dauphin. The

government, however, had compassion on the hoary dotard, and gave him his liberty. Hervagault himself had fared better, if the least prospect of amendment had appeared in his conduct; but as he formed another junto of partisans at Soissons, it was thought proper to make him disappear.

In order to render it conceivable how so many persons of rank and knowledge of the world, should have suffered themselves to be made the dupes of this raw youngster; people themselves ought to have heard him tell his story. With great emotion he would remember how Louis XVI. his father, used to give him lessons in history and geography in the temple. In the tone of the most ingenuous simplicity he would talk of a little bitch called Fidèle, of which Marie Antoinette, his mother, was very fond.

The most minute details he described with infantile vivacity, nor did he forget that Simon, his jailer, used to wake him in the dead of night, to convince himself that he had not been carried off. "I was obliged," said he, "to perform the meanest drudgery, which affected my health. The ninth Thermidor alleviated the miseries of many victims of the revolution as well as mine; they gave me better clothes, more wholesome victuals, and even allowed me the diversions suitable to my age. My sister was permitted to come to me, to eat and play. What a moment was the first of our re-union! (he always wept bitterly when speaking of this interview.) Meanwhile my health became continually more impaired, and the prison air must have killed me, had not the Lord decreed to send me relief. One day about the latter end of May, 1795, as I

was



was just going to dose, one of my keepers, whom I always liked for his mildness, accosted me, and whispering said, 'My dear child, you would soon die in this prison, but people who love you, though utter strangers, let you know, that if you keep the secret, they will soon bring you to a place where you shall be at full liberty, and play with children of your own age.' I swallowed his words with avidity, promised to reveal nothing, and waited with anxiety the fulfilment of his promise. On the following evening, about the same time, a cart with clean linen came into the court-yard to be unloaded, and to take in another quantity of foul. Among this linen was laid concealed a very sickly looking child, about my age. A strong man in sailor's dress took me in his arms, put me amongst a parcel of the foul things, and only a small aperture kept me from suffocation; the last thing that I saw in my prison was the sick child, whom they put in my bed. I was rather roughly flung into the bottom of the cart, and without farther obstruction conveyed to Chaillot. As soon as we got out of the Temple, they gave me a little more air, but on approaching the barriers they covered me again entirely. At Passy I was carried, still packed up, into a low room, where I was quite at liberty. Here I saw three strange men, who threw themselves at my feet, and seemed to be quite beside themselves with joy. They quickly put on me female attire, placed me in a post-chaise, and drove along the road to La Vendée, to the army of the royalists. How it came about that I should be liberated. I was not informed till a long time afterwards. After Robespierre's

fall, the ruling factions were divided amongst themselves, and many were not disinclined to the restoration of royalty; overtures were made to the Vendean royalists, and negotiations opened with them by Rouelle, a member of the national convention; and one of the conditions which the former insisted upon was, my being delivered up to them; to which, however, the committee of public welfare added the restriction, that my deliverance should at first be kept a secret, and another child substituted in my place. After long and violent debates, the royalists assented to the measure.—The only difficulty was to find a proper subject of a child to replace me. Count Louis de T—— undertook it, and sent the abbé Laurent for this purpose into Normandy, attended by his adjutant Du Hamel. They bribed one Hervagault, a taylor, of St. Lo, to sacrifice, for a consideration of 200,000 francs, for the general good, his son, who resembled me. They otherwise assured the taylor that he had nothing to dread for his son's life, and they even concealed it from him that the stripling should be lulled into a sound sleep by means of a strong dose of opium.

"There were but three persons in the Temple who knew the secret; this was the jailer's wife, the above-mentioned turnkey, and the sweep-er of the prison. It was the latter who carried me out, and delivered me at Passy to Messrs. De T——, du Chatelier and abbé Laurent.—Two hours after my deliverance the celebrated Dessault, to whose care I had been entrusted, came into the Temple, when the too strong dose of opium had lulled the child, which was laid in my bed, into a lethargic slumber resembling death.

Dessault



Dessault was going to feel his pulse without waking him, but on laying his hand upon his body, he perceived such a difference between it and mine, that he uttered a shriek, and his amazement was changed into the most violent fright, when upon close inspection no doubt remained of its being another child. He remained near a full hour in mute amazement. He considered his responsibility, the danger he was in, and finally resolved to screen himself by sending a secret report, perfectly congenial to the truth, to the committee of public welfare, where Rovere, the then president, who was in the secret, after the first paroxysms of violence in his astonished and furious colleagues had subsided, proved to them that silence would be the best remedy, particularly so as there was every appearance that the strange and sickly child would die, in which case it would be perfectly easy to persuade all Europe that the real dauphin was dead. Dessault was summoned before the committee, and loaded with such bitter reproaches, that, overwhelmed with grief and vexation, he fell into a disease, which baffling all the skill of medicine, proved fatal to him. My little substitute died likewise. Dessault's successor, upon dissection of the body, was equally sensible that it was not mine, and consequently made use of the following equivocal phrase in the procès verbal: "Nous sommes procédés à l'ouverture d'un cadavre que les commissaires nous présentèrent comme celui du fils de Louis Capet." i. e. "We proceeded to the opening of a corpse, which the commissioners presented to us as that of the son of Louis Capet."

"In the mean time I kept lolling

in the carriage upon the high road with my deliverers. The fresh air, and the jolting of the vehicle, at first made me swoon away, but getting habituated to both, the free aspect of nature afforded me unspeakable delight. The motion, of which I had so long been deprived, and the good substantial food I was supplied with, visibly strengthened my health. We safely arrived at Bellville, the head quarters of the royalists, where apartments were assigned to me in the castle, with a kind of governess. Messengers were sent in quest of Charrette, who happened just then not to be at hand. He came to visit me with Stofflet, viewed me very attentively, was cold, spoke little, but shewed me every mark of respect. In what manner the negotiations of peace were broken off, owing to the perfidy of the republicans, is a fact of public notoriety. The unfortunate expedition of Quiberon produced likewise a disastrous influence on my fate. The cabinet of St. James's and the French princes, particularly the count d'Artois, would hear nothing of a limited monarchy, to which the royalists had consented, for the sake of which the republicans had surrendered my person. I became the sacrifice of this political scion, with the aid of the subtle Puisaye. Charrette himself, whom I often accompanied on horseback, earnestly forbade me to make my quality known. The rumour of my death constantly gained more credit; those few who were better informed durst not expose themselves and me to danger.

"At last England desired my surrender, partly under the pretext of identifying my person, partly because without that I must be ac-  
know-



known by the coalesced powers. I was therefore embarked on the coast of St. Jean de Monts, and attended by the chevalier de la Roberie, I landed at Jersey, where the prince de Bouillon gave me a very flattering reception. The chevalier had a declaration with him, signed by the chiefs of the royalists, in which they acknowledged me for the legitimate son and heir of Louis XVI. The same secretly happened on the part of the duc de Bouillon. He was, however, prevented by the gout from following me all the way to England.

“ On my arrival in London, I was immediately introduced to the Duc d’Harcourt, ambassador of the French princes at the British court, who received me coolly, and asked me several impertinent questions, which I thought beneath my notice. The count d’Artois refused to see me, from which it became evident that they harboured intentions, to the realization of which I had proved an obstacle. In the interval the chevalier de la Roberie procured me a secret audience of his Britannic majesty, who had been kept in the dark with respect to many things. Though his majesty, by the advice of his ministers, could not acknowledge me publicly; yet apartments were fitted up for me in the palace, where I was served with suitable dignity, and experienced a kind of paternal treatment. Sometimes the king himself used to play with me like a child, on which account I once gave him a box on the ear. My uncle was so enraged at the reception I met with, that he once ordered a cook of his to poison my soup. This foul purpose, however, was discovered in due time, and an antidote quickly administered. The

king was going to order my uncle into confinement; but, by my intercession, I averted from him the thunderbolt of vengeance. My life was now no longer safe in England, for which reason the king, however reluctantly he parted with me, resolved to send me to Rome and Portugal with the most powerful recommendations.

“ I set out, attended by a trusty old domestic, and loaded with presents, among which there was a mahogany box lined with gold, containing instructions for princes destined to ascend a throne. The king of England had signed them with his own hand; and losing afterwards all my effects, the loss of this precious deposit grieved me the most.

Embarking at Portsmouth, I landed, after a long voyage, in the harbour of Ostia; from whence I went to Rome, where I delivered a letter to Pope Pius VII, in the king of England’s own hand-writing. His holiness was astonished, blessed, caressed, was even secretly going to anoint me; and, in order to recognize me again, he caused the arms of France to be imprinted on my right leg, and the words *vive le roi* to be branded upon my left arm. This happened in the presence of twenty cardinals. I then went through Spain to Portugal.

“ In the former country I saw none of my relations but the duchess of Orleans, who prostrated herself at my feet without my being able to prevent her; I took no step to be presented at the court of Madrid, because I well knew how much it depended on France. But in Portugal my reception surpassed every expectation of mine. Never shall I forget Lisbon, the banks of the Tagus, and the palace of Quelus!

There



There I first became acquainted with love. The queen, who shewed the most decided partiality for me, promised me the hand of her charming sister, the princess Benedictine, dowager of the prince of Brazil. Her majesty likewise used every endeavour to interest the potentates of Europe in my fate; to her I stand indebted for a declaration signed by the ambassadors of nine sovereigns, (England, Portugal, the emperor of Germany, Prussia, Sardinia, Sweden, Denmark, Russia, and the Pope), by which I was formally acknowledged, and promised succour. This declaration must still remain among the archives of the court of Portugal. Meanwhile, the ebb and flood of the revolution had brought on another chain of plans and events.

“Rovere and Pichegru recalled me to France, and thought themselves certain of the success of their project. I bade a painful farewell to the noble and hospitable court of Portugal, and to my dearly beloved Benedictine. I landed at Hamburgh, went to Berlin, and had a secret audience at Potsdam of his Prussian majesty, who received me with esteem and affection. From hence I hastened into Switzerland, and waited at Bellevue, Pichegru’s country seat, for letters from France. They came, and I was apprised that it was now a favourable period, and should set out immediately. I set off in my female disguise, and had already got as far as Auxerre, when I was informed that my party had temporised too long, and that the 18th of Fructidor had blasted my every hope. Accustomed to the tricks of fortune, I remained collected, immediately changed my route, and by short journeys reached the department of Calvados, where I hoped

to effect my escape in a fishing boat to Jersey. I actually embarked, but was driven on shore by some English cruisers. Here I was taken up as a suspected person, and transported to Cherbourg. I made my escape, fell among some banditti, came almost stark-naked to Paris, was scantily supported by some old and trusty servants of my father’s, and following their advice, was on the point of flying to Germany, but stopped again near Chalons, was delivered up, and sentenced. The reader knows the rest.”

It must be confessed, that it is almost inconceivable how an uncultivated taylor’s son from St. Lo, could invent a story so artfully contrived.

This is still the argument made use of by his partisans. His narrative, they say, bears the stamp of truth; and if the Dauphin has not been entirely sent out of the world, he will some time or other appear again, bring back the golden times into our fields, and promote to high honours his faithful adherents.

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*Some Account of the Life & Writings of Doctor Darwin. From Miss Seward’s Memoirs of that Gentleman.*

Doctor Erasmus Darwin was the son of a private gentleman, near Newark, in Nottinghamshire. He came to Lichfield to practise physic in the autumn of the year 1756, at the age of twenty-four; bringing high recommendations from the university of Edinburgh, in which he had studied, and from that of Cambridge, to which he belonged.

A few weeks after his arrival at Lichfield, in the latter end of the year 1756, the intuitive discernment, the skill, spirit, and decision, which marked the long course of his successful practice, were first called



called into action, and brilliantly opened his career of fame. The late Mr. Inge, of Thorpe, in Staffordshire, a young gentleman of family, fortune, and consequence, lay sick of a dangerous fever. The justly celebrated doctor Wilks of Willenhall, who had many years possessed, in a great degree, the business and confidence of the Lichfield neighbourhood, attended Mr. Inge, and had unsuccessfully combated his disease. At length he pronounced it hopeless, and took his leave. It was *then* that a fond mother, wild with terror for the life of an only son, as drowning wretches catch at twigs, sent to Lichfield for our young, and as yet inexperienced physician. By an opposite and entirely novel course of treatment, Dr. Darwin gave his dying patient back to existence, to health, prosperity, and all that high reputation, which Mr. Inge afterwards possessed as a public magistrate.

The far-spreading report of this judiciously daring and fortunate exertion brought Dr. Darwin into immediate and extensive employment, and soon eclipsed the hopes of an ingenious rival, who resigned the contest; nor had he ever afterwards to contend with any other competitor.

Equal success, as in the case of Mr. Inge, continued to result from the powers of Dr. Darwin's genius, his frequent and intense meditation, and the avidity with which he, through life, devoted his leisure to scientific acquirement, and the investigation of disease. Ignorance and timidity, superstition, prejudice, and envy sedulously strove to attach to his practice the terms, *rash*, *experimental*, *theoretic*; not considering, that without *experiment*

the restoring science could have made no progress.

In 1757, he married Miss Howard, of the Close of Lichfield, a blooming and lovely young lady of eighteen. A mind, which had native strength; an awakened taste for the works of imagination; ingenuous sweetness; delicacy, animated by sprightliness and sustained by fortitude, made her a capable, as well as fascinating companion, even to a man of talents so illustrious.—But, alas! upon her early youth; and a too delicate constitution, the frequency of her maternal situation, during the first five years of her marriage, had probably a baneful effect. The potent skill, and assiduous cares of *him*, before whom disease daily vanished from the frame of *others*, could not expel it radically from that of her he loved. It was however kept at bay thirteen years.

The year after his marriage, Dr. Darwin purchased an old half timbered house in the Cathedral vicarage, adding a handsome new front, with Venetian windows, and commodious apartments. This front looked towards Bacon Street, but had no street annoyance, being separated from it by a narrow deep dingle, which, when the doctor purchased the premises, was overgrown with tangled briars and knot grass. A fortunate opening between the opposite houses and this which has been described, gives it a prospect, sufficiently extensive, of pleasant and umbrageous fields. Across the dell, between this house and the street, Dr. Darwin flung a broad bridge of shallow steps with Chinese paling, descending from his hall door to the pavement. The tangled and hollow bottom he cleared,



cleared, and made a terrace on the bank, which stretched in a line, level with the floor of his apartments, planting the steep declivity with lilacs and rose bushes; while he screened his terrace from the gaze of passengers and the summer sun.

To this *rus in urbe* frequently resorted a knot of philosophic friends, the rev. Mr. Michell, many years deceased; the ingenious Mr. Kier, of West Bromwich, then captain Kier; Mr. Boulton, known and respected wherever mechanic philosophy is understood; Mr. Watt, the celebrated improver of the steam engine; and, above all others in Dr. Darwin's personal regard, the late accomplished Dr. Small, of Birmingham, who bore the blushing honours of his talents and virtues to an untimely grave.

The present Sir Brooke Boothby afterwards becoming an occasional inhabitant of Lichfield, sought, on every possibility, the conversation of Dr. Darwin, and obtained his lasting friendship; and these, together with Mr. Munday, of Macketon, were the most distinguished of Dr. Darwin's scientific friends, who visited him from a distance, when he lived in Lichfield.

He once thought inoculation for the measles might, as in the small-pox, materially soften the disease; and, after the patriotic example of lady Wortley Montague, he made the trial in his own family, upon his youngest son, Robert, now Dr. Darwin, of Shrewsbury, and upon an infant daughter, who died within her first year. Each had, in consequence, the disease so severely, as to repel, in their father's mind, all future desire of repeating the experiment.

In the year 1768, Dr. Darwin met with an accident of irretrievable injury in the human frame. His propensity to mechanics had unfortunately led him to construct a very singular carriage. It was a platform, with a seat fixed on a very high pair of wheels, and supported in the front upon the back of the horse, by means of a kind of proboscis, which, forming an arch, reached over the hind quarters of the horse, and passed through a ring, placed on an upright piece of iron, which worked in a socket, fixed in the saddle. The horse could thus move from one side of the road to the other, quartering, as it is called, at the will of the driver, whose constant attention was necessarily employed to regulate a piece of machinery contrived, but *not well* contrived, for that purpose. From this whimsical carriage the doctor was several times thrown, and the last time he used it, had the misfortune, from a similar accident, to break the patella of his right knee, which caused (as it always must cause) an incurable weakness in the fractured part, and a lameness, not very discernable indeed, when walking on even ground.

Dr. Darwin was happy in the talents, docility, and obedience of his three sons. An high degree of stammering retarded and embarrassed his utterance. The eldest boy, Charles, had contracted the propensity. With that wisdom, which marked the doctor's observations on the habits of life, with that decision of conduct, which always instantly followed the conviction of his mind, he sent Charles abroad; at once to break the force of habit formed on the contagion of daily example, and from a belief, that in the pronun-

ation



ation of a foreign language, hesitation would be less likely to recur than in speaking those words and sentences in which he had been accustomed to hesitate. About his twelfth year he was committed to the care of the scientific, the learned, the modest, and worthy Mr. Dickinson, now rector of Blimel, in Shropshire.

That the purpose of the experiment might not be frustrated, Dr. Darwin impressed that good man's mind with the necessity of not permitting his pupil to converse in English; nor even to hear it uttered after he could at all comprehend the French language. Charles Darwin returned to England, after a two year's residence on the continent, completely cured of stammering, with which he was not afterwards troubled.

Dr. Johnson was several times at Lichfield, while Dr. Darwin was one of its inhabitants. They had one or two interviews, but never afterwards sought each other. Mutual and strong dislike subsisted between them. It is curious that in Dr. Johnson's various letters to Mrs. Thrale, now Mrs. Piozzi, published by that lady after his death, many of them, at different periods, dated from *Lichfield*, the name of Darwin cannot be found.

Though Dr. Darwin's hesitation in speaking precluded his flow of colloquial eloquence, it did not impede, or at all lessen, the force of that conciser quality, *wit*. Of satiric wit he possessed a very peculiar species.

About the year 1771 commenced that *great work*, the *Zoonomia*, first published in 1794; Dr. Darwin read his chapter on instinct to a lady, who was in the habit of

breeding canary birds. She observed, that the pair which he then saw building their nest in her cage, were a male and a female who had been hatched and reared in that *very cage*, and were not in existence when the mossy cradle was fabricated, in which *they* first saw light. She asked him how, upon his principle of *imitation*, he could account for the nest he then saw building, being constructed, even to the disposal of every hair and shred of wool, upon the model of *that* in which the pair were *born*, and on which every other canary-bird's nest is constructed, where the proper materials are furnished. That of the pye-finch, added she, is of much compacter form, warmer, and more comfortable. Pull one of them to pieces for its materials; place another before these canary-birds, as a pattern, and see if they will make the slightest effort to imitate their model! No, the result of their labour will, upon instinctive, hereditary impulse, be exactly the slovenly little mansion of their *race*; the same with that which their parents built before themselves were hatched. The doctor could not do away the force of that single fact, with which his system was incompatible; yet he maintained that system with philosophic sturdiness, though experience brought confutation from a *thousand* sources.

A few years before Dr. Darwin left Lichfield as a residence, he commenced a botanical society in that city. It consisted of himself, sir Brooke Boothby, then Mr. Boothby, and a proctor in the cathedral jurisdiction, whose name was Jackson. The doctor was probably disappointed that no recruits flocked to his botanical standard at Lichfield.



Lichfield. Various observations, signed Lichfield botanical society, were sent to the periodical publications, and it was amusing to hear scientific travellers, on their transit over Lichfield, enquiring after the state of the botanical society there.

In the spring of the year 1778 the children of colonel and Mrs. Pole,\* of Radburn, in Derbyshire, had been injured by a dangerous quantity of the *cicuta*, injudiciously administered to them in the whooping-cough, by a physician of the neighbourhood. Mrs. Pole brought them to the house of Dr. Darwin, in Lichfield, remaining with them there a few weeks, till, by his art, the poison was expelled from their constitutions, and their health restored.

About the summer 1778, the countess of Northesk rested at one of the inns in Lichfield, on her way to Scotland, by the shortest possible stages. She had been a year in England, for the benefit of her health, wasting rapidly by hæmorrhage. Ineffectually had the most eminent physicians of London and Bath endeavoured to check the progress of her disease. Her youngest daughter, lady Marianne Carnegie, then an amiable girl of thirteen, now, alas! no more, and their friend, Mrs. Scott, were the companions of lady Northesk's journey. Her ladyship told the mistress of the inn that she was going home to die, the physicians having confessed that art could do no more in her case. The person replied, "I wish, madam, that you would send for *our* doctor, he is so famous." Lady Northesk consented.

When Dr. Darwin came, he ob-

served that he could do little on transient observation, where the disease was so obstinate, and of such long continuance; pressed her to remove with her daughter and friend to his house, and that they would remain his guests for a fortnight. The invitation was accepted. He requested the author of these memoirs frequently to visit his new patient, contribute to amuse her, and abate the inevitable injury of perpetual self-attention.

Miss Seward felt herself extremely interested in this lady, and anxious to see those sufferings relieved which were so patiently sustained. Lady Northesk lay on a couch, through the day, in Dr. Darwin's parlour, drawing with difficulty that breath which seemed often on the point of final evaporation. She was thin, even to transparency; her cheeks suffused at times with a flush, beautiful, though hectic. Her eyes were remarkably lucid and full of intelligence. If the langour of disease frequently overshadowed them, they were always re-lumined by every observation to which she listened, on lettered excellence, on the powers of science, or the ingenuity of art. Her language, in the high Scotch accent, had every happiness of perspicuity, and always expressed rectitude of heart and susceptibility of taste.

Whenever her great and friendly physician perceived his patient's attention engaged by the conversation of the rest of the circle, he sat considering her in meditative silence, with looks that expressed—"You shall not die thus prematurely, if my efforts can prevent it."

\* This was the object of his *Petrarchian* attachment during the life of her husband.



One evening, after a long and intense reverie, he said, "Lady Northesk, an art was practised in former years, which the medical world has very long disused; that of injecting blood into the veins by a syringe, and thus repairing the waste of diseases like yours. Human blood, and that of calves and sheep, were used promiscuously. Superstition attached impiety to the practice. It was put a stop to in England by a bull of excommunication from some of our popish princes, against the practitioners of sanguinary injection. That it had been practised with success, we may, from this interdiction, fairly conclude; else restraint upon its continuance must have been superfluous. We have a very ingenious watch-maker here, whom I think I could instruct to form a proper instrument for the purpose, if you chose to submit to the experiment." She replied, cheerfully, "that she had not the least objection, if he thought it eligible."

Miss Seward then said, "If the trial should be determined upon, perhaps lady Northesk would prefer a supply from a healthy human subject, rather than from an animal. My health is perfect, neither am I conscious of any lurking disease, hereditary or accidental. I have no dread of the lancet, and will gladly spare, from time to time, such a portion from my veins to lady Northesk, as Dr. Darwin shall think proper to inject."

He seemed much pleased with the proposal, and his amiable patient expressed gratitude far above the just claim of the circumstance. Dr. Darwin said he would consult his pillow upon it.

The next day, when Miss S. called upon lady N. the Doctor took her

previously into his study, telling her that he had resigned all thoughts of trying the experiment upon lady Northesk; that it had occurred to him as a last resource, to save an excellent woman, whose disorder, he feared, was beyond the reach of medicine; "but," added he, "the construction of a proper machine is so nice an affair, the least failure in its power of acting so hazardous, the chance at last from the experiment so precarious, that I do not choose to stake my reputation upon the risque. If she die, the world will say I killed lady Northesk, though the London and Bath physicians have pronounced her case hopeless, and sent her home to expire. They have given her a great deal too much medicine. I shall give her very little. Their system of nutritious food, their gravy jellies, and strong wines, I have already changed for milk, vegetables, and fruit. No wines ever; no meat, no strong broth, at present. If this alteration of diet prove unavailing, her family and friends must lose her."

It was not unavailing; she gathered strength under the change from day to day. The disease abated, and in three weeks time she pursued her journey to Scotland, a convalescent, full of hope for herself; of grateful veneration towards her physician, whose rescuing skill had saved her from the grave; and full, also, of overrating thankfulness to Miss S. for the offer she had made. With her, lady Northesk regularly corresponded from that time to her sudden and deplorable death. All lady N's. letters spoke of completely recovered health and strength. She sent Miss Seward a present of some beautiful Scotch pebbles, for a necklace, picked up by her own hands,



hands, in her lord's park, and polished at Edinburgh. Enquiry taught the latter that lady Northesk had perished by the dreadfully-frequent accident of having set fire to her clothes.—

He married Mrs. Pole in 1781, and (in consequence of her dislike to Lichfield) removed directly to Derby. He constantly, from time to time, withstood solicitations from countless families of rank and opulence, to remove to London. The most brilliant prospects of success in the capital were opened to him, from various quarters, early on his residence at Lichfield, and his attention to them was perpetually requested by eminent people. Conscious of his full habit of body, he probably thought that the established custom of imbibing changed and pure air by almost daily journies into the country, essential to his health, perhaps to the duration of his life.

From the time of Dr. Darwin's marriage and removal to Derby, his limited biographer can only trace the outlines of his remaining existence. Dr. Darwin was extremely alive to the beauties of poetic literature, as it rose and expanded around him. No person could be more ready to discern and to praise its graces; but, from the commencement of the "Botanic Garden," the jealous spirit of authorism darkened his candour. He had ever maintained a preference of Akenside's blank verse to Milton's; declared that it was of higher polish, of more classic purity, and more dignified construction. Dr. Darwin's reputation as a poet first emanated from Derby, though his Delphic *inspirations* commenced at Lichfield; that as a physician his renown still increased as time rolled on, and his

mortal life declined from its noon. Patients resorted to him, more and more, from every part of the kingdom, and often from the continent.

About thirteen or fourteen years after Dr. Darwin's second marriage, the Miss Parkers, his relations, opened a female boarding-school at Ashbourne, in Derbyshire. To the education of those ingenious and good young women he paid some general attention, and had sedulously and warmly, by recommendation and by other means, exerted himself to serve them.

The system of his whole life on that theme had been at war with all sort of restraint on the time, the amusement, and the diet of children. Irony was the only corrective weapon he had ever used to his own. The docility of them all, and the talents and good qualities of his three eldest sons, one, alas! cut off in the dawn of manhood and of fame, and the happy prospects of the other two, had confirmed his disdain of incessant attention to young people. He always said, "If you would not have your children arrogant, conceited, and hypocritical, do not let them perceive that you are continually watching and attending to them; nor can you keep that perpetual watch *without* their perceiving it. Inspire them with a disdain of meanness, falsehood, and promise-breaking; but do not try to effect this purpose by preceptive declamation, but, as occasion arises, by expressed contempt of such as commit those faults, whether it be themselves or others. Teach them benevolence and industry by your own example, for children are emulous to acquire the habits of advanced life, and attach to them an idea of dignity and importance."



The close of the year 1799 brought a severe trial to the stoical fortitude of Dr. Darwin. From the period of his second marriage all had been sunshine in his fortune, his fame, and domestic connections; but then a storm descended upon his peace; unforeseen, sudden, dreadful! His eldest son, Mr. Darwin, so prosperously situated, without one adequate cause for even transient affliction, became the victim of secret and utter despair. It had often been observed that any more than ordinary recurrence to professional business perplexed and oppressed him. A demand was made that he should arrange and settle some complicated accòmpts, which a disposition to procrastinate had too long delayed. A disposition which is always, in a greater or lesser degree, punished by its consequences. Though a remote, it is the most frequent cause of suicide, accumulating debts till their entanglement becomes inextricable, their weight too heavy to be borne. But in this case it had produced only an accumulation of business. From the necessity of entering upon it, Mr. Darwin had seemed to shrink with so much dejection of spirit, as to induce his partner to entreat that he would leave the inspection solely to his management. He declined the proposal, saying, in a faint voice, that it was impossible.

This was on a December evening, cold and stormy. The river Derwent, which ran at the bottom of his garden, was partially frozen. About seven o'clock he sent his partner out of the way on business, real or pretended. Mr. Darwin was on the couch, complaining of the head-ach. Soon after eight his part-

ner returning, found the parlour vacant. He went to Mr. D's. upstairs apartment; vacant also—enquired of the servants; they had not seen their master since this gentleman went out, an hour before. He waited a few minutes, expecting his friend's return from the garden. Not appearing, a degree of apprehension seized his mind. He ran thither, and in the walk which leads to the river, he found Mr. Darwin's hat and neckcloth. Alarm was immediately given, and boats were sent out. Dr. Darwin had been summoned. He staid a long time on the brink of the water, apparently calm and collected, but doubtless suffering the most torturing anxiety. The body could not be found till the next day. When the doctor received information that it was found, he exclaimed, in a low voice, "Poor insane coward!" and it is said, never afterwards mentioned the subject. It excited, however, universal surprise to see him walking along the streets of Derby the day after the funeral of his son, with a serene countenance, and his usual cheerfulness of address. This self-command enabled him to take immediate possession of the premises bequeathed to him; to lay plans for their improvement; to take pleasure in describing those plans to his acquaintance; and to determine to make it his future residence; and all this without seeming to recollect to how sad an event he owed their possession!

The folly of suffering our imagination to dwell on past and irretrievable misfortunes, and of indulging fruitless grief, he often pointed out, and always censured. He relied much on self-discipline in that

\* It must in candour be here remarked, that a different statement of this circumstance has since been given.



that respect, and disdained, from deference to what he termed the prejudices of mankind, to display the outward semblance of unavailing sorrow, since he thought it wisdom to combat its reality. Early in the year 1800, Dr. Darwin published another large quarto volume, intitled, *Phytologia, or the Philosophy of Agriculture and Gardening*.

Sunday, the 18th of April, 1802, deprived Derby and its vicinity, and the encircling counties, of Dr. Darwin,—the lettered world of his genius. During a few preceding years he had been subject to sudden and alarming disorders of the chest, in which he always applied the lancet instantly and freely; he had repeatedly risen in the night and bled himself. It was said that he suspected *angina pectoris* to be the cause of those his sudden paroxysms, and that it would produce sudden death. The conversation which he held with Mrs. Darwin and her friend the night before he died, gave colour to the report. In the preceding year he had a dangerous illness: it originated from a severe cold caught by obeying the summons of a patient in Derby, after he had himself taken strong medicine. His skill, his courage, his exertion, struggled vehemently with his disease. Repeated and daring use of the lancet at length subdued it, but in all likelihood irreparably weakened the system. He never looked so well after as before his seizure; increased debility of step, and a certain wanness of countenance awakened those fears for him which great numbers felt who calculated upon his assistance, when hours of pain and danger might come. It was said, that during his illness he reproved the sensibility and tears of

Mrs. Darwin, and bid her remember that she was the wife of a philosopher.

It was the general opinion that a glass of brandy might have saved him for that time. Its effect would have been more powerful from his utter disuse of spirits; but such was the abhorrence in which he held them, that it is probable no entreaties could have induced him to have swallowed a dram, though surely, on any sudden chill of the blood, its effects, so injurious on habitual application, might have proved restoring. The body was opened, but it was said, the surgeons found no traces of peculiar disease; that the state of the viscera indicated a much more protracted existence.

He was somewhat above the middle size, his form athletic, and inclined to corpulence; his limbs too heavy for exact proportion. The traces of a severe small pox; features and countenance, which, when they were not animated by social pleasure, were rather saturnine than sprightly; a stoop in the shoulders and the then professional appendage, a large full-bottomed wig, gave at that early period of life an appearance of nearly twice the years he bore. Florid health, and the earnest of good humour, an engaging smile on entering a room and on first accosting his friends, rendered in his youth that exterior agreeable, to which beauty and symmetry had not been propitious.

He stammered extremely, but whatever he said, whether gravely or in jest, was always well worth waiting for, though the inevitable impression it made might not always be pleasant to individual self-love. Conscious of great native elevation above the general standard of intel-



lect, he became, early in life, sore upon opposition, whether in argument or conduct; and always revenged it by sarcasm of very keen edge. Nor was he less impatient of the sallies of egotism and vanity, even when they were in so slight a degree that strict politeness would rather tolerate than ridicule them. Dr. Darwin seldom failed to present their caricature in jocose but wounding irony. His scepticism to human truth was extreme. From that cause he often disregarded the accounts his patients gave of themselves, and rather chose to collect his information by indirect inquiry, and by cross examining them, than from their voluntary testimony. That distrust and that habit were probably favourable to his skill in discovering the origin of diseases, and thence to his pre-eminent success in effecting their cure; but they impressed his mind and tinctured his conversation with an apparent want of confidence in mankind, which was apt to wound the ingenuous and confiding spirit, whether seeking his medical assistance, or his counsel as a friend.

From the time at which Dr. Darwin first came to Lichfield, he avowed a conviction of the pernicious effects of all viscous fluids on the youthful and healthy constitution; an absolute horror of spirits of all sorts, and however diluted. His own example, with very few exceptions, supported his exhortations. From strong malt liquor he totally abstained, and if he drank a glass or two of English wine, he mixed it with water. Acid fruits, with sugar, and all sorts of creams, and butter were his luxuries; but he always ate plentifully of animal food. This liberal alimentary regimen he

prescribed to people of every age, where unvitiated appetite rendered them capable of following it; even to infants. He despised the prejudice which deems foreign wines more wholesome than the wines of the country. "If you must drink wine," said he, "let it be home-made."—It is well known, that Dr. Darwin's influence and example have sobered the county of Derby; that intemperance in fermented fluids of every species is almost unknown amongst the gentlemen.

Professional generosity distinguished Dr. Darwin's medical practice. While resident in Lichfield, to the priest and lay-vicar of its cathedral, and their families, he always cheerfully gave his advice, but never took fees from any of them. He also diligently attended to the health of the poor in that city, and afterwards at Derby, and supplied their necessities by food, and all sorts of charitable assistance. In each of these towns he exercised the most genuine hospitality, without extravagance or parade; deeming ever the first unjust, the latter unmanly.

To the many rich presents which nature bestowed on the mind of Dr. Darwin, she added the seducing and often dangerous gift of a highly poetic imagination; but he remembered how fatal that gift professionally became to the young physicians Akenside and Armstrong. Thus, through the first twenty years of his practice as a physician, Dr. Darwin, with the wisdom of Ulysses, bound himself to the medical mast, that he might not follow those delusive syrens, the muses, or be considered as their avowed votary. Occasional little pieces, however, frequently stole from his pen; though he



he cautiously precluded their passing the press, before his latent genius for poetry became unveiled to the public eye in its copious and dazzling splendour.

*Account of the celebrated Juvenile Dramatic Performer, universally styled the Young Roscius.*

William Henry West Betty, only son of William Henry Betty, and Mary Stanton, was born on the 13th of September, 1791, near Shrewsbury. His father, son of Dr. Betty, an eminent physician of Lisburn, in Ireland. His mother, of a respectable Worcestershire family. Young Betty was reared at Ballyhinch, the residence of his father. From the peculiar turn of his mother, he early acquired a taste for dramatic recitation; and, possessing a retentive memory, gave indications of talent in that line. But his introduction to the stage is said to be owing to a powerful impression made by the performance of Mrs. Siddons, whom he saw at Belfast in the character of Elvira; so strongly was he affected by its representation, that he immediately told his father, "he should certainly die if he must not be a player." It may readily be credited, that, waking or sleeping, he saw nothing but Elvira; he talked but of her, committed her speeches to memory, and no doubt spouted them to all who came in his way. His passion for the stage having outlived the ordinary term of childish impressions, and continuing to increase, his parents, seeing all opposition futile, were necessitated to think seriously of experimenting his talents for the dramatic art. They introduced him

to the manager and prompter of the Belfast theatre, before whom he rehearsed some passages from Pizarro, from which they formed a considerable opinion of his abilities, and soon after, the theatres being closed on account of the rebellion, Mr. Hough (the prompter) passed to Ballyhinch, and gave lessons to young Betty, who, though under eleven years of age, soon impressed his memory with the parts of Rolla, Douglas, Osman, and other eminent theatrical characters. It is said by Mr. Merritt, one of the best of his biographers, that Mr. Hough found his pupil to possess a docility greater even than his genius, whatever he was directed to do, he could instantly execute, and was sure never to forget; and that his feelings could take the impression of every passion and sentiment, and express them in appropriate language. Whatever was properly presented to his mind, he could immediately lay hold of, and seemed to seize by a sort of intuitive sagacity, the spirit of every sentence, and the prominent beauties of every remarkable passage. In this statement some latitude must be allowed to the zeal and affection of the tutor, for it is not very easy to conceive how a child's feelings could take the impression of passions, of which he could have no conception. But by this time we are sufficiently cool to examine whether on the stage the lad really does exhibit those unborn passions: the majority, like the gentle Tilburina, are easily taught to see any thing; but, indeed,

"The Spanish fleet we cannot see,  
"Because its not in sight."

Nor does the Young Roscius really exhibit



exhibit any other passions than those which his age has permitted him to know and feel. In short, he is neither more nor less than a child possessed of extraordinary powers for theatrical representation.

Impressed as was Mr. Hough with favourable sentiments for his pupil, on his return he induced the manager of the Belfast theatre to engage the child for four nights, and, on the 16th of August, 1803, he made his first appearance on the stage at Belfast, in the character of Osman, being then eleven years of age.—Throughout the night he discovered no sign of embarrassment\*, performed without mistake, and received the most tumultuous and incessant applause. The ensuing morn he was announced for the part of Young Norval, in the tragedy of Douglas, and his representation of that character inspired the whole town of Belfast with the highest consideration for his talents. He afterwards played Rolla and Romeo with equal success. His fame having spread to Dublin, Mr. Jones, the manager there, engaged him for nine nights. The probability of the child's theatrical interest becoming very weighty, induced Mr. Betty to attach Mr. Hough entirely to his son, which the affection and zeal of the latter rendered an easy task.

On the 28th of November, master Betty appeared at the theatre-royal Crow-street, in the character of Young Norval, and received, in addition to the most general and unbounded applause, the appellation of "The Young Roscius." His success

in Dublin was so great, that the manager endeavoured to engage him for a term of years, at a liberal and increasing salary; much to the credit of Dublin, however, there alone have been found those, who, free from envious or interested motives, have had sufficient discernment to appreciate truly the child's talents and the extravagant impropriety both of the theatre and the public in forcing him into an untimely maturity.

The author of "The Series of Familiar Epistles to F. Jones, esq. on the present state of the Irish Stage," a work of the keenest wit, humour, and satire, points out the folly and absurdity of making the stage a nursery, and laments that a promising child should be deprived of that education which might make him a useful man, to be converted into a source of theatrical revenue. Prince William, now duke of Gloucester, it is said, has condescended to give a similar, though a more prudential, because a more qualified advice. One of our esquires on this side the water, not quite satisfied with the indefinite directions of the Familiar Epistles, has published an octavo of "Hints for the Education of the Young Roscius." According to him, he must possess many natural endowments, and almost innumerable qualifications and acquirements indispensably requisite; great labour; invincible ardour; perspicuity of intellect; strength of memory; polished capability; classical education; French; a universal knowledge of history; an acquaintance with the best masters

\* Ryder, the celebrated Irish comedian, has said that he had served three apprenticeships to the stage (21 years) and the curtain never rose above him a single night that he did not tremble.



of painting, ancient and modern; the difference of climate, national character, and bodily temperament; the customs, manners, modes of salutation, and dresses of different nations; the classic poets; and the whole range of ancient statues (perhaps statutes) should be open to his view; and all these are to be acquired during the intervals of a never ceasing study of the passions, as they are exhibited by the respective inhabitants of the different parts of the globe. This plan appears sufficiently extensive even for "a young princess," though some of our Londoners will not be satisfied unless the lord chancellor administer it.

From Dublin the Young Roscius proceeded to Cork, under an engagement of six nights, which he fulfilled with the greatest applause, and was induced to extend it three performances more at the desire of the inhabitants. There his powers of attraction were unexampled, the general receipts being not above ten pounds per night, which, during the stay of Young Roscius, increased to an hundred.

Fame now blew her trump so loud, that its sound reached the capital of Scotland, and in May 1804, he appeared on the Glasgow boards in the tragedy of Douglas. Of all the panegyrists of our Roscius, Mr. Jackson, the Glasgow manager, appears to be the warmest. He asserts him to be "presented by heaven," (which of the heavens he has not thought proper to state) and "fully instructed by the inspiring voice of nature,"—"words cannot express his surprising endowments." Mr. Jackson observes, "I speak not from a transient view, or from the

examining a single character. I have traced him through all the parts he has performed on this theatre, and watched his dramatic progress with a critic's eye, in order to notice expected defects; and, if needful, to point out emendations. But his correctness, and graceful mode of deportment, throughout the whole of the performances, and the astonishing exertions which his powers enabled him to exhibit, rendered useless my intention, and taught me to know that '*Nature's above art in that respect,*' for the gifts she has endowed him with, I found stood in no great need of a preceptor." The whole of this experienced veteran's reasoning and opinions are of the same quality, and equally worthy of attention: however, according to that gentleman, "He set the town of Edinburgh in a blaze!" which is to be ascribed to the "pleasing movements of perfect and refined nature, which had been incorporated with his frame, previous to his birth." Home was present during his first performance, in Edinburgh, of Young Norval, and "the author of Douglas, in the plenitude of rapturous enthusiasm, from the unexpected gratification he had received, stepped forward before the curtain, and bowed respectfully to the audience." On being asked how he had been entertained, he answered "Never better: this is the first time I ever saw the part of Douglas played, according to my ideas of the character. He is a wonderful being; his endowments great beyond conception: and I pronounce him at present, or at least, that he soon will be, one of the first actors upon the British stage!"

The criticisms on his performances  
in



in Scotland, according to the biographers, were neither few, nor temperate, and are said to have nothing but their malignity to recommend them.\*

Mr. M'Cready, the monarch of the Birmingham theatre, now sent the young hero of the sock an embassy to implore the aid of his omnipotent prowess, in whose cause the Young Roscius made his first appearance on the English stage: but there, and there only, we hear of the slightest symptom of incredulity. For the first four evenings the theatre was but thinly attended, but on the fifth, the electric shock communicated itself with the greatest success. Mr. Harley, author and actor of that theatre, "was enrapt in wonder and delight," owned himself a convert, and from his soul exclaimed—"This is no counterfeit! this is the acting *that feelingly persuades me what it is.*" The subsequent nights were thronged beyond all precedent, nearly to suffocation, and "every tongue confessed the power which every heart had felt." Mr. Harley's ideas of acting seem to agree perfectly with the Edinburgh manager, for although his modesty would not permit him to anticipate the judgment of a London audience; he considers "his *Hamlet* as one of the most fascinating pieces of acting that he had ever witnessed." His *Richard* too was equally a masterpiece. It should not be forgotten, that, in support of the opinion of these two experienced and able critics, a letter signed Jo. Stuart, inserted in Mr. Jackson's pamphlet, contains a conviction, "that

he would play *Lusignan* or *Old Norval*, with equal propriety and effect, as *Douglas* or *Osman.*"

The Birmingham manager sent a choice of conditions†, either a clear benefit for six performances, which might have equalled 260*l.* or for eight nights one fifth of the gross receipts, and a benefit; or on Mrs. Siddons's plan, to divide equally after the expences, and to pay the customary gratuity for a benefit; but those concluded on were to divide for six nights, allowing 50*l.* for expences, and to give the 7th night gratis on condition of receiving the 8th for 40*l.* Mr. Hough, in a letter dated Edinburgh, July 28, states that "the last six nights of his performing here produced £.844." At Birmingham the receipts for thirteen nights were nearly £.2,300. During Young Betty's stay at Birmingham‡, one of the Drury-Lane managers, in passing through that place, was persuaded to stay and see the prodigy: he stayed two nights, and, after much deliberation, offered *half a clear benefit* to perform seven nights in London! Of course the offer was rejected with disdain.

After frank deliberation, a commission was sent down to a Birmingham critic to obtain an opinion on the case: the critic being indisposed, alas! like ordinary men, had recourse to Mr. M'Cready, who expressed an opinion that he was worth fifty guineas a night, and a clear benefit. Terms so enormous gave birth (and well they might) to a new deliberation; and, in the interim, captain Barlow arrived at Birmingham on the part of Mr.

\* Jackson's Pamphlet, p. 41.

† Harley, p. 27.

‡ Harley, p. 33.



Harris, with a *carte blanche* for a Covent-Garden engagement, which was concluded for twelve nights on M'Cready's terms. The nights were to be three in the last week of November, three in the first week of December, three in the last week of January, and three in the first week of February. His benefit to follow immediately, and the engagement to be renewed after Easter, should its success render it eligible. The altercation consequent, between the managers, is not worth repeating, but Mr. Harley states that Drury-Lane dispatched immediately messengers to Liverpool, and elsewhere, to buy off, at any price, his present engagements; but, much to the credit of the boy and his friends, they determined to adhere to every subsisting contract; an exclusive engagement, however, having not been made, Drury-Lane obtained him for the Covent-Garden intervals. From Birmingham he proceeded to Sheffield, and with the same success; on no occasion was that town known to be so crowded; great numbers thronged to town in all directions, and every house was overloaded with visitors; and the prices of admission were raised, no doubt, to oblige the gentility of the place. Early in October he arrived at Liverpool.\* All his former successes, however brilliant and unprecedented, were there completely eclipsed, (the inhabitants of Liverpool being particularly attached to dramatic amusements and prodigies,) and the ordinary theatric receipts greatly exceed any in the empire, London and perhaps Dublin excepted: the house is also the third in magnitude, yet the difficulty of admittance

was such, that in a few minutes the house filled:—nay, the pressure, in a morning, to take places, was such, that all the standing rigging of the pressors was carried away; and hats, wigs, boots, muffs, spencers, and tippets, flew about in all directions through the crowd. In fifteen nights Master Betty cleared £.1520 at Liverpool. From thence he proceeded to Chester and Manchester, and finished his provincial engagements at Lichfield; where it is said he played twice a day.

Saturday December first, 1804, was announced for his first appearance on the London boards, and as the newspapers had for months been winding up the public to the highest pitch of expectation, those who are acquainted with the turbulent manners of a London mob, and its more than Liverpool attachment to prodigies of all descriptions, may form a tolerable picture of the assemblage on that occasion, and also of its conduct.—A playhouse door, on a favourite night, in London, is the only place where the true spirit of jacobinism is to be found; there all distinctions of age, sex, or rank are unknown, and by force or accident only can pre-eminence be obtained. The pressure was unparalleled:—the doors were scarcely opened before proclamations announced the house to be full. Confusion reigned triumphant in every part of the theatre. In vain was an attempt made to address the audience; the play commenced amidst the storm, and was compelled to shrink from its fury. The address was again brought forward, and the actor had sufficient firmness to grumble quite through it. The tragedy

\* Merrit, p. 47.



of Barbarossa again commenced, but of the first act the performers had all the pleasure to themselves, as not a word could be heard. In the second act, when the Young Roscius entered, the most tumultuous applause greeted him, which he received with the utmost coolness and presence of mind. His performance, judging by its effects, even exceeded all promise; the town for weeks after his first appearance was like the city of Abdera, not a word but of "Cupid prince of gods and men;" and even Methodism herself lent her pious votaries to swell the list of his captives. Of his figure little at present can be said, but that it is straight and not ungraceful; his face oval and flat, features small, eyes grey and not lively, eyebrows straight and thin.—At present his face possesses no great powers of expression, nor, as far as can be judged, are his muscles likely to swell out into that grand, bold size necessary for theatric effect. His powers consist in expressing his feelings rather by a general energy of figure than of countenance, and he has been so well schooled, that this energy is confined to the principal passages he has to deliver. As to his capability of depicting all the passions, and their varied shades, with all the refinements of delivery

which abstract sentiment assumes, it is quite ridiculous to expect it.—Characters suited to his years, such as Frederick and Young Norval, he performs in general very well; though in parts of each of these, (and it should seem his instructors do not understand the sense of the author,) wherever the expression of a passion is demanded, of whatever be its nature, that general energy which characterizes his acting, is applied to it, and it satisfies the audience. In the business of the stage he is extremely correct, and pays more attention to the scene than is usual with some even of the best performers. Of his voice it is said, that on his first appearance it was uncommonly strong, clear, and sweet: at present it is husky, though not disagreeably so; but he possesses a surprising distinctness of articulation, and without the slightest efforts can be understood throughout Drury-lane theatre, to which he super-adds a perfect command of it. On the whole, it may readily be admitted, that he is a youth gifted with extraordinary qualifications from nature; that his defects are such as are accounted for by his age alone, and, with prudent management, who would probably in a few years become one of the brightest ornaments of the British stage.

NATURAL



# NATURAL HISTORY.

*Account of the Torpedo. From  
Shaw's British Zoology.*

THE torpedo has been celebrated both by ancients and moderns for its wonderful faculty of causing a sudden numbness or painful sensation in the limbs of those who touch or handle it. This power the ancients, unacquainted with the theory of electricity, were contented to admire, without attempting to explain; and, as is usual in similar cases, magnified into an effect little short of what is commonly ascribed to enchantment. Thus we are told by Oppian, that the torpedo, conscious of his latent faculty, when caught by a hook, exerts it in such a manner that, passing along the line and rod, it benumbs the astonished fisherman, and suddenly reduces him to a state of helpless stupefaction.

The hook'd torpedo, with instinctive  
force,  
Calls all his magic from its secret  
source:  
Quick thro' the slender line and polished  
wand  
It darts; and tingles in th' offending  
hand.  
The palsied fisherman, in dumb sur-  
prise,  
Feels thro' his frame the chilling vapours  
rise:  
Drops the lost rod, and seems, in stiff-  
ning pain,  
Some frost fix'd wanderer on the polar  
plain.

It is affirmed by Pliny, that the torpedo, even when touched with a spear or stick, can benumb the strongest arm, and stop the swiftest foot.

It is well observed by Dr. Bloch, that these exaggerations, on the part of the ancients, are the less to be wondered at when we reflect on similar ones in modern times. Thus when Muschenbroek happened accidentally to discover and feel the effect of the electric shock from what is called the Leyden phial, he represented it of so terrible a nature as to affect his health for several days afterwards, and declared that he would not undergo a second for the whole kingdom of France. Yet this is now the common amusement of philosophical curiosity.

The observations of the learned Redi and others of the seventeenth century, had tended, in some degree, to elucidate the peculiar actions and anatomy of the torpedo; but it was reserved for more modern times, and for our own ingenious countrymen in particular, to explain in a more satisfactory manner the particulars of its history; and to prove that its power is truly electric. The first experiments of this kind were made by Mr. Walsh, of the royal society of London, at Rochelle in France, in the year 1772.

“The effect of the torpedo,” says Mr. Walsh, “appears to be absolutely electrical forming, its circuit through the same conductors with



with electricity, and being intercepted by the same non-conductors as glass and sealing-wax. The back and the breast of the animal appear to be in different states of electricity, I mean in particular the upper and lower surfaces of the two assemblages of pliant cylinders engraved in the works of Lorenzini\*. By the knowledge of this circumstance we have been able to direct his shocks, though they were small, through a circuit of four persons, all feeling it, and likewise through a considerable length of wire held by two insulated persons, one touching his lower surface and the other his upper. When the wire was exchanged for glass or sealing wax no effect could be obtained; but as it was resumed the two persons became liable to the shock. These experiments have been varied many ways, and repeated times without number, and they all determined the choice of conductors to be the same in the torpedo as in the Leyden phial. The sensations likewise, occasioned by the one and the other in the human frame, are precisely similar. Not only the shock, but the numbing sensation, which the animal sometimes dispenses, expressed in French by the words *engourdissement* and *fourmillement*, may be exactly imitated with the phial, by means of Lane's electrometer; the regulating rod of which, to produce the latter effect, must be brought almost into contact with the prime conductor which joins the phial. It is a singularity that the torpedo, when insulated, should be able to give us, insulated likewise, forty or fifty successive shocks from nearly

the same part; and these with little, if any diminution of their force. Each effort of the animal to give the shock is conveniently accompanied by a depression of his eyes, by which even his attempts to give it to non-conductors can be observed: in respect to the rest of his body he is in a great degree motionless, though not entirely so. I have taken no less than fifty of the above-mentioned successive shocks from an insulated torpedo in the space of a minute and a half. All our experiments confirm that the electricity of the torpedo is condensed, in the instant of its explosion, by a sudden energy of the animal; and as there is no gradual accumulation, or retention of it, as in case of charged glass, it is not at all surprising that no signs of attraction or repulsion were perceived in the pith balls.

In short, the effect of the torpedo appears to arise from a compressed elastic fluid, restoring itself to its equilibrium in the same way, and by the same mediums, as the elastic fluid compressed in charged glass. The skin of the animal, bad conductor as it is, seems to be a better conductor of his electricity than the thinnest plate of elastic air. Notwithstanding the weak spring of the torpedinal electricity, I was able, in the public exhibitions of my experiments at La Rochelle, to convey it through a circuit formed from one surface of the animal to the other, by two long brass wires, and four persons, which number, at times, was increased even to eight. The several persons were made to communicate with each other, and the two outermost with the wires, by

\* Osservazioni intorno alle torpedini, 1678.



means of water contained in basons, properly disposed between them for that purpose. This curious and convincing experiment is thus related by Monsieur Seignette, mayor of La Rochelle, and one of the secretaries of its academy; published in the French gazettes, for the month of October in the above year.

A live torpedo was placed on a table: round another table stood five persons insulated: two brass wires, each thirteen feet long, were suspended to the ceiling by silken strings. One of these wires rested by one end on the wet napkin on which the fish lay; the other end was immersed in a bason full of water, placed on the second table, on which stood four other basons likewise full of water. The first person put a finger of one hand in the bason in which the wire was immersed, and a finger of the other hand in a second bason. The second person put a finger of one hand in the last bason, and a finger of the other in a third, and so on successively, till the five persons communicated with one another, with the water in the basons. In the last bason one end of the second wire was immersed, and with the other end Mr. Walsh touched the back of the torpedo, when the five persons felt a commotion which differed in nothing from that of the Leyden experiment, except in the degree of force. Mr. Walsh, who was not in the circle of conduction, received no shock.—This experiment was repeated several times, even with eight persons, and always with the same success. The action of the torpedo is communicated by the same medium as the electric fluid. The bodies which intercept the action of the one intercept likewise the action of the other.

The effects produced by the torpedo resemble in every respect a weak electricity.

This exhibition of the electric powers of the torpedo, before the academy of La Rochelle, was at a meeting held for the purpose, in my apartments, on the 22d of July, 1772, and stands registered in the journals of the academy."

Mr. Walsh, in his paper on this subject, in the Philosophical Transactions, thus continues the account of these interesting experiments:

"The effect of the animal, in the above experiments, was transmitted through as great an extent, and variety of conductors, as almost at any time we had been able to obtain it, and the experiments included nearly all the points in which its analogy with the Leyden phial had been observed. These points were stated to the gentlemen present, as were the circumstances in which the two effects appeared to vary. It was likewise represented to them, that our experiments had been almost wholly with the animal in air; that its action in water was a capital desideratum, that indeed all as yet done was little more than opening the door to inquiry; that much remained to be examined by the electrician, as well as the anatomist: that as artificial electricity had thrown light on the natural operation of the torpedo, this might, in return, if well considered, throw light on artificial electricity, particularly in those respects in which they now seemed to differ. The torpedo, in these experiments, dispensed only the distinct, instantaneous stroke, so well known by the electric shock. That protracted but lighter sensation, that torpor or numbness which he at times induces, and from which he takes his name,

was



was not then experienced from the animal, but it was imitated with artificial electricity, and shewn to be producible by a quick consecution of minute shocks. This, in the torpedo, may perhaps be effected by the successive discharge of his numerous cylinders, in the nature of a running fire of musquetry: the strong single shock may be his general volley. In the continued effect, as well as the instantaneous, his eyes, which are usually prominent, are withdrawn into their sockets.

“ A large torpedo, very liberal of his shocks, being held with both hands, by electric organs above and below, was briskly plunged into water to the depth of a foot, and instantly raised an equal height in air, and was thus continually plunged and raised, as quick as possible, for the space of a minute. In the instant his lower surface touched the water in his descent, he always gave a violent shock, and another, still more violent in his ascent; both which shocks, but particularly the last, were accompanied with a writhing in his body, as if meant to force an escape. Besides these two shocks from the surface of the water, which may yet be considered as delivered in the air, he constantly gave at least two when in the air, and as constantly one, and sometimes two, when wholly in the water. The shocks in the water appeared, as far as sensation could decide, not to have near a fourth the force of those which took place at the surface of the water, nor much more than a fourth of those entirely in air.

“ The shocks received in a certain time were not, on this occasion, counted by a watch, as they had been on a former, when fifty were delivered in a minute and a half, by

the animal, when in an insulated and unagitated state; but, from the quickness with which the immersions were made, it may be presumed there were full twenty of these in a minute; from whence the number of shocks in that time must have amounted to above an hundred.— This experiment, therefore, while it discovered the comparative force between a shock in water and one in air, and between a shock delivered with a greater degree of exertion on the part of the animal, and one with less, seemed to determine that the change of his organs with electricity, as well as the discharge, was affected in an instant.

“ The torpedo was then put into a flat basket, open at the top, but secured by a net with wide meshes, and with this confinement was let down into the water about a foot below the surface; being there touched through the meshes, with only a single finger, on one of his electric organs, while the other hand was held at a distance in the water, he gave shocks which were distinctly felt with both hands.

“ The circuit for the passage of the effect being contracted to the finger and thumb of one hand, applied above and below to a single organ, produced a shock, to our sensation, of twice the force of that in the larger circuit by the arms.

“ The torpedo, still confined in the basket, being raised to within three inches of the surface of the water, was there touched with a short iron bolt, which was held, half above and half in the water, by one hand, while the other hand was dipped, as before, at a distance in the water; and strong shocks, felt with both hands, were thus obtained through the iron.

“ A wet



“A wet hempen cord, being fastened to the iron bolt, was held in the hand above the water, while the bolt touched the torpedo, and the shocks were obtained through both these substances.

“A less powerful torpedo, suspended in a small net, being frequently dipped into water, and raised again, gave, from the surface of the water, slight shocks through the net to the person holding it.

“These experiments in water manifested, that bodies immersed in that element might be affected by immediate contact with the torpedo; that the shorter the circuit in which the electricity moved, the greater would be the effect; and that the shock was communicable, from the animal in water, to persons in air, through some substances.

“How far harpoons and nets, consisting of wood and hemp, could in like circumstances, as it has been frequently asserted, convey the effect, was not so particularly tried, as to enable us to confirm it. I mention the omission, in hopes some one may be induced to determine the point by express trial.

“We convinced ourselves, on former occasions, that the accurate Kæmpfer, who so well describes the effect of the torpedo, and happily compares it with lightning, was deceived in the circumstance that it could be avoided by holding in the breath, which we found no more to prevent the shock of the torpedo, when he was disposed to give it, than it would prevent the shocks of the Leyden phial.

“Several persons, forming as many distinct circuits, can be affected by one stroke of the animal, as well as when joined in a single circuit.—For instance, four persons touching separately his upper and lower sur-

faces, were all affected; two persons likewise, after the electricity had passed through a wire into a bason of water, transmitted it from thence into two distinct channels, as their sensation convinced them, into another bason of water, from whence it was conducted, probably in an united state, by a single wire. How much farther the effect might thus be divided and subdivided into different channels, was not determined; but it was found to be proportionately weakened by multiplying these circuits, as it had been by extending the single circuit.”

The body of the torpedo is of a somewhat circular form, perfectly smooth, slightly convex above, and marked along each side of the spine by several small pores or foramina: the colour of the upper surface is usually a pale reddish brown, sometimes marked by five, large, equidistant, circular dusky spots, with paler centres; the under surface is whitish, or flesh-coloured. The torpedo, however, is observed to vary considerably in the cast and intensity of its colours. The general length of the torpedo seems to be about eighteen inches, or two feet, but it is occasionally found of far larger dimensions, specimens having been taken on our own coasts of the weight of fifty, sixty, and even eighty pounds. A specimen, weighing fifty-three pounds, was found, according to Mr. Pennant, to measure four feet in length, and two and a half in breadth: the head and body, which were indistinct, were nearly round, about two inches thick in the middle, attenuating to extreme thinness on the edges: below the body, the ventral fins formed on each side one fourth of a circle: the two dorsal fins were placed on the trunk of the tail: the eyes were small, placed near each



other: behind each was a round spiracle, with six small cutaneous rays on their inner circumference; the mouth was small, the teeth minute and spicular; the colour of the animal was cinerous brown above and white beneath. The torpedo is an inhabitant of most seas, but seems to arrive at a larger size in the Mediterranean than elsewhere. It is generally taken with the trawl, but has been sometimes known to take a bait, thus justifying the description of Oppian. It commonly lies in water of about forty fathoms depth, in company with others of this genus.

It preys on smaller fish, and, according to Mr. Pennant, a surmullet and a plaice have been found in the stomach of two of them: the surmullet, as Mr. Pennant well observes, is a fish of that swiftness, that it would be impossible for the torpedo to take it by pursuit: we may therefore suppose that it stupefies its prey, by exerting its electric faculty. The torpedo often inhabits sandy places, burying itself superficially, by flinging the sand over it, by a quick flapping of all the extremities. It is in this situation that it gives its most forcible shock, which is said to throw down the astonished passenger that inadvertently treads on the animal.

The torpedo, with respect to its general anatomy, does not materially differ from the rest of the ray tribe, except in its electric or Galvanic organs, which are thus accurately described by Mr. Hunter.

“These organs are placed on each side of the cranium and gills, reaching from thence to the semicircular cartilages of each great fin, and extending longitudinally from the anterior extremity of the animal to the transverse cartilage

which divides the thorax from the abdomen; and within these limits they occupy the whole space between the skin of the upper and of the under surface: they are thickest at the edges near the centre of the fish, and become gradually thinner towards the extremities. Each electric organ, at its inner longitudinal edge, is a convex elliptic curve. The anterior extremity of each organ makes the section of a small circle; and the posterior extremity makes nearly a right angle with the inner edge. Each organ is attached to the surrounding parts by a close cellular membrane, and also by short and strong tendinous fibres, which pass directly across its outer edge to the semicircular cartilages. They are covered above and below by the common skin of the animal, under which there is a thin fascia, spread over the whole organ. This is composed of fibres, which run longitudinally, or in the direction of the body of the animal: these fibres appear to be perforated in innumerable places, which gives the fascia the appearance of being fasciculated: its edges, all round, are closely connected to the skin, and at last appear to be lost, or to degenerate into the common cellular membrane of the skin: immediately under this is another membrane, exactly of the same kind, the fibres of which, in some measure, decupate those of the former, passing from the middle line of the body outwards and backwards; the inner edge of this is lost with the first described; the anterior, outer, and posterior edges are partly attached to the semicircular cartilages, and partly lost in the common cellular membrane. This inner fascia appears to be continued into the electric organ by so many processes, and thereby make the mem-



membranous sides or sheaths of the columns, which are presently to be described; and between these processes the fascia covers the end of each column, making the outermost or first partition. Each organ is about five inches in length, and, at the anterior end, three in breadth, though it is little more than half as broad at the posterior extremity: each consists wholly of perpendicular columns, reaching from the upper to the under surface of the body, and varying in their lengths according to the thickness of the parts of the body where they are placed, the longest column being about an inch and a half, and the shortest about one fourth of an inch in length, and their diameters about two tenths of an inch. The figures of these columns are very irregular, varying according to situation and other circumstances. The greatest number are either irregular hexagons, or irregular pentagons; but from the irregularity of some of them, it happens that a pretty regular quadrangular column is sometimes formed. Those of the exterior row are either quadrangular or hexagonal, having one side external, two lateral, and either one or two internal. In the second row they are mostly pentagons; their coats are very thin, and seem transparent, closely connected with each other, having a kind of loose net-work, of tendinous fibres, passing transversely and obliquely between the columns, and uniting them more firmly together. These are mostly observable where the large trunks of the nerves pass; the columns are also attached by strong inelastic fibres passing directly from the one to the other. The number of columns in different torpedos, of rather small size, appears to be about 470 in each organ, but the

number varies according to the size of the fish; and in a very large torpedo, the number of columns in one electric organ was 1182: they must, therefore, increase, not only in size, but in number, during the growth of the animal; new ones forming, perhaps, every year on the exterior edges, as they are much the smallest. This process may be similar to the formation of new teeth in the human jaw, as it increases. Each column is divided by horizontal partitions, placed over each other at very small distances, and forming numerous interstices, which appear to contain a fluid. These partitions consist of a very thin membrane, considerably transparent; their edges seem to be attached to each other, and the whole is attached by a fine cellular membrane to the inside of the columns. They are not totally detached from each other, and I have found them at different places adhering to each other by blood-vessels passing from one to another. The number of partitions contained in a column of one inch in length, of a torpedo which had been preserved in proof spirit, appeared, upon a careful examination, to be 150; and this number, in a given length of column, appears to be common to all sizes, in the same state of humidity; for by drying they may be greatly altered: whence it appears probable, that the increase in the length of a column, during the growth of the animal, does not enlarge the distance between each partition in proportion to the growth, but that new partitions are formed, and added to the extremity of the column, from the fascia. The partitions are very vascular; the arteries are branches from the veins of the gills, which convey the blood that has received the influence of respiration. They



pass along with the nerves to the electric organ, and enter with them; then ramify, in every direction, into innumerable small branches upon the sides of the columns; sending in from the circumference all around, upon each partition, small arteries, which ramify and anastomose upon it; and, passing also from one partition to another, anastomose with the vessels of the adjacent partitions. The veins of the electric organ pass out close to the nerves, and run between the gills to the auricle of the heart. The nerves inserted into each electric organ, arise by three very large trunks from the lateral and posterior part of the brain. The first of these, in its passage outwards, turns round a cartilage of the cranium, and sends a few branches to the first gill, and to the anterior part of the head, and then passes into the organ near its anterior extremity. The second trunk enters the gills between the first and second openings, and, after furnishing it with small branches, passes into the organ near its middle. The third trunk, after leaving the skull, divides itself into two branches, which pass to the electric organ through the gills; one between the second and third openings, the other between the third and fourth, giving small branches to the gill itself.—These nerves, having entered the organs, ramify in every direction between the columns, and send in small branches upon each partition, where they are lost. The magnitude and number of the nerves bestowed on these organs, in proportion to their size, must, on reflection, appear as extraordinary as the phenomena they afford. Nerves are given to parts either for sensation or action. If we except the more important senses of hearing, seeing, tast-

ing, and smelling, which do not belong to electric organs, there is no part, even of the most perfect animals, which, in proportion to its size, is so liberally supplied with nerves; nor do the nerves seem necessary for any sensation which can be supposed to belong to the electric organs; and, with respect to action, there is no part of any animal with which I am acquainted, however strong and constant its natural actions may be, which has so great a proportion of nerves. If it be then probable that those nerves are not necessary for the purposes of sensation or action, may we not conclude that they are subservient to the formation, collection, or management of the electric fluid? especially as it seems evident, from Mr. Walsh's experiments, that the will of the animal does absolutely control the electric powers of its body, which must depend on the energy of the nerves."

From the above description, it appears that the electric organs of the torpedo constitute a pair of Galvanic batteries, disposed in the form of perpendicular hexagonal columns. In the *Gymnotus electricus*, on the contrary, the Galvanic battery is disposed lengthways on the lower part of the animal.

We are informed by the ingenious Dr. Ingenhouz, that, on taking up some torpedos, about twenty miles from Leghorn, and on pressing gently with the thumbs on the upper side of the two soft bodies on each side of the head, (the electric organs) in about the space of a minute or two, he felt a sudden trembling in the thumbs, which extended no farther than the hands, and lasted about two seconds, perfectly resembling the sensation produced by a great number of very small electrical bottles,



bottles, discharged in quick succession through the hands. After some seconds the sensation returned, and again at more distant intervals; sometimes it was so strong as almost to oblige the hand to let go the fish, and at other times was but weak; and, after the fish had given one strong shock, it did not seem soon to lose the power of communicating one of similar strength; and it was sometimes found, that when the shocks followed one another in quick succession, the last were stronger than the first.

The celebrated Spallanzani informs us, that some few minutes before the torpedo expires, the shocks which it communicates, instead of being given at distant intervals, take place in quick succession, like the pulsations of the heart; they are weak, indeed, but perfectly perceptible to the hand, when laid on the fish at this juncture, and resemble very small electric shocks: in the space of seven minutes, no less than three hundred and sixty of these small shocks were perceived. Spallanzani also assures us of another highly curious fact, which he had occasion to verify from his own experience, viz. that the young torpedo can not only exercise its electric faculty as soon as born, but even while it is yet a foetus in the body of the parent animal. This fact was ascertained by Spallanzani, on dissecting a torpedo in a pregnant state, and which contained in its ovarium several roundish eggs of different sizes, and also two perfectly formed foetuses, which, when tried in the usual manner, communicated a very sensible electric shock, and which was still more perceptible when the little animals were insulated by being placed on a plate of glass.

The electricity of the torpedo is altogether voluntary, and sometimes, if the animal be not irritated, it may be touched, or even handled, without being provoked to exert its electric influence.

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*Natural History of the Land Salamander. By the Count de la Cépède.*

It would appear that the more remote the objects of human curiosity are, the more man delights in attributing to them wonderful qualities, or at least in exaggerating those which being seldom thoroughly known, in reality possess the imagination, which, as one may say, from time to time, requires to be stimulated with wonder; man wishes to give full scope to his belief, and he thinks he does not enjoy it with sufficient freedom when he subjects it to the laws of reason; he imagines that to use it he must carry it to the greatest excess, and does not consider himself as really master of it, unless when he capriciously refuses it to truth, or grants it to accounts of the most chimerical beings. Man cannot exercise this empire of fantasy but when the light of truth shines from a distance upon the objects of this arbitrary belief; but when the space, time, or their nature separate them from us; and for this reason among all classes of animals, there is perhaps none which has given rise to more fables than that of lizards. We have seen properties, as absurd as imaginary, ascribed to several species of oviparous quadrupeds; but human imagination seems to have surpassed itself in the salamander, which has been thought to be endowed with the most marvellous qualities. Whilst



the hardest bodies cannot resist the violence of fire, the world have endeavoured to make us believe that a small lizard can not only withstand the flames, but even extinguish them.

As agreeable fables readily gain belief, every one has been eager to adopt that of a small animal so highly privileged, so superior to the most powerful agent in nature, and which could furnish so many objects of comparison to poetry, so many pretty emblems to love, and so many brilliant devices to valour. The ancients believed this property of the salamander, wishing that its origin might be as surprising as its power; and being desirous of realizing the ingenious fictions of the poets, they have pretended that it owes its existence to the purest of elements, which cannot consume it, and they have called it the daughter of fire\*, giving it however a body of ice. The moderns have followed the ridiculous tales of the ancients, and as it is difficult to stop when one has passed the bounds of probability, some have gone so far as to think that the most violent fire could be extinguished by the land salamander. Quacks sold this small lizard, affirming that when thrown into the greatest conflagration, it would check its progress. It was very necessary that philosophers and naturalists should take the trouble to prove, by facts, what reason alone might have demonstrated; and it was not till after the light of science was diffused abroad, that the world gave over believing in this wonderful property of the salamander.

This lizard, which is found in so

many countries of the ancient world, and even in very high latitudes, has been, however, very little noticed, because it is seldom seen out of its hole, and because for a long time it has inspired much terror. Even Aristotle speaks of it as of an animal with which he was scarcely acquainted.

It is easy to distinguish this lizard from all others, by the particular conformation of its fore feet, which have only four toes, while those behind have five. One of the largest of this species, preserved in the king's cabinet, is seven inches five lines in length, from the end of the muzzle to the root of the tail, which is three inches eight lines. The skin does not appear to be covered with scales, but it is furnished with a number of excrescences, like teats, containing a great many holes, several of which may be very plainly distinguished by the naked eye, and through which a kind of milk oozes that generally spreads itself in such a manner as to form a transparent coat of varnish above the skin of this oviparous quadruped, naturally dry.

The eyes of the salamander are placed in the upper part of the head, which is a little flattened; their orbit projects into the interior part of the palate, and is there almost surrounded by a row of very small teeth, like those in the jaw bones: these teeth establish a near relation between lizards and fishes; many species of which have also several teeth placed in the bottom of the mouth. The colour of this lizard is very dark; upon the belly it has a bluish cast, intermixed with pretty large irregular yellow spots, which

\* Conrad Gesner de quadrupedibus oviparis, de Salamandra, p. 79.



extend over the whole body, and even to the feet and eye-lids ; some of these spots are besprinkled with small black specks ; and those which are upon the back often touch, without interruption, and form two long yellow bands. From the figure of these spots, the salamander has got the name of stellio, as well as the green lizard, or real stellio ; and the geckotte or lacerta mauritanica. The colour of the land salamander must, however, be subject to vary ; and it appears that some are found in the marshy forests of Germany, which are quite black above and yellow below\*. To this variety we must refer the black salamander, found by Mr. Laurenti, in the Alps, which he considered as a distinct species, and which appeared to me to have too near a resemblance to the common salamander to be separated from it †.

The tail, which is almost cylindrical, appears to be separated into different divisions, by circular rings composed of a very soft substance.

The land salamander has no ribs, neither have frogs, to which it has a great resemblance in the general form of the anterior part of its body. When touched, it suddenly covers with that kind of coat of which we have spoken, and it can also very rapidly change its skin from a state of humidity to a state of dryness.

The milk which issues from the small holes in its surface is very acrid ; when put upon the tongue, one feels as it were a kind of scar at the part which it touches. This milk, which is considered as an excellent substance for taking off hair,

has some resemblance to that which distils from those plants called esula and euphorbium. When the salamander is crushed, or when it is only pressed, it exhales a bad smell, which is peculiar to it.

Land salamanders are fond of cold damp places, thick shades, tufted woods, or high mountains, and the banks of streams that run through meadows ; they sometimes retire in great numbers to hollow trees, hedges, and below old rotten stumps ; and they pass the winter in places of high latitude, in a kind of burrows, where they are found collected, several of them being joined and twisted together. The salamander being destitute of claws, having only four toes on each of the fore feet, and no advantage of conformation making up its deficiencies, its manner of living must, as is indeed the case, be very different from that of other lizards. It walks very slowly ; far from being able to climb trees with rapidity, it often appears to drag itself with great difficulty along the surface of the earth. It seldom goes far from the place of shelter which it has fixed on ; it passes its life under the earth, often at the bottom of old walls during summer ; it dreads the heat of the sun which would dry it, and it is commonly only when rain is about to fall, that it comes forth from its secret assylum, as if by a kind of necessity, to bathe itself, and to imbibe an element to which it is analogous. Perhaps it finds then with the greatest facility those insects on which it feeds. It lives upon flies, beetles, snails, and earth worms ; when it reposes, it rolls

\* Matthiolus.

† Salamandra atra Laurenti Specimen Medicum. Viennæ 1768, p. 179.



up its body in several folds like serpents. It can remain some time in the water without danger, and it casts a very thin pellicle of a greenish grey colour. Salamanders have even been kept more than six months in the water of a well, without giving them any food; care only was taken to change the water often.

It has been remarked, that every time a land salamander is plunged into the water, it attempts to raise its nostrils above the surface, as if to seek for air, which is a new proof of the need that all oviparous quadrupeds have to breathe, during the time they are not in a state of torpor. The land salamander has apparently no ears, and in this it resembles serpents. It has even been pretended, that it does not hear, and on this account it has got the name of sord, in some provinces of France. This is very probable, as it has never been heard to utter any cry, and silence in general is coupled with deafness.

Having then, perhaps, one sense less than other animals, and being deprived of the faculty of communicating its sensations to those of the same species, even by imperfect sounds, it must be reduced to a much inferior degree of instinct; it is, therefore, very stupid, and not bold, as has been reported; it does not brave danger, as is pretended, but it does not perceive it. Whatever gestures one makes to frighten it, it always advances without turning aside: however, as no animal is deprived of that sentiment necessary for its preservation, it suddenly compresses its skin, as is said, when tormented, and spurts forth upon those who attack it that corrosive milk which is under it. If beat,

it begins to raise its tail; afterwards it becomes motionless, as if stunned by a kind of paralytic stroke; for we must not, with some naturalists, ascribe to an animal so devoid of instinct so much art and cunning as to counterfeit death. In short, it is difficult to kill it; but when dipped in vinegar, or surrounded with salt reduced to powder, it expires in convulsions, as is the case with several other lizards and worms.

It seems one cannot allow a being a chimerical quality without refusing it at the same time a real property. The cold salamander has been considered as an animal endued with the miraculous power of resisting and even of extinguishing fire, but at the same time it has been debased as much as elevated by this singular property. It has been made the most fatal of animals; the ancients, and even Pliny, have devoted it to a kind of anathema, by affirming that its poison is the most dangerous of all. They have written that, infecting with its poison almost all the vegetables of a large country, it might cause the destruction of whole nations. The moderns also, for a long time, believed the salamander to be very poisonous; they have said, that its bite is mortal, like that of a viper; they have sought out and prescribed remedies for it; but they have at length had recourse to observations, by which they ought to have begun. The famous Bacon wished naturalists would endeavour to ascertain the truth respecting the poison of the salamander. Gesner proved by experiments that it did not bite, whatever means were used to irritate it; and Wurfbaums shewed that it might safely be touched, and that one might without danger drink



drink the water of those wells which it inhabited. Mr. de Maupertius studied also the nature of this lizard. In making researches to discover what might be its pretended poison, he demonstrated experimentally, that fire acted upon the salamander in the same manner as upon all other animals. He remarked, that it was scarcely upon the fire, when it appeared to be covered with the drops of its milk, which, rarified by the heat, issued through all the pores of its skin, but in greater quantity from the head and dugs, and that it immediately became hard. It is needless to say that this milk is not sufficiently abundant to extinguish even the smallest fire.

Mr. de Maupertius, in the course of his experiments, in vain irritated several salamanders; none of them ever opened its mouth; he was obliged to open it by force.

As the teeth of this lizard are very small, it was very difficult to find an animal with a skin sufficiently fine to be penetrated by them: he tried without success to force them into the flesh of a chicken stripped of its feathers; he in vain pressed them against the skin, they were displaced, but they could not enter. He, however, made a salamander bite the thigh of a chicken, after he had taken off a small part of the skin. He also made salamanders newly caught, bite also the tongue and lips of a dog, as well as the tongue of a turkey; but none of these animals received the least injury. Mr. de Maupertius afterwards made a dog and a turkey swallow salamanders whole or cut into pieces, and yet neither of them appeared to be sensible of the least uneasiness.

Mr. Laurenti since made expe-

riments with the same view: he forced grey lizards to swallow the milk proceeding from the salamander, and they died very suddenly. The milk therefore of the salamander taken internally may hurt, and even be fatal to certain animals, especially those which are small; but it does not appear to be hurtful to large animals. It was long believed that the salamander was of no sex, and that each individual had the power of engendering its like, as several species of worms. This is not the most absurd fable, which has been imagined with respect to the salamander; but if the manner in which they come into the world is not so marvellous as has been written, it is remarkable in this, that it differs from that in which all other lizards are brought forth, as it is analogous to that in which the chalcide and the seps, as well as vipers and several kinds of serpents are produced. On this account the salamander merits the attention of naturalists, much more than on the false and brilliant reputation which it has so long enjoyed. Mr. de Maupertius, having opened some salamanders, found eggs in them, and at the same time some young, perfectly formed. The eggs were divided into two long bunches like grapes; they were equally well formed as the old ones, and much more active. The salamander, therefore, brings forth young from an egg hatched in its belly, as the viper. But some have written, that, like the aquatic salamander, it lays elliptic eggs, from which are hatched young salamanders, under the form of tad-poles. We have often verified the first fact, which has been well known for some time, but we have not had an opportunity of proving



proving the second. It would be matter of some importance to ascertain, that the same quadruped produces its young in some measure two different ways; that there are eggs which the female lays, and others the fœtus of which comes forth in the belly of the salamander, to remain afterwards enclosed, with other fœtuses, in a kind of transparent membrane, until the moment in which it is brought into the world. Were this the case, it would be necessary to dissect salamanders at different periods very near one another, from the time of their coupling, until that when they bring forth their young; one might carefully trace the successive increase of the young till they were perfectly formed, and compare them with the growth of those which are hatched from the egg, out of the mother's belly, &c. However this may be, the female salamander brings forth young perfectly formed, and her fecundity is very great. Naturalists have long written that she has forty or fifty at one time, and Mr. de Maupertius found 42 young ones in the body of a female salamander, and 54 in another.

The young salamanders are generally of a black colour, almost without spots, and this colour they preserve sometimes during their whole lives in certain countries, where they have been taken for a distinct species, as we have said. Mr. Thunberg has given, in the memoirs of the academy of Sweden, the description of a lizard, which he calls the Japanese lizard, and which appears not to differ from our salamander but in the arrangement of its co-

lours. This animal is almost black, with several whitish and irregular spots, both on the upper part of the body and below the paws: on the back there is a stripe of dirty white, which becomes narrower to the point of the tail. This whitish stripe is interspersed with very small specks, which form the distinguishing characteristic of our land salamander: we are of opinion, therefore, that we may consider this Japanese lizard, described by Mr. Tumberg, as a variety of the species of our land salamander, modified a little perhaps by the climate of Japan. It is in the largest island of that empire, named Nippon, that this variety is found. It inhabits the mountains there, and rocky places, which indicates that its nature is like that of our land salamander, and confirms our conjectures respecting the identity of the species of these two animals. The Japanese attribute to it the same properties with which the skinque has been long thought to be endowed, and which in Europe have been attributed also to the flat-tailed salamander; they consider it as a powerful stimulant and a very active remedy, and on this account, in the neighbourhood of Jedo, a number of these Japanese salamanders may be seen dried hanging from the ceiling of the shops.

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*Description of the Copper Mines and Works in the Island of Anglesea. From Bingley's Tour in North Wales.*

Near the lake\* Amlwch is a small market town of the same

\* This loch or lake, from which the town has its name, was situated betwixt the church and the port. It has been long drained, and is now in a state of cultivation.



name, about a mile from the Paris mountain, that inexhaustible mine of copper, a mine of wealth to all its proprietors. Amlwch seems entirely dependent, for its prosperity, on the copper mines, for most of its inhabitants have some concern in them, either as miners or agents. The church, dedicated to St. El-deth, a saint of the British calendar, is a neat modern structure. Of the town itself, I observed nothing remarkable, except that it was, in general, a most black and dismal place, from the scoria of the metal, of which all the roads are formed. On the exterior of the town there seems the utmost desolation. The sulphureous fumes from the mine have entirely destroyed the vegetation for a considerable space around, and little else than earth and rock are to be seen even within a short distance of Amlwch. On the Paris mountain, there is not even a single moss or lichen to be found. When the wind has blown over the mountains, in the direction where I have been walking, I have more than once found the fumes exceedingly oppressive at the distance of at least a mile from the works.

The town of Amlwch is, as I have said, about a mile from the summit of the Paris mountain; and on the morning after my arrival, I walked up to this celebrated place. Having ascended to the top, I found myself standing on a verge of a vast and tremendous chasm. I stepped on one of the stages suspended over the edge of the steep, and the prospect was dreadful. The number of

caverns at different heights along the sides; the broken and irregular masses of rock which every where presented themselves; the multitudes of men at work in different parts, and apparently in the most perilous situations, and the raising and lowering the buckets, to draw out the ore and the rubbish; the noise of picking the ore from the rock, and of hammering the wadding, when it was about to be blasted, with, at intervals, the roar of the blasts in distant parts of the mine, altogether excited the most sublime ideas, intermixed, however, with sensations of terror. I left this situation, and followed the road that leads into the mine; and the moment I entered, my astonishment was again excited. The shagged arches, and overhanging rocks, which seemed to threaten annihilation to any one daring enough to approach them, fixed me almost motionless to the spot. The roofs of the work, having in many places fallen in, have left some of the rudest scenes that imagination can paint: these, with the sulphureous fumes, from the kilns in which the ore is roasted, rendered it to me a perfect counterpart of Virgil's entrance into Tartarus.\*

Hac iter Elysium nobis; at lava malarum,  
Exeriet poenas, et ad impia Tartarus mittit.

'Tis here in different paths the way divides,  
The right to Pluto's golden palace guides;

\* I am informed that the appearance of this part of the mine has lately been much changed; from some of the insulated rocks, &c. having been cleared away.



The left to that unhappy region tends,  
 Which to the depth of Tartarus de-  
 scends;  
 The seat of night profound, and pu-  
 nish'd fiends.

To look from hence, and observe the people on the stages, a hundred and fifty feet above one's head; to see the immense number of ropes and buckets, most of them in motion; and to reflect, that a single stone casually thrown from above, or falling from a bucket, might in a moment destroy a fellow-creature, a man must have a strong mind, not to feel impressed with many unpleasant sensations. A few days before I was last here, a bucket caught against the point of a rock, emptied its contents on the head of a poor fellow, and killed him on the spot. The sides of this dreadful hollow are mostly perpendicular. Along the edges, and in general slung by ropes over the precipices, are the stages with windlasses, or whimsies, as they are here termed, from which the buckets are lowered; and from which those men descend who work upon the sides. Here, suspended in mid air, the fellows pick, with their iron instrument, a small place for a footing, cut out the ore in vast masses, and tumble it with a thundering crash to the bottom. In these seemingly precarious situations they make caverns, in which they work for a certain time, till the rope is again lowered to take them up.

Much of the ore is blasted by gunpowder, eight tons of which, we are told, was some time ago annually used for this purpose.\* The manner of preparing for the blasting was entirely new to me, and may be

so to some of my readers. A hole is bored in the rock in about the diameter of a very wide gun barrel, and of depth in proportion to the quantity of matter to be thrown up. At the bottom is lodged the gunpowder, and the man then taking a thin iron rod, tapering to a point, and about two feet in length, he places it perpendicularly in the middle of the hole, and fills it up on all sides with stones, clay, &c. ramming these hard down by means of an iron projecting at the bottom, with a nick in it, that it may pass freely round the rod. When this is prepared, the rod is taken out, and a straw filled with gunpowder is substituted. A match is then put to it, that will burn so long, before it communicates the fire to the powder, as to allow the workmen within reach, to escape into different retreats from the danger attendant on the explosion. Several blasts are generally ready at the same time, and notice is given to the workmen to run into shelter, by a cry in Welsh, of fire. Whilst I was in the mine, the cry was several times given, and I, with the rest, crept into shelter. In one instance six or seven blasts went off in different parts successively, one of which was within thirty yards of my station, and the splinters of the rock dashed furiously past me. I am scarcely a judge of the noise they made, for I took the liberty of stopping my ears, which the men seemed to think a pleasant joke, for they laughed very heartily at what they conjectured a mark of my timidity. When the whole is exploded, information is given to the workmen, and they return to their work. The process of

\* Pennant.



blasting is frequently attended with danger, from the carelessness with which the men retire to their hiding-places: and it sometimes happens, that in ramming down the wadding, the iron strikes against the stone, and fires the gunpowder, which is often fatal to the man employed. During the short time I remained here, I observed upwards of forty men in different places, occupied in preparing for blasting; and I felt somewhat uncomfortable under the idea that in such a number, some one might be careless enough to have his gunpowder take fire before he was aware of it.

There are in the Paris mountain two mines; of these, the one on the east side is the Mona mine, the entire property of the earl of Uxbridge and the rev. Edward Hughes, of Kinmall, near St. Asaph. Thomas Williams, esq. of Llanidan, the member for Marlow, has a lease of half the earl's share in these mines; and they work conjointly.\* Mr. Hughes works his share of the Paris mine alone.

It is generally believed that the Romans got copper ore from this mountain; for vestiges are yet left of what have been taken for their operations; and some very ancient stone utensils have, at different times, been found here. From the time of the Romans, till the year 1764, these mines seem to have been entirely neglected. Copper had, about two years before this period, been found here, and Messrs. Roe and co. of Macclesfield, had, with a mine in Caernarvonshire, a lease of part of the Paris mountain from sir Nicholas Bailey, the

father of the earl of Uxbridge, which expired about nine years ago. They spent considerable sums of money in making levels to drain off the water, without any great success, and were about to give up any further attempts, when their agent requested that a final experiment might be tried in another part of the mountain. This succeeded, for in less than two days, ore of almost pure copper was discovered not two yards from the surface, which proved to be that vast bed which has since been worked to such advantage. The day of this discovery was the second of March, 1768, and it has ever since been observed as a festival by the miners. The rev. Edward Hughes, who was the owner of the remainder of the mountain, was roused by this success to attempt a similar adventure, which has also succeeded beyond the most sanguine expectations of the time.

The bed of ore is in some places more than sixty feet in thickness; and the proprietors are said to ship annually about 20,000 tons. The number of hands employed is upwards of a thousand. The ore has lately been supposed to be fast decreasing, but the discovery of a new vein in the Mona mine, will keep that property still in a flourishing state for many years.

The ore, as I have already remarked, is got from the mine partly by picking, and partly by blasting. It is then broken with hammers into small pieces by women and children, armed with iron gloves. After this operation, it is piled in kilns of great length, and about six feet high,

\* Since this tour was ready for the press, I have received information of the death of Mr. Williams.



where it is set on fire in different places, to undergo the process of roasting: for as the ore, in its natural state, contains a great quantity of sulphur, it is necessary that this should be separated (which can only be done by means of fire), before it is fluxed into copper. The sulphur goes off in the form of vapour, and is conveyed by means of a flue, connected with the kiln, to the sulphur chamber, a place built to receive it, where it sublimes, and becomes the flower of sulphur of the shops. It is afterwards taken from hence, melted in large copper pans, and cast in moulds for sale. After the ore has been thus roasted, which is rather a tedious operation, occupying from three to ten months, according to the quantity in the furnaces (which is generally from three hundred to a thousand tons), it is taken to the slacking pits, places constructed of stone, about six yards long, five wide, and two deep, to be washed, and made merchantable. The poorest of this, that is, such as contains from  $1\frac{1}{2}$  to 2 per cent. of metal, is then conveyed to the smelting-houses at Alwch port: the rest is sent to the company's furnaces at Swansea and Ravenhead. By the processes of roasting and washing, the ore is much reduced in quantity; it is considerably improved in quality: and the water is so richly impregnated with copper, which is dissolved by the acid quality of the sulphur, that, by means of old iron immersed in it, according to the German method, it produces such quantities of fine copper, that the proprietors have obtained in one year, upwards of a hundred tons of the copper precipitated from the water. Their ave-

rage export of precipitate is sixty tons per annum.

The proprietors also turn the water drawn from the beds of copper, which is highly impregnated, through rectangular pits, similar to those used in the above process. These are each about thirty feet long, twelve broad, and two deep. Any kind of iron, either old or new, is used, but in general, for the sake of convenience, they procure small plates of cast iron. The iron becomes dissolved by the acid, and is suspended in the water, whilst the copper is precipitated. Care is taken to turn the iron every day, in order to shake off the incrustation of copper formed upon it, and this is continued till the iron is perfectly dissolved. The workmen then drain off the water, and rake together the ore in the form of mud, which, when it is become, by drying, of the consistency of a softish paste, they bake in ovens constructed for the purpose. After this process it is exported with the other ore, to Ravenhead or Swansea. One ton of iron thus immersed, produces near two tons of copper mud, each of which, when melted, will yield sixteen hundred weight of copper; and this sells at a considerably higher price than the copper which is fluxed from the ore. An attempt was made not long ago by Mons. Vally, of Holywell, to precipitate the copper by means of lime; and another by some gentlemen from London, to do the same by tin, but both the experiments were unsuccessful.

This method of obtaining copper by means of iron, has long been adopted in Germany, but has only been known in this country a few years; and its first discovery was

owing



owing entirely to accident. From the copper mines at Arklow, in the county of Wicklow, in Ireland, a great quantity of water constantly issues, which is strongly saturated with the vitriol of copper. One of the workmen by chance left his iron shovel in this water, and when he found it, which was not till some weeks afterwards, it was so encrusted, that he fancied it had been changed into copper. The proprietors of the mines took the hint. They immediately had proper pits and receptacles formed for containing the copper water, and have obtained, by means of bars of iron immersed in them, such quantities of copper mud, that these streams are now become of as much importance as the mines themselves.

Several of the shafts which have been formed for taking off the water, are driven very deep. One that I saw was upwards of a hundred and sixty feet in depth, below the open bottom of the mine. One of the miners, whilst I was looking at it, brought a lighted candle, and fixed it on the rim of one of the buckets in which they draw up the water. It was curious enough to watch it in its dark and confined descent, till it became a mere speck of light, when, suddenly immersing in the water, it was lost.

The men employed about these mines seemed much more healthful than, from being constantly in the midst of the noxious exhalations from the kilns, it would be natural to expect. Their complexions are in general somewhat sallow, but much less so than I expected to have found them. Their average wages are about eighteen-pence a day. Some of them get the ore for a certain sum per ton. These are called

bargain-takers, and if the work is easily wrought, and the ore of good quality, they will frequently earn four or five shillings, whilst the rest earn only their eighteen-pence. The mine companies seem to take great care in providing for all persons that have any concern whatever in the works. Besides supporting the poor by their own voluntary donations, which now amount to betwixt seven and eight hundred pounds a year, they prevent a great number of infants, of the aged and infirm, from applying for relief, by giving them light and easy employment. This alone is an average expence of more than three hundred pounds a year; and their surgeons and apothecaries bills are generally more than double this sum. The mines have increased the value of lands in the parish of Amlwch, from about fourteen hundred to five thousand pounds per annum, and upwards; the number of houses from two hundred to upwards of a thousand; and the population from nine hundred to about five thousand.

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*Anecdotes of the Greyhound. From the Sportsman's Cabinet.*

The greyhound is of a beautiful and delicate formation for speed and majestic attraction; if a metaphorical allusion may be made between the human and the brute creation, the allegory would not be too far extended in considering the greyhound, from his appearance, equanimity, mildness, and affability, one of the superior classes of his own society; he possesses all the dignity, without the degradation of any part of his species, and is never  
seen



seen without a predilection in his favour. They have been for many centuries in the highest estimation in this country; and, in the remoter time of king John, greyhounds were accepted by him as payment, in lieu of money, for the renewal of grants, fines, and forfeitures, due to the crown. One fine paid to this monarch upon record, 1203, specifies "five hundred marks, ten horses, and ten leashes of greyhounds." Another, in seven years after, "one swift running horse and six greyhounds."

The foundation-stone of the present coursing popularity was laid by the late lord Orford, and the superstructure completed by the exertions of the different amateurs already recited; who have been so individually anxious in the improvement of the breed, that it may fairly be concluded to have at length reached the utmost summit of possible perfection, and the pedigrees of the most speedy and celebrated greyhounds now begin to be recorded with as much care and precision as the best bred horses upon the turf. This seems to have principally originated with colonel Thornton and Major Topham, both of whom, with some very trilling shades of exception, have for many years been in sole possession of the most distinguished breed in the kingdom. Czarina, Jupiter, Claret, Snowball, Miller, Schoolboy, and Major, have all been of highest celebrity, and are entitled to individual description.

Czarina was bred by the late lord Orford, and purchased at the sale after his lordship's decease, by colonel Thornton, with an intent to cross and improve the breed at Thornville Royal, in the comple-

tion of which he was most amply gratified. In the character of this bitch there were two remarkable traits; she won forty-seven matches, without ever having been beat; and shewed no signs of producing progeny till she had completed her thirteenth year, when she brought forth eight whelps by Jupiter, all of whom lived, and were excellent runners. She was the dam of Claret and young Czarina, both of whom challenged all Yorkshire, and won their matches.

Snowball and Major were own brothers, who have proved superior to every other breed and blood in the imperial dominions. They were got by Claret out of a favourite bitch of major Topham's; and a brace of whelps (of which the now justly celebrated Major was one) were sent to colonel Thornton, as, in fact, a sporting privilege for the use of the dog. Snowball was concluded, when taken "all for all," to have been the most perfect greyhound ever produced. He won four cups, couples, and upwards of thirty matches, at Malton, and upon the Wolds in Yorkshire, and so beat a dog of Mr. Plummer's, that the dog died immediately after the course was concluded. Snowball was never equally faced in the field but by his own blood; having in exercise and private trials always appeared some shades inferior to his brother Major, and his aunt yellow Czarina. In the November Malton coursing meeting, 1799, a Scotch greyhound was produced, who beat every opponent in Scotland, was brought to England, and challenged any dog in the kingdom; the challenge was accepted by Snowball, when, after a course of more than two miles, the match (upon which

consider-



considerable sums were depending) was decided in his favour.

In the year 1792, Schoolboy, the property of T. Clerk, Esq. (commonly called Vauxhall Clerk,) was a greyhound of much sporting celebrity at Newmarket, and in its vicinity. He was bred by sir C. Bunbury, Bart. and got by Dr. Framp-ton's Fop, out of sir Charles's Miss. He ran a great number of matches over Newmarket, upon which very large sums were frequently depending, and never was beat. He was the sire of Troy, Traveller, Lilly, and others, very good runners, many of whom have been sold for twenty guineas each.

That highly celebrated dog, called the Miller, bred by the reverend T. C. B. Dudley, had little to boast upon the score of pedigree, having by individual merit run himself into local popularity. During the first nine months he was so exceedingly awkward, heavy, clumsy and unpromising, that no thoughts were entertained of bringing him into the field; the book of fate seems, however, to have contained predictive pages in his favour: various vicissitudes are observed in the human as well as in the animal creation:—many a substantial city subordinate (originally from the tail of the plough) has become the chief magistrate of the first commercial city in the world.

The Miller, upon a sporting emergency, (when only twelve months old,) was borrowed of the owner by a friend, who, going to the marshes in St. Osyth, did not like to appear without having a sporting-like appendage in his retinue; alike "unknowing and unknown" he was introduced to the honours of the day, winning several matches

against the best dogs in the field. Returning with this sudden and unexpected blaze of reputation, he was received into personal favour, considered worthy of confidence, appointed to a place in the administration, and admitted into the cabinet council of the canine department. Having thus raised himself by the peculiar merit of personal precedence, from the recesses of obscurity to a degree of sporting eminence, and absolutely run himself into reputation, he became occasionally introduced to the most powerful and popular opponents; where, however, he for several years continued to maintain his superiority over every dog brought against him; winning, during that time, 74 successive matches, without having been once beaten. Miller is at present a stallion of great estimation, and his produce prove excellent runners.

The energetic velocity of the greyhound in pursuit of game, has always been matter of admiration to the lovers of the sport; but more particularly so to the ruminative amateur, when prompted by reflection to form comparisons. Various have been the opinions upon the difference of speed between a well-bred greyhound and a blood horse of some celebrity, if opposed to each other for a mile, or for any greater or shorter distance. It has by the best and most experienced judges, been thought that, upon a flat, a horse of this description would prove superior to the greyhound, for either an extended or contracted distance; but that in a hilly country, the greyhound would have an evident advantage. Wishes had been frequently indulged by different branches of the sporting world, that



that some criterion could be adopted, by which the certainty of superiority in speed could be fairly ascertained; when, after a variety of suggestions and propositions from one quarter to another without success, the following circumstance accidentally took place; affording some rays of information upon what was previously considered a matter of the greatest uncertainty.—

In the month of December, 1800, a match was to have been run over Doncaster course, for one hundred guineas, but one of the horses having been drawn, a mare started alone, that by running the ground she might insure the wager: when having run about one mile of the four, she was accompanied by a greyhound bitch, who joined her from the side of the course, and, emulatively entering into competition, continued to race with the mare the other three miles, keeping nearly head and head, affording an excellent treat to the field, by the energetic exertions of each. At passing the distance, five to four was betted in favour of the greyhound: when parallel with the stand, it was even betting, and any one might have taken his choice for five or ten; the mare, however, had the advantage by a head at the termination.

The invincible ardour and determined progress of the greyhound is not easily to be restrained by any intervening obstacles it is possible to surmount, or any difficulties that can, by the most indefatigable perseverance, be overcome; in confirmation of which a volume of facts might be adduced, but few will suffice. Early in life, the writer being upon a visit at Worthingwood farm, near Basingstoke, in Hampshire,

and walking over the fields with an uncle, a hare was found sitting upon the bank of the fence, but previous to her being turned out of her form, it was thought necessary to use some precaution that she might be prevented from too easily gaining a covert not far from the scene of action. That this might be the better effected, the writer was fixed in an open gap of the hedge (leading directly to the covert), with a strict injunction to stop the hare if she came that way. The hare, however, upon being put up, made immediately for the well-known gap, and passing between the legs of the writer, was instantaneously followed by the greyhound at his utmost speed; whose back coming into contact with the fork of the unfortunate guard, gave him an electrical elevation of four or five feet above the ground, which he had but just recovered from, when he had to encounter a severe flagellation from an enraged relative for the loss of the hare.

Some few years since, a greyhound, named Rajah, the property of a Mr. Knowles, in the county of Hertford, having supported a very long course, and turned the hare at least a dozen times, killed her single-handed, but was so completely exhausted, that he lay panting by her side, seemingly unable to rise. In this situation he was observed by two countrymen, and the master not coming up, or being in sight, they determined to secure the hare; but, upon getting near, with an intent to seize her, the greyhound suddenly sprung up, took the hare in his mouth, and set off the way he came, the fellows pursuing with sticks and stones; when meeting his master, who had followed the course, he laid



laid the hare at his feet, and immediately turning round, flew at the men, but was then so weak, in consequence of the successive exertions, that he again dropped as if dead; by bleeding, and proper attention, he was luckily recovered, and long continued a faithful servant of an affectionate master.

In 1794, as a party of gentlemen were coursing at Finchingfield, in Essex, a hare was suddenly and unexpectedly started, when a brace of greyhounds, coming in opposite directions, ran against each other with such velocity, that both were killed on the spot.

In February, 1798, a brace of greyhounds, belonging to a gentleman of Carlisle, coursed a hare from the Sweft, and killed her at Clemmell, a distance of seven miles: both the dogs were so exhausted, that, with every possible means of assistance, they were with difficulty recovered. The field consisted of nearly two hundred horsemen, and much money was sported upon the occasion: betting was even at starting, although the hare was the favourite against the greyhounds, she having been repeatedly coursed, but always beat her pursuers easy. She was, on the day of her death, given two hundred yards law, and, when killed, found to weigh eight pounds eleven ounces; rendering erroneous the opinion that light hares are the best runners.

Some few years since, the greyhound of a gentleman who was delayed at Dover, waiting for a wind, was taken by the owner and a small party, in search of a hare of some local notoriety, who had escaped her previous pursuers of every description; when found, the greyhound soon proved himself so superior in

speed, that she instantly ran for the cliff, as the only chance of escaping; but, throwing himself at her some yards with the most incredible and determined ferocity, he caught her exactly on the brink, and unfortunately went with her in his mouth to the bottom, where, as may be naturally concluded, they were literally dashed to pieces.

The mild, affable, and serene aspect of the greyhound, in its domestic state, constitutes no drawback to its innate sagacity, or grateful attention to its protector; of which the unfortunate king Charles the first was so truly observant, that the remark he made during his troubles is upon record, and strictly just, as applicable to the instinctive fidelity of the animal, as well as its satirical effects upon the herd of sycophants who surrounded him. In the course of a familiar conversation, respecting the canine species in general, a doubt was started, what particular kind of dog was entitled to pre-eminence, when it was universally admitted to rest between the spaniel and the greyhound; to which the monarch gave a polished finish, in favour of the latter, by saying it possessed all the good-nature and solicitous affability of the spaniel, without the fawning.

The natural simplicity and peaceable demeanour of the greyhound has sometimes induced a doubt, whether the instinctive sagacity of this particular race has been equal to some others of the species; circumstances, perhaps, have not often occurred, by which a fair criterion could have been formed; one, however, within the personal knowledge and remembrance of the writer, seems admirably calculated to throw an additional light upon that part of the subject.



A Mr. Moore, then residing at Windsor, in Berkshire, had made application to his friends in the north of England to obtain a well-bred greyhound from thence, to oblige one of the keepers of Windsor Great Park, for the purpose of killing fawns in the season. The solicitation was attended with success, and the greyhound was consigned by the waggon to London, arrived safe in Bishopsgate-street, and from thence was conveyed to the Bell-savage, upon Ludgate-hill, where it was delivered to the driver of the Windsor caravan, and reached the place of destination in safety. After a confinement of two days, with every attention to food and family tenderness, the dog was left at liberty about the house and premises, seemingly not only satisfied, but pleased with his situation and the caresses he received; in less than the next eight and forty hours, he had suddenly taken his departure; a few days after which, Mr. Moore received a letter, with information that the dog had reached the place of his former residence in Yorkshire, before the return of the waggon by which he was originally sent to London.

Innumerable are the instances which might be adduced in demonstration of the sagacity, fidelity, and inviolable attachment of the greyhound, in an equal degree with such of the canine species as possess the means of displaying those qualifications in a manner more conspicuous and attracting; but, as enough has been already introduced to confirm that idea, and to gratify the moderate mind of investigation, it may not be considered inapplicable to bring this head to a conclusion, by extracting from ancient records one of a different description,

shewing the ingratitude of Richard the second's greyhound, translated from Froissart, by Sir John Bourchier, Lord Berners:

“And, as it was insourmed me, kyng Richarde had a grayhounde, called Mithe, who always wayted upon the kyng, and woulde knowe no man els; for when so ever the kyng did ryde, he that kept the grayhounde dyd lette him lose, and he wolde streyght runne to the kyng, and faune uppon him, and leape with his fore fete uppon the kyng's shoulders. And as the kyng and the erle of Derby talked togyder in the courte, the grayhounde, who was wonte to leape uppon the kyng, left the kyng, and came to the erle of Derby, duke of Lancastre, and made to him the same friendly countenance and chere as he was wonte to do to the kyng. The duke, who knewe not the grayhounde, demanded of the kyng what the grayhounde wolde do? ‘Cousin,’ quod the kyng, ‘it is a greate goode token to you, and an evil signe to me.’—‘Sir, how knowe you that?’ quod the duke. ‘I know it well,’ quod the kyng; ‘the grayhounde meket you there this daye as kyng of England, as ye shalbe, and I shalbe deposed: the grayhounde hath this knowledge naturally; therefore take hym to you, he wyll folloe you and forsake mee.’ “The duke understoode well those words, and cheryshed the grayhounde, who walde never after followe t'kyng Richarde, but followed the duke of Lancastre.”

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*Observations on the various Kinds of Timber found in New South Wales. From Tuckey's Voyage.*

New South Wales produces a great



great variety of timber trees, to some of which the colonists have given names descriptive of their qualities; and others they call by the names of those trees which they most resemble either in leaf, in fruit, or in the texture of the wood. Among the former are the blue, red, and black butted gums; stringy and iron barks; turpentine and light wood: and among the latter are the she-oak, mahogany, cedar, box, honeysuckle, tea-tree, pear-tree, apple-tree, and fig-tree. These trees shed their bark annually at the fall of the year, and are always in foliage, the new leaves forcing off the old ones.

The blue and red gums are nearly of the same texture; they are very tough and strong, and in ship-building are adapted to framing: the best size is from two feet to two and a half, for when larger the timber is generally unsound in the heart.—The blue gum, while standing, is subject to be pierced by very minute worms, which make innumerable holes, scarce visible to the naked eye.

Black butted gum and stringy bark differ very little either in quality or appearance: they are much tougher and stronger than English oak, and are particularly adapted to planking. They will also answer for lower masts, or lower yards; for beams, or any other purpose where straight timber is required. If intended for spars, they ought to be procured as near the size wanted as possible, for the toughness lies in the outside, and the wood at the heart is generally decayed. Iron bark is not so tough as the two former, but is extremely strong and hard, and runs good from two to

four feet: in ship-building it would answer for framing, beams, &c.—In New South Wales it is chiefly used in house-building and common furniture. Turpentine is a small wood of no service but in flooring houses. Lightwood grows to twenty inches, and, from its buoyancy, (whence its name,) is proper for building small craft and boats.

The oak is distinguished according as it grows either on the hills or swamps; the former runs to between twelve and eighteen inches, and when larger is always shaken in the heart; the grain is short and cross, and the wood is apt to fly and warp:—it is used chiefly in cabinet work, particularly veneering. The swamp oak is the same size, and differs from the other in having a more uniform grain, and being consequently much tougher: in ship-building it would answer for scantling. Of both these woods the pailing and shingles are made in New South Wales.

Mahogany runs good to three feet, and by its texture can scarcely be known from the mahogany of Jamaica. In shipbuilding it answers well for framing.

Cedar nearly resembles the mahogany of Honduras in its grain, and might be applied to the same purposes. When growing, it resembles the mountain ash both in its leaves and berry.

Box (so called from its leaves) is a sound and very tough wood; its size about two feet and a half, and would answer for any purpose of shipbuilding.

Honeysuckle (named from its leaf) is a soft wood, fitter for joiner's work than shipbuilding. At Port Jackson its size does not exceed two feet,



feet, but at Port Philip it is found good to four feet; its limbs are crooked, and perhaps it might be advantageously used in the upper works of ships, for knees, &c.

The tea-tree has its name from the leaf also; it is small and very curly. As far as I know, it has never been used in building, but from its appearance while standing I should think it might answer in small crafts and boats.

The pear-tree is so called from its bearing a fruit resembling a pear in shape, but of the hardness of wood; it grows straight; its largest size sixteen inches, and is only fit for joiner's work.

The apple-tree takes its name from the leaf; the limbs are large and crooked, and running from two feet to two and a half, might probably answer for framing and kneeingships, but has never been tried.

The fig-tree is the banyan-tree of the East Indies, well known for its branches striking downwards and taking root; the wood of it is entirely useless.

It may be remarked that all the large timber trees of New South Wales, except those growing in swamps, are unsound in the hearts: this probably proceeds from insufficiency of moisture as well as from the continual firing of the grass in the forests, which must dry up the sap of the young trees. It also deserves to be noticed, that several of the gums, iron, and stringy bark, mahogany, and box trees, which were felled at the first establishment of the colony, are now perfectly sound and hard, though exposed to the weather for fifteen years.

From the foot of the Blue Mountains\* specimens of three or four kinds

\* This is an elevated ridge running in a direction between the E. N. E. and E. and not more than five leagues from the banks of Hawksbury at Richmond Hill. All beyond this ridge is literally (a terra incognita), for though several attempts have been made to pass them, not one has yet succeeded; but it is probable these failures have proceeded more from want of proper method, or of common perseverance, than from any obstacles presented by the mountains themselves, for the highest part of the ridge does not appear to equal the common mountains of Wales and Ireland. Upon this subject (as well as upon others of the colonial system) we may apply the remarks of a learned writer, "Projects though desperate in days of ignorance have, in more enlightened times, been brought to a successful issue," and "individuals have often failed in their attempts for want of public encouragement, and public enterprizes from want of concurrence among individuals."

#### Weight of cubic foot of the timber of New South Wales.

Weight when cut down, Jan. 1804.

	lb.
Gum Red, - - -	79
— Blue, - - -	68
— Black butted, -	71
Bark, stringy - -	67
— Iron, - - -	74
Mahogany, . - -	66
She-oak, - - -	65
Box, - - -	77
Tea-tree, - - -	69



kinds of timber, unknown at Port Jackson, have been brought, which it is the opinion of shipwrights, would be very valuable in ship-building: one kind in particular cannot be known from the beech.

3 G 4

USEFUL



# USEFUL PROJECTS.

## *List of Patents for 1804.*

**J**OHN Slater, of Huddersfield, in the county of York, surgeon; for his new invented improved method of manufacturing and fabricating of cables, shrouds, stays, and other articles for the rigging of ships, of materials never before used for that purpose. Dated January 19, 1804.

George Alderson, of Carnaby-street, in the parish of St. James, Westminster, in the county of Middlesex, lead-pipe-manufacturer; for his new-invented manufacture of metal pipes, the same being lead, lined with tin, in a manner and by a process entirely new, to be used in all cases to which lead-pipes are applicable. Dated January 26, 1804.

Edward Thompson, of Birmingham, in the county of Warwick, button and toy-manufacturer; for an improved method of making pikes. Dated February 7, 1804.

Marcus Hymaus, of Exeter-street, Covent-garden, in the county of Middlesex; for a composition for shaving, without the use of razor, soap, or water. Dated February 7, 1804.

William Hyde Wollaston, of Buckingham-street, Fitzroy-square, in the county of Middlesex, gentle-

man; for an improvement in spectacles, by the application of concavo-convex glasses to them. Dated February 7, 1804.

Thomas Passmore, of Doncaster, in the county of York, machine-maker; for an improved machine for chopping of straw, and for splitting beans, crushing oats, and grinding malt and barley. Dated February 7, 1804.

Thomas Rowntree, of Great Surry-road, in the parish of Christchurch, in the county of Surry, engine-maker; for a machine, on an improved construction, for agitating and separating certain mixtures. Dated March 25, 1804.

Josiah Crane, and Richard March, of Barnstaple, in the county of Devon, hosiers; for a method of double seaming and uniting the insides of stocking-net-work together, so as to consolidate and make it one compact and elastic body, for cutting into any shape required, and converting into all or any of the articles in hosiery, or other garments or wearing apparel, to be worn double. Dated May 1, 1804.

Nathaniel Merriman, of Crutched Friars, in the city of London, tin-manufacturer; for a stove, grate, or range, upon an improved construction; the improved construction of which is likewise applicable



those already in use, for the purpose of clearing away foul air from churches, chapels, and all other places of public resort, as well as houses, buildings, and rooms of every description. Dated May 8, 1804.

John Swift Saxelbye, of the town of Derby, in the county of Derby, white-lead-maker, for a method of making white-lead different from the methods now practised or used, and without the aid of horse-litter or tanner's-bark, or either of them. Dated May 14, 1804.

Joseph Mozely Elliot, of the parish of St. Mary-le-bone, in the county of Middlesex, watch-maker; for a method of making repeaters, or repeating watches and chronometers. Dated May 14, 1804.

Robert Browne, of the town and county of Nottingham, lace-manufacturer; for a machine to affix or attach to horizontal work or Vandyke knitting-frames, for the purpose of manufacturing, by a more simple, neat, and expeditious method, lace or net-work of various figures and qualities, with thread, silk, cotton, worsted, or other materials produced from animal, vegetable, or mineral substances. Dated May 14, 1804.

Thomas Dobbs, of King's Norton, in the county of Worcester, chymist, for a new article of trade, which he denominates *Albion metal*, and which he applies to the making of cisterns, linings for cisterns, coverings and gutters for buildings, boilers, vats, coffin furniture, worms for distillers, and such other things as require to be made of a flexible, a wholesome, or a cheap metallic substance. Dated May 14, 1804.

Joshua Jowett, of High Holborn, in the county of Middlesex, iron-

monger; for a fire-guard stove. Dated May 18, 1804.

John Peter Barthelemy, of Marshall-street, in the county of Middlesex, stay-maker, and James Shoubridge, of old Bond-street, in the said county of Middlesex, Hatter; for a shield or protection for the preservation of the human body, against sword, bayonet, or pike, as also being proof against a musquet-ball at a moderate distance. Dated May 18, 1804.

Joseph Burrell, of Thetford, in the county of Norfolk, iron-founder; for an improved threshing machine. Dated May 18, 1804.

Frederick Albert Winsor, of Cheapside, London, merchant; for an improved oven, stove, or apparatus for the purpose of extracting inflammable air, oil, pitch, tar, and acids, and reducing into coke and charcoal all kinds of fuel, and which is also applicable to various other useful purposes. Dated May 18, 1804.

George Simmonds, of —; for a method of manufacturing hats, bonnets, and other useful articles of paper. Dated May 19, 1804.

Samuel Godwin, of Avoncliffe, near Bradford, in the county of Wilts, clothier; for improvements upon machines for carding, scribbling, dressing and brushing wool and woollen cloth. Dated May 30, 1804.

Samuel Lucas, of Sheffield, in the county of York, refiner; for a method of separating the impurities from crude or cast iron, without fusing or melting it, and of rendering the same malleable, and proper for the several purposes for which forged or rolled iron is now used; and also by the same method of improving articles manufactured of



of cast-iron, and thereby rendering cast or crude iron applicable to a variety of new and useful purposes. Dated May 20, 1804.

John Porter, of Lemonville, near Tanderagee, in the county of Armagh, in that part of the united kingdom called Ireland, gentleman; for a lamp upon a new construction. Dated May 30, 1804.

John Duncan, of Glasgow, manufacturer; for an improved method or means of tambouring or raising of flowers, figures, or other ornaments upon muslins, lawns, and other cottons, cloths, or stuffs, or upon silk, linen, or woollen cloths or stuffs, or of cloths or stuffs composed partly of silk, cotton, or woollen. Dated May 30, 1804.

John Heppenstall, of Doncaster, in the county of York, machine maker and engineer; for improvements in machinery or mill-spinning, for the spinning of cotton, wool, silk, hemp, flax, substitutes for hemp and flax, and for the laying or twisting cord, linen, line, twine, and thread. Dated June 2, 1804.

Thomas Johnson, late of Bradbury, but now of Stockport, in the county palatine of Chester, weaver; for a further addition and improvement to a new and improved method applicable to the dressing of cotton warp; and also a new and improved method, if and when the same shall be used for dressing linen, silk, or woollen warps. Dated June 2, 1804.

Arthur Woolf, of Wood-street, Spa-fields, in the county of Middlesex, engineer; for improvements in the construction of steam-engines. Dated June 7, 1804.

Timothy Bentley, of Lockwood, in the parish of Almondbury, in the

county of York, common brewer; for a method of seasoning new casks, and purifying musty ones, in a style far superior to any other. Dated June 19, 1804.

Lyon Pike, of No. 8, Colchester-street, in the county of Middlesex, pencil-maker; for improvements on pencils, which he intends to denominate "*Pike's patent improved pencils*." Dated June 20, 1804.

Edward Martin, of Morryston, in the county of Glamorgan, gentleman; for a method of making pig and cast iron, of every description, from iron-stone, iron-mine, and iron-ore, and of re-melting, preparing, and refining of pig and cast iron of every sort, and for the making of such pig and cast into wrought or bar-iron, by using raw stone, coal, and culm, to be worked in an entire new manner. Dated June 20, 1804.

William Hawkes, the younger, of Gateshead, in the county of Durham, iron-manufacturer; for sundry improvements in constructing and making chains for the use of mines and other purposes. Dated July 2, 1804.

John Browne, of the town of Poole, in the county of Dorset, merchant; for improvements in the wheels of carriages, applicable also to windlasses, capstans, and other useful purposes. Dated August 4, 1804.

William Pether, of the parish of St. Michael, in the city of Bristol; for certain methods on a new principle, either for preventing or curing smokey chimneys. Dated August 4, 1804.

William Warris, of Sheffield, in the county of York, optician; for



an improvement in the mounting of glasses, commonly called opera glasses. Dated August 4, 1804.

Edward Greaves, of Sheffield, in the county of York, razor-manufacturer; for improvements on razors. Dated August 4, 1804.

Baker Chifney, of London, gentleman; for a composition to be used in washing, in order to render muslins and linens beautifully white, and for other purposes. Dated September 14, 1804.

John Bywater, of the town and county of Nottingham; for an improved method of clothing and un-clothing the sails of windmills while in motion, provided they are made after the Dutch manner, or as the generality of windmill sails are constructed; by which the mill may be clothed, either in whole or in part, in an easy and expeditious manner, by a few revolutions of the sails, whether they are going fast or slow, leaving the surface smooth, even, and regular in breadth, from top to bottom: and in like manner the cloth, or any part thereof, may be rolled or folded up to the whip at pleasure, by machinery, simple and durable, that may be fixed up in a few days, at a comparatively easy expense, requiring very little alteration of any part of the mill, and is equally applicable to any old sails on the common construction, however warped or loosened, without the necessity of having new cloths. Dated September 14, 1804.

John Gregory Handcock, of Birmingham, in the county of Warwick, die-engraver; for a method of forcing or working the bolts of presses or of engines: and for the purpose of cutting, pressing, and squeezing of metals, horn, leather,

paper, and other substances. Dated September 14, 1804.

Joseph Huddart, of Highbury-terrace, in the parish of Islington, in the county of Middlesex, esq.; for a mode or art of manufacturing and spinning yarn, differing from any such now in use. Dated September 21, 1804.

Michael Scarth, of Castle Eden, in the county of Durham, sail-cloth manufacturer; for a method of manufacturing sail-cloth, with single or double thread warp, without starch, or any substitute for stiffening, and without the double threads being twisted together. Dated September 21, 1804.

Robert Raines, the younger, of the town and port of Hull, in the county of York, tanner and glue-manufacturer; for a method of making and manufacturing of hard glue from tails, fins, and other parts of whale-fish. Dated November 22, 1804.

Henry Clayfield, of the city of Bristol, wine-merchant, for a method of finding out of certain processes for separating of the alkalies of pot-ash and of soda from their sulphates or combinations with sulphur, as in soaper's black-ash, and other similar compounds. Dated November 22, 1804.

James Sharpless, of the city of Bath, in the county of Somerset, esq.; for certain combinations and arrangements of implements and mechanical powers, and certain principles and forms of tables useful for surveying. Dated November 24, 1804.

John Edwards, of Bow-street, in the county of Middlesex, currier and harness-maker; for improvements in fire places, calculated to

save



save fuel, give a more general heat, and prevent chimnies from smoaking. Dated December 4, 1804.

Mathew Gregson, of Liverpool, upholder; for a method of cleaning feathers for beds, and hair, wool, down, and other the natural covering of birds and animals, from their animal oil, in the most perfect manner, and in such a way as to render them more healthful, sweet, and pleasant for use. Dated December 4, 1804.

Stephen Pasquier, of Wilderness-row, Charter-house-square, in the county of Middlesex, professor of languages; for his new-invented manufacture, system, or method of writing, printing, engraving, drawing, painting, stamping, working and using certain characters, figures, instruments, and machines, for facilitating correspondence and other literary operations. Dated December 19, 1804.

William Everhard, baron von Doorneek, of Wells-street, in the county of Middlesex, for certain compositions formed by uniting an absorbent or detergent earth with other ingredients, so as to render the same more effectual in washing or scouring, and for various purposes to which soaps or detergent earths are now applied. Dated December 19, 1804.

Joseph William Mayer, of Soho-square, in the county of Middlesex, esq.; for improvements upon bits of bridles. Dated December 19, 1804.

Samuel Guppy, of the city of Bristol, merchant; for additions to and improvements on machines for cutting, heading, and finishing nails, and the mode of working thereof. Dated December 19, 1804.

*On the best Method of providing for Cottagers and Mechanics. From Archdeacon Plymley's Agricultural Survey of Shropshire.*

Cottages, or houses for labourers and mechanics, have been incidentally mentioned in the last chapter. In addition to what has been there said, I would premise, as I did with regard to farm-houses, and as I would upon any other subject of civil polity or domestic economy, that general rules are to be cautiously received and sparingly followed; that local situation may make this or that plan the best. For instance, many old houses, especially if framed together with timber, are worth repairing, though their outward appearance may bespeak a great degree of wretchedness or decay; for they can generally be made more comfortable than a new house, and at less expense. I am much more anxious, that houses of the description we are speaking of, should be kept in clean and good repair, than to prescribe any particular form. I would only suggest the impropriety of making them, or indeed any other object, bear an outward appearance intended to contradict their inward use—all castellated or gothicised cottages, all church-like barns, or fort-like pig-styes, I should conceive to be objectionable. They are intended to deceive, and they tell you that they are intended to deceive. It is not pleasant to encourage any thing like deceit; but in these instances imposition effected is rarely gained; it amounts only to imposition attempted; or could the deceit succeed, it would only present a prospect with fewer proprieties



ties about it than there really are. Almost every species of country building has a good effect, if properly placed and neatly executed; and what are the least ornamental, or indeed the most disgusting of their appendages, cease to shock, when supported by the relative situation they stand in, shewing their necessity and their use. A dunghill in a farm-fold creates no disagreeable idea, but connected with a gothic gateway, or an embattled tower, it is bad. Cattle, protected by the side of a barn, form a picturesque group; but the sheltering under a Grecian portico, the impropriety is glaring. Linen hanging to dry, on the hedge of a cottage garden may be passed without displeasure; but the cloaths of men, women, and children, surrounding the cell of an anchorite, or the oratory of a monk, have their natural unseemliness increased by the contrast. On the other hand, a fine-dressed lawn, with miserable cottages on the outside, may be compared to the laced clothes and dirty linen some foreigners were formerly accused of wearing. The whole of a gentleman's estate should be his pleasure-ground; the village should be one object in the scene, not shut out from it. There may be a little more polish about the mansion, but it should not be an unnatural contrast to the surrounding objects. The face of no country is bad, but as it is disfigured by artificial means; and the cheapest and best improvement is, merely to remove what offends, and to take care that the buildings or fences that are wanted, are neat and appropriate, exhibiting distinctly their real intention.

I am, in general, a friend to single cottages, because two fami-

lies under one roof may have more causes of contention arise between them. On the other hand, in illness, poor persons have frequently the merit of forgetting their differences; and then the assistance they are inclined to give each other, is made more easy by nearness of situation. It is possible, however, where two, or even three houses are joined together, to contrive the gardens in such a manner, that there shall be little interference; and sometimes three neighbouring families may do better together, than two. The following plan of a cottage I had lately built, I communicated to the board in the year 1794. The door opens opposite to the jamb of the chimney, to shelter the kitchen fire-place. The chimney is in the middle, to keep the two chambers warm. Neither is a thoroughfare to the other, which should contribute to the more decent education of the children. The gable ends are capable of containing a window each, large enough to admit good light and air; whereas, if the chimney is at the end, the window must be too small; and if it is not at the end, a dormant must break out in the roof, or the walls must be raised an unnecessary height, to get proper room for a window. If the husband is a mechanic, he may have the room next the kitchen for his use; and should he want heated irons, or the use of a fire, for warmth, an iron door in the back of the chimney would cause the same fire to serve both apartments. This use was suggested to me by a friend, who I think mentioned it as an idea of Dr. Franklin's.

It is difficult to give any accurate account of the expence of buildings; where



where all the materials are not bought, and where the person building may have other works going on, to which and from which the workmen may be called. In one case, the estimate of labour may be erroneous; in the other, it may be difficult to appreciate the stone or the timber. Even where all the materials are bought, the price will differ so much, according to general and local situations, that accuracy may be equally unattainable.

The cottage alluded to cost perhaps fifty pounds; in other situations it might have been built for less at the time; but the wages of masons and carpenters may have increased since then. It is of stone, except the chimney, which is brick. The cover is of blue slates. It is neatly fitted up on the inside, but a fire-place in the larger bed-room was unfortunately forgotten; and a fire in a bed-room is necessary in times of sickness, and when a woman lies in. The rooms may be small, but they may be made larger or less according to circumstances. Perhaps the price of fuel has some connexion with the size of rooms in small houses. Care, however, should be taken not to make the bed-rooms so large, that a man with a family can crowd them all into one; because where this is practicable, they are tempted to forego the advantages of health and decency, intended to be gained by the use of two chambers, and let one of them, either to a constant lodger, or keep it for the occasional tenancy of mendicant stollers, or those of even a worse description. Where cottages are wanted, preparatory to the settlement of a young couple, it is sufficient to build a good kitchen, with a bed-room and pantry on

the same floor; and, should they have a family, add a bed-room at the other end of the kitchen, against the time some of the children should be separated from the others, or from the parents. Where a ground-floor is made perfectly dry, there is a convenience in having the bed-room to open out of the kitchen, because the kitchen-fire is sufficient for the purposes of illness. Food or medicine can be warmed at it, and an attendant can be kept warm, and near the patient. The bed-room, if dry, will be warmer, as less exposed to the wind, and less liable to be heated from the roof in summer, or chilled from it in winter. Whenever persons are to sleep near a roof, thatch, well ceiled, is the most comfortable, as it preserves the room in an even temperature. Landlords intent on making comfortable cottages, will find it best to build or repair, before they engage with a tenant; for men, not used to improvements, cannot comprehend effect beforehand; and they will apprehend want of accommodation without reason, or, oftentimes, if attended to, lose the conveniencies they would have wished; or they will not wish for those it is best they should be indulged in. For instance, windows to open will not always be desired. I think it perfectly possible to improve men in their turn of mind, by giving them proprieties in and about their habitations, they may not have thought of or desired. If, upon occupancy, they find a real want of alterations or additions, it will then be time enough to make them. We must not expect to give satisfaction at first, in our attempts to serve the poor; if this object is not undertaken on a principle of duty, it will

soon



soon be given up in disgust; for though good sense or good principle are not confined to any station, and though there are men in the lowest stations, with whom the best informed may converse both with pleasure and improvement; yet in this as in all human intercourse, there will be found much to endure; and indulgence will as often lead to imposition as to gratitude; and perhaps uneducated persons are the most likely to mistake a disinterested desire of serving them, and to regard it as a proof of weakness rather than benevolence.

Another observation, with regard to cottages, should not be forgotten. The persons living in them should be tenants to the real landlord, paying a fair annual rent. A cottage, subject only to amercement, is found by experience, in very many instances, to make the family idle; and the profit from living rent-free, does not compensate the loss by indolence. Of parishes containing different descriptions of labourers, it is the opinion of good men and competent judges, and the same has lately been verified to me in some very strong instances, that cottagers living near commons, and not paying any rent, are generally less comfortable in their habitations, and more chargeable to the parish, than those living in villages, and paying fifty shillings, or three pounds a year for a house and garden; but then the labourer should not be tenant to the farmer. When two farms are united, the houses are often both left standing, and the farmer finds a tenant or two for the worst house; or he is to be answerable for the rent of cottages adjoining his farm, to save trouble or hazard to the landlord or his agent.

In these cases, the landlord or agent look upon the houses as no further concern of theirs; the farmer has not interest enough in them to repair them; the labourer, added to a want of permanent interest also, has not ability; so that these perhaps are some of the worst dwellings. It seems very desirable as a general rule, though any rule may have its exception, that these subtenancies were abolished. And they are connected with another evil, that of depriving labourers of an opportunity of renting land. One objection to labourers renting land is, the danger resulting from very small capitals, that of an unwise penury. In small farms we too often see a weak team of horses, insufficient in kind, and insufficiently fed to do the work properly, either in point of humanity or of interest. So, where land is allowed to keep one cow, if it begets a desire of rearing a second, both may be starved; or the pasturage for one may be contracted by seeking to raise grain upon a part of it, and the deficiency may be supplied by turning the cow to graze on the ditch-banks of the road. Much, however, of this may be remedied by a landlord's authority. A labourer's fields should be chiefly confined to pasture, that the care of them may not interfere with his working for hire. The number of acres necessary will depend upon the nature of the land. I have not found six acres to interfere at all with a labourer's work; and if he is fit to be trusted with land at all, he should have at least three acres, where the situation of his house will admit of so much; for unless the ground joins the house, it cannot be looked after without loss of time; and it will generally  
prove



prove a nuisance to the neighbours, or the public. In addition to the situation of a cottage, the tenant's character and circumstances should be well considered. Where it is not convenient or adviseable to let him have land enough for a cow, he may have a large garden, and the necessary and pig-stye should be so placed, that the soak from them may be directed to manure the soil. The pig-stye should have a small court to open into the garden only. When a pig is bought it is small, and can be carried to the stye, where it may remain. I have found this the only way of preventing a labourer's pigs from wandering about a village. If the stye opens to a road, it will never be so well guarded as when the first act of trespass must be in the owner's garden. I am truly anxious, however, under all proper restriction and limitation, of advancing and recommending the practice of setting some land to labourers and country mechanics. It appears to me important, both in a moral and political point of view.—Let us consider, in the first place, the probable effects of such situations being more easily attained. Would not farming-servants, both men and women, have an additional motive to be careful, and seek after matrimonial, instead of illegal engagements, if they knew, that when they could save money enough to buy a bed, a pig, and a cow, they might settle, and have a house and land, for which they could afford to pay rent, and from which they could hope to maintain themselves, and rear a family? Or, if they have not money enough to buy in all their stock at first, they may raise potatoes in one year sufficient to increase their capital. Let us now consider them

placed in their cottage. The care of the land is not sufficient to take the labourer off from a single day's work; but when it is six o'clock in the evening, he has an interest in going directly home, to see that his fences are in repair, or to dig a part of his garden, &c. he knows, too, that when he has done this, (or if the weather is too bad for him to remain out of doors, still he knows) his house is warm, and that his supper is preparing; for his wife has been at home the whole day, looking occasionally after the cow, feeding the pig, weeding in the garden, or spinning in the house. As her family grows up, she can put the elder children to do some of these things; but if the woman goes out to work, the children are neglected, and the house is cold and comfortless, and the husband has a temptation to go to the ale-house, (though this evil is much lessened from the high price of necessaries, and, in some districts, from the reduced number of public houses.) Before men can be made good, they must be made serious; and this is best done by giving them an idea of property. From being serious, there is a chance of their becoming good members of society through principle; but if not, they may be harmless through interest; and we cannot conceive a stronger support to the police of any country, than the householders of it having business of their own to mind, and property of their own to defend. Though the rent of a cottage is generally an inadequate interest for the money spent in building or repairing it, yet the tenant is frequently willing to pay a higher proportionate rent per acre for land than the farmer does, and he is also frequently the most punctual



punctual in paying his rent. But, however the balance may be in other respects, one considerable advantage will always be derived from the extension of this plan, in the reduction of the poor's rate. If, indeed, the 31 Eliz. c. 7, could have been acted upon, or modified, rather than repealed, it might have prevented the expence of poor's rates in country parishes. It prohibited the building of any cottages in the country, unless there be set four acres of land lying near the same, to be continually occupied therewith, &c. &c.

I have the pleasure of adding the following extract of a letter, written to me Jan. 29, 1796, in answer to an inquiry, by the rev. Archibald Alison, rector of Kenley, in this county, the facts of which will best bespeak the merits of its author:—

“With regard to the experiment in this parish, it is much too trifling and too recent to deserve any attention. Thirty acres, you know, were allotted to me in the division of the common, and they were divided into ten shares, to accommodate the poor people of the common, who had the largest families, at the same rent that was paid for the other part. It is only three years since this took place, and I can say little, therefore, with respect to the effects I most wished to follow from it. That it has added to the comfort of the people in that time, I have every reason to believe, both from their own acknowledgments, and from the anxiety of the rest to possess the same advantages. I think I may say also, that it has added, in some measure, to their industry. The land in general is in a better state than any of that which was inclosed at the same time. The poorest among them have all carried lime,

collected road-stuff, burnt weeds, &c. and some of them have certainly manured higher than any of the farmers in our parish. Two of them have built cottages at their own expence, and shewn a little disposition to ornament, by white-washing them, &c. In so short a time, these are at least not unpromising appearances. With regard to the quantity of land which may be allowed to cottagers, without diminishing their industry, as day-labourers, it will not be easy to determine. If I were to judge from this parish, I should be disposed to think, that more than three acres might very safely be given. The most decent, industrious, and well-doing of the lower people among us, are four or five families, who have from five to eight or ten acres a-piece. They have brought up their families without any parish assistance, and their children are in general better educated, better behaved, and set out better in the world, than any others of the same rank among us. These little farms, indeed, are always in grass, as I apprehend they will always naturally be when not exceeding these limits. The smaller farmers with us, of from 20 to 30 acres, who are induced to keep something like a team, are much the poorest and most wretched people among us.”

To this account I must add, what Mr. Alison's delicacy has concealed, that in setting these allotments at the current price, viz. seven shillings per acre, he promised not to raise that rent in consequence of any improvements the original tenants may make, which would have the operation of a lease for the time of his incumbency. A farther promise also was holden out,—that a jury of farmers



farmers should look over the ten allotments annually, and he who had improved the most, should be excused paying rent for that year. It should be noted also, that lime is within a few miles of these cottages.

I have the advantage of a further communication upon this subject, from Edw. Harries, esq. of Arlescot, in this county.

Mr. Harries's experience, as an active and attentive landlord, of very considerable property, makes his observations on husbandry very valuable; and they have peculiar weight on this part of the subject, from the kindness and consideration with which he treats his labourers:—"The building should be of a dimension to allow two separate chambers. An acre of ground annexed to it would admit of half being annually sown with wheat, the other half with hemp, potatoes, cabbages, and beans; these would be a great assistance to the labourer, in the support of his family, and would enable him to keep and fat a pig.—His situation would be still more comfortable, if five acres of land were added to it, as he could then keep a cow, and somewhat increase his quantity of grain. A double cottage I would generally recommend: there is some saving in the erection, and they may mutually assist each other; for though violent quarrels sometimes arise between such near neighbours, yet reciprocal interest soon occasions a forgetfulness of past offences. There should be at least two cottages to every 100 acres; the situation open to a pub-

lic road, dry, and south or south-east."

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*The Dutch Method of curing Herrings; extracted and translated from the German of Krünitz's Economical Encyclopædia (Oeconomische Encyclopädie) Article Herring. By J. Hinckley, Esquire, F. S. A.*

The vessels employed in this fishery, commonly called herring-busses, from the Dutch name, are generally between 48 and 60 tons burthen, though some from 40 to 80 and 100 tons are used. The largest of all carry 120 tons, are three-masted vessels, with one deck, and a cabin at each end; that a-head serving as a kitchen. Of the larger, the crews are 24 men, those of the smaller, 18. They carry a few small guns and musquetry.

Their nets are dipped, or cast out, in the evening, and drawn up in the morning. It requires three hours to wind them on board.—From the net, the fish are immediately put into baskets, while others of the crew are occupied till evening in gutting, salting, and packing. But, although from 10 to 15 last are sometimes taken at a draught, the twelve persons usually employed for the purpose cannot complete more than five last in a day.

During the three first weeks, from the 25th of June to the 16th of July, all the fresh-caught herrings are thrown into casks, without picking, and conveyed to Holland, in the jagers, or yatches\*, that accompany the

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\* These are small, fast-sailing vessels, which follow the herring-busses, supply them with provisions, casks, salt, and other necessities, and carry the fish that have been taken to the nearest port, where they are re-packed, and prepared for sending to the places of their destination.



herring-busses. But, after this period, immediately on being got on board, and gutted, they are assorted into three qualities—full herrings and shot herrings. The first of these are those taken earliest, and without roe or milt, but which, though well flavoured, do not keep. Full herrings are those taken at Midsummer, on the point of spawning, from which the brand herrings, so called from the barrels being marked with a hot iron, only differ in being caught later, repacked immediately on arrival, and so close and hard pressed down, that they do not require repacking at other places, but only new pickle, and are immediately expedited, or may remain on hand; whereas the other two sorts, not being so closely laid, must absolutely be repacked. Shot herrings are those which have spawned, or are taken in the act of spawning, in consequence of which they are thin and lean.

With the last two sorts the busses themselves return (as soon as they have got their loading, or find no more fish) one after another, to port, where all three sorts, except the brand-herrings, before being expedited, are opened, salted anew, re-packed, and so heaped up, that fourteen casks are re-packed in twelve, which make a last. By a regulation of the states-general, this re-packing must be performed in the open air, where strict watch is kept that the spoiling fish be carefully separated from the good, and the latter properly laid in the barrels, and strongly pressed down.

The Dutch fishery continues generally from twenty to twenty-six weeks, or even somewhat longer—namely, from the 25th of June. The Dutch fish only on the Scotch

and English coasts, off Hittland, Fairhill, and Bocken, from Midsummer till the 25th of July; off Bocken or Serenial, from thence till the 14th of September; and in deep water, east of Yarmouth, and as far as the mouth of the Thames, from thence to the 25th of November, when the regular fishery ceases.

But herrings are found not far from Yarmouth till the end of January, after which the fishery is prohibited, as the spawning season then commences.

Herrings, however, are equally good, wherever they are taken, provided they be but caught in the proper season, and well managed. As they die immediately on quitting their element, salting and packing are the circumstances which principally affect their quality. The superior excellence and flavour of Dutch herrings, above those of all other countries, arising from the close attention and indefatigable industry employed. Every thing, however minute, both as to season and management, which can maintain the reputation they have enjoyed for more than two hundred years, is most punctually observed: and above thirty ordinances on the curing and management of herrings are recited by Sir William Temple, in the seventeenth century.

Herrings cured with Scotch salt very quickly decay. Those of Norway are cured in the same manner as the Scotch, but with French salt, and packed in fir or deal, in consequence of which they are worse, and less palatable, as they leave a sour taste in the mouth, and soon spoil. In like manner other nations are equally careless in assorting the fish regularly and early off Hittland, from the 25th of June, because they



are then, and to the beginning of July, fattest; after which time, the nearer they approach the coast, the leaner and worse they are.

It redounds no less to the honour of the Dutch than to their advantage, that they pay the utmost possible attention to these rules: according to which the fish must be taken at the proper season, properly salted, well assorted, and rightly packed; to do all which, the captain and sailors are by several laws obliged to bind themselves by oath, before they sail. There are also overseers well paid, that they may not betray their trust, but watch and enforce every the minutest regulation; to which circumstance, also, the pre-eminence of Dutch herrings throughout the world may partly be ascribed.

As soon as the herrings are taken out of the water, they are thrown either upon the end of the deck, which has been cleared and made perfectly clean for the purpose, or into baskets; and then (gipped) the gills and guts taken out with a knife, by some of the crew, who are solely employed therein, having been brought up to that practice. The milt, or roc, however, is always left in the fish.\* What are taken during one night, are, before the following sun-set, neatly and skilfully laid in oaken barrels, coarse Spanish or Portuguese bay salt being strewed between. This the fishermen of other countries either entirely neglect, or less carefully perform, being less scrupulously nice; because they either go out to sea later, or, like the Scotch, commence fishing too soon; or only navigate small boats near the coast; do not kill

the fish with a knife, or gut, salt, or pack them down in a boat, and when fully laden, go on shore, proceed at their leisure, cast the fish on the sea-coast in considerable heaps, where they are even suffered to lie sometimes several days, before they are gutted, salted, and packed, in consequence of which they grow stale and ferment. The Dutch, on the contrary, indefatigably pursue their method day and night, during twenty, twenty-four, or twenty-six weeks, be the weather what it may. Hence, their fish are usually more tender, better flavoured, and not so very salt as the English and Scotch.

There are two methods of salting and preserving herrings for a considerable length of time. The one is called white salting, the other red. The former is thus performed.—Immediately on being taken, the fish are gutted, as above described, and washed in clean water; then salt is sprinkled on them, either internally or both within and without, and the fish being thrown into large baskets with handles, are well roused (or shaken about a few times), that the salt may the better diffuse itself, and penetrate: or lastly, which is the best method, they are thrown into a tub filled with strong brine, made with bay salt and fresh water, in which an egg will swim. In this pickle they are left upon deck in the open air, provided the weather be good, during twelve or fifteen hours; but, if circumstances require, a good deal longer, and are well stirred (especially if pickled on shore) with shovels, several times, that the salt may the better and more generally penetrate every where. Lastly,

\* Mr. M'Culloch's treatise (see note, page 833) says, they should also be kept cleanly, and out of the sun, as well as frost or rain.



to pack them properly, they are taken out of the pickle, suffered to drain sufficiently, and then packed in barrels which are strewed at bottom pretty thickly with salt, and, if there is time enough, they are neatly laid in strata, or layers, always strewing sufficient salt upon each layer: but, if they are thrown in promiscuously, with as much salt as is requisite to preserve them from spoiling. When this is done in strata, each new layer is pressed down hard upon the preceding.—This last-mentioned process, however, cannot easily be attended to at sea, especially when the fishery is very abundant. Hence, if the fish are to be exported, or remain long unused, they are repacked on shore, laid in fresh salt, and pressed down hard; without which precaution herrings exported by sea would spoil. The same practice is pursued in France, Hamburgh, and doubtless elsewhere. At Hamburgh, as in Holland, they are packed in the open air, ten packers and three overseers being appointed for the purpose, and all sworn. Besides repacking, the packers in the maritime towns have also to pick and assort the fish according to their goodness, salt them anew, and put them in fresh pickle. It is also generally a part of the magistrates' and trading companies oaths not to suffer any bad fish to be delivered from the quay or custom house.

After packing, whether the goods are intended for exportation or home consumption, whether pressed down hard or not, they are regularly coopered, that the pickle may not leak out, and the fish turn yellow or spoil, which takes place the moment they are deficient in pickle. Properly, the herrings should on the very day on which they are

taken, not only be gutted, but salted and put in casks, or at least should not lie more than one night in the first pickle: and accordingly such herrings are distinguished in France by the name of *harengs d'une nuit*. But when the fishery is abundant, this is not always possible; so that only a part can be properly attended to; and the rest, after being gutted, must unavoidably remain, at least the whole following day, if not longer, in the first pickle; the regular packing of them being postponed till the third day. These fish having stood two nights on deck in the open air, are called *harengs de deux nuits*. But such goods not only are inferior, but do not keep so well as the former.

If the fishermen mean again to cast their nets on the following night, or if, on account of the great abundance of the shoals, they do not expect to complete the salting and regular packing in two days, the fish, which they cannot so complete, are salted in large heaps, and are then called *slabbers*, or *slabbegut*, coarse goods. These are frequently too salt, because want of time prevents their being properly managed. They are put into the schuyts, which always accompany the herring busses, and washed; after which they are smoked, though not so much as the bicklings (*bücklinge*), or red herrings. The salted herrings hitherto spoken of are called *böckel herringe*, or pickled herrings, or, in general, plainly herrings; those properly salted and packed in layers, packed or barrel herrings; and those half salted, and promiscuously packed in barrels, wrack herrings.

The other mode of curing, called red salting, is thus performed. When the fish are taken out of the above-described pickle, in which, how-



ever, they must remain longer than those intended for the common or white salting, and at least four and twenty hours, they are hung by the head in rows on wooden poles, in stoves constructed for the purpose, each of which generally contains 12,000 herrings. But thus placed, a fire is made under them with vine stalks or any green faggot wood, that affords much smoke and little flame.\* Here they remain till dried, and properly smoked, which generally requires twenty-four hours.

Thus they become bicklings, or red-herrings; when these are packed in barrels, they are called barrelled bicklings, and are much salted; but, if laid in straw, they are called straw bicklings, and are somewhat less salted. The excellence of the bicklings principally consists in their being large, fat, tender, fresh, properly salted, pliable, soft, of the colour of gold, and not torn or mangled. In Holland, the best fish are chosen for this purpose; but in other places, the above described slabbers only are used, or other inferior herrings, deemed unfit for the usual mode of salting. The best and fattest smoked Dutch herrings are called, in German, speck bucklinge, or fat red-herrings; in low Saxon, flickhäringe; and in Ham-

burgh fläkeeringe. They are cut open along the back †.

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*On the Preparation, Culture, and Use of the Orchis Root. By I. Percival, M. D.*

Salep is a preparation of the root of orchis, or dog-stones, of which many species are enumerated by botanical writers. The orchis mascula Linn. sp. pl. is the most valued, although the roots of some of the palmated sorts, particularly of the orchis latifolia are found to answer almost equally well. This plant flourishes in various parts of Europe and Asia, and grows in our own country spontaneously, and in great abundance. It is assiduously cultivated in the east; and the root of it forms a considerable part of the diet of the inhabitants of Turkey, Persia, and Syria. A dry and not very fertile soil is best adapted to its growth. An ingenious friend of mine, in order to collect the seed, transplanted a number of the orchises into a meadow, where he had prepared a bed well manured for their reception. The next spring few of them appeared, and not one came to maturity, the roots being black and half rotten. The same

\* At Bremen, the place most celebrated for smoking fish, and where no secret is made, as in Holland, of the process, they are hung in ovens of the size of a small parlour, and strict attention is paid not to use fir, or any wood, in which is any the least turpentine or resinous matter, which invariably gives a bad taste to the fish.

† The act of parliament regulations, and many useful observations, may be seen in two small tracts, 8vo. in possession of the society for the encouragement of arts, manufactures, and commerce, the one entitled, "Observations on the Herring Fishery, upon the North and East Coasts of Scotland, &c. with plain rules, proposed for curing, and for supplying the London market with white herrings, by Lewis M'Culloch, many years employed in furnishing the merchants of London with herrings for exportation. London. Richardson. 1788." The other entitled, "The best and most approved Method of curing white Herrings, and all kinds of white fish, containing particular directions how to slit, gut, salt, dry, and barrel them, fit for sale at home, or foreign markets, with directions for boiling of oil, by a trader in Fish. London. J. Davidson. 1750."

gentleman



gentleman informed me that he had never been able to raise any plants from the seed of the wild orchis; but he ascribed his want of success to the wetness of the situation in which he resides. I have now before me a seed-pod of the orchis, the contents of which, to the naked eye, seem to be seed corrupted and turned to dust; but, when viewed through a microscope, appear evidently to be organized, and would, I doubt not, with proper culture, germinate, and produce a thriving crop of plants. The properest time for gathering the roots is when the seed is formed, and the stalk is ready to fall, because the new bulb, of which the salep is made, is then arrived to its full maturity, and may be distinguished from the old one, by a white bud rising from the top of it, which is the germ of the orchis of the succeeding year. Several methods of preparing salep have been proposed and practised. Geoffroy has delivered a very judicious process, for this purpose, in the *Histoire de l'Académie Royale des Sciences*, 1740.; and Retzius, in the Swedish transactions, 1764, has improved Geoffroy's method. But Mr. Moul, of Rochdale, has lately favoured the public with a new manner of curing the orchis root: and as I have seen many specimens of his salep, at least equal, if not superior, to any brought from the Levant, I can recommend the following, which is his process, from my own knowledge of its success.

The new root is to be washed in water, and the fine brown skin which covers it is to be separated by means of a small brush, or by dipping the root in hot water, and rubbing it with a coarse linen cloth. When a sufficient number of roots have

been thus cleaned, they are to be spread on a tin plate, and placed in an oven heated to the usual degree, where they are to remain six or ten minutes, in which time they will have lost their milky whiteness, and acquired a transparency like horn, without any diminution of bulk. Being arrived at this state, they are to be removed, in order to dry and harden in the air, which will require several days to effect; or, by using a very gentle heat, they may be finished in a few hours. Salep, thus prepared, may be afforded, in this part of England, where labour bears a high value, at about eight-pence or ten-pence per pound. And it might be sold still cheaper, if the orchis were to be cured without separating from it the brown skin which covers it;—a troublesome part of the process, and which does not contribute to render the root either more palatable or salutary: whereas the foreign salep is now sold at five shillings or six shillings per pound.

The culture of the orchis, therefore is an object highly deserving of encouragement from all the lovers of agriculture. And as the root, if introduced into common use, would furnish a cheap, wholesome, and most nutritious article of diet, the growth of it would be sufficiently profitable to the farmer. Salep is said to contain the greatest quantity of vegetable nourishment in the smallest bulk. Hence a very judicious writer, to prevent the dreadful calamity of famine at sea, has lately proposed that the powder of it should constitute part of the provisions of every ship's company. This powder and portable soup, dissolved in boiling water, form a rich thick jelly, capable of supporting



life for a considerable length of time. An ounce of each of these articles, with two quarts of boiling water, will be sufficient subsistence for a man a day; and, as being a mixture of animal and vegetable food, must prove much more nourishing than double the quantity of rice cake, made by boiling rice in water. This last, however, sailors are often obliged solely to subsist upon for several months, especially in voyages to Guinea, when the bread and flour are exhausted, and the beef and pork, having been salted in hot countries, are become unfit for use. But, as a wholesome nourishment, rice is much inferior to salep. I digested several alimentary mixtures prepared of mutton and water, beat up with bread, sea biscuit, salep, rice flour, sago powder, potatoe, old cheese, &c. in a heat equal to that of the human body. In forty-eight hours they had all acquired a vinous smell, and were in brisk fermentation, except the mixture with rice, which did not emit many air bubbles, and was but little changed. The third day several of the mixtures were sweet, and continued to ferment; others had lost their intestine motion, and were sour; but the one which contained the rice was become putrid. From this experiment it appears that rice, as an aliment is slow of fermentation and a very weak corrector of putrefaction. It is therefore an improper diet for hospital patients; but more particularly for sailors, in long voyages, because it is incapable of preventing, and will not contribute much to check the progress of that fatal disease, the sea scurvy. Under certain circumstances, rice seems disposed of itself, without mixture, to become

putrid; for by long keeping, it sometimes acquires an offensive foetor, nor can it be considered as a very nutritive kind of food, on account of its difficult solubility in the stomach. Experience confirms the truth of this conclusion: for it is observed by the planters in the West Indies, that the negroes grow thin, and are less able to work whilst they subsist upon rice.

Salep has the singular property of concealing the taste of salt water; a circumstance of the highest importance at sea, when there is a scarcity of fresh water. I dissolved a drachm and a half of common salt in a pint of the mucilage of salep, so liquid as to be potable, and the same quantity in a pint of spring water. The salep was by no means disagreeable to the taste, but the water was rendered extremely unpalatable.

This experiment suggested to me the trial of the orchis root as a corrector of acidity; a property which would render it a very useful diet for children. But the solution of it, when mixed with vinegar, seemed only to dilute like an equal proportion of water, and not to cover its sharpness.

Salep, however, appears by my experiments, to retard the acetous fermentation of milk, and consequently would be a good lithing for milk pottage, especially in large towns, where the cattle being fed upon sour draff, must yield acescent milk.

Salep, in a certain proportion, which I have not yet been able to ascertain, would be a very useful and profitable addition to bread. I directed one ounce of the powder to be dissolved in a quart of water, and the mucilage to be mixed with  
a suffi-



a sufficient quantity of flour, salt, and yeast. The flour amounted to two pounds, the yeast to two ounces, and the salt to eighty grains. The loaf when baked was remarkably well fermented, and weighed three pounds two ounces. Another loaf, made with the same quantity of flour, &c. weighed two pounds and twelve ounces: from which it appears that the salep, though used in so small a proportion, increased the gravity of the loaf six ounces, by absorbing and retaining more water than the flour alone was capable of. Half a pound of flour and an ounce of salep were mixed together, and the water added according to the usual method of preparing bread. The loaf, when baked, weighed thirteen ounces and a half; and would probably have been heavier, if the salep had been previously dissolved in about a pint of water. But it should be remarked, that the quantity of flour used in this trial was not sufficient to conceal the peculiar taste of the salep.

The restorative, mucilaginous, and demulcent qualities of the orchis root render it of considerable use in various diseases. In the sea-scurvy it powerfully obtunds the acrimony of the fluids, and at the same time is easily assimilated into a mild and nutritious chyle. In diarrhæas and the dysentery, it is highly serviceable, by sheathing the internal coat of the intestines, by abating irritation, and gently correcting putrefaction. In the symptomatic fever, which arises from the absorption of pus, from ulcers in the lungs, from wounds, or from amputation, salep used plentifully, is an admirable demulcent, and well adapted to resist that dissolution of the crasis of the blood, which is so evident in these

cases. And by the same mucilaginous quality, it is equally efficacious in the strangury and dysury; especially in the latter, when arising from a venereal cause; because the discharge of urine is then attended with the most exquisite pain, from the ulcerations about the neck of the bladder, and through the course of the urethra. I have found it also an useful aliment for patients who labour under the stone or gravel.

From these observations, short and imperfect as they are, I hope it will sufficiently appear that the culture of the orchis root is an object of considerable importance to the public, and highly worthy of encouragement from all the patrons of agriculture. That taste for experiment, which characterises the present age, and which has so amazingly enlarged the boundaries of science, now animates the RATIONAL FARMER, who fears not to deviate from the beaten track whenever improvements are suggested, or useful projects pointed out to him. Much has been already done for the advancement of agriculture; but the earth still teems with treasures which remain to be explored. The bounties of Nature are inexhaustible, and will for ever employ the art, and reward the industry of man.

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*Management of Orchards, and the Process of making Cyder and Perry. From Duncombe's History of Herefordshire.*

The apple and pear-trees which form the orchards of Herefordshire, are well known not to be the natural production of any soil or climate; the one being a variety of the



the *pyrus malus*, or crab; and the other derived from the *pyrus communis*, or common wild pear: as such, neither of them are noticed by Linnæus.

The native wild crab is subject to considerable diversity in the appearance of its leaves, and in the colour, shape, and flavour of its fruit: by selecting and cultivating the fairest and the best of these, all our valuable varieties have been produced; and by repeated propagation, have been preserved for a time. This principle was clearly known to the ancients, whether they applied it to the apple or not:—

“Quare agite ô proprios generatim discite cultus,

“Agricolæ, fructusque feros mollite colendo.”\*

Normandy, and other parts of the continent, have occasionally furnished this country with several of these artificial varieties.

It does not appear that orcharding became a considerable branch of rural œconomy in England before the reign of Henry VIII. when, by the industry of a person of the name of *Harris*, who was fruiterer to that king, the fields and environs of about thirty towns in Kent only, were planted with fruit-trees. This example probably induced orcharding in Herefordshire and other counties on a much larger scale, than had been practised before; but the period in which the plantations in Herefordshire acquired the peculiar eminence they still retain, seems to have been the reign of Charles I. when, by the noble exertions of lord Scudamore, of Hom-Lacy, and other spirited gentlemen, Here-

fordshire had become “in a manner, one entire orchard.”

Plantations are found in every aspect; and on soil of every quality, and under every culture; the most approved site is that which is open to the south-east, and sheltered in other points, but particularly in the opposite direction. For although Virgil and the other Roman poets celebrate the west wind as the most genial in Italy; and Philips, in his poem on Cyder, recommends the same aspect, it is an unquestionable fact, that the westerly winds, and therefore a westerly exposure, are particularly unfavourable to the fruit-trees of Herefordshire; they are more cold, as blowing over a considerable tract of the Welsh mountains, which are often covered with snow, even late in the spring; and they are more unkind, because from that point proceeds a much more than equal proportion of those fogs and blue mists, which Dr. Beale called “the disgusts of the Black Mountain.” This leads to what is commonly termed *blight*; the theory of which appears to be imperfectly understood. The general idea, that insects, or their eggs, are brought on the trees by the winds, is very erroneous. It is the opinion of an able naturalist (T. A. Knight, esq.) that they are deposited by the parent insect, in the winged state, partly in the spring, and partly in the preceding summer, on those trees where they afterwards commit their depredations. Others suppose, that the appearance of insects on plants and trees, is the effect, not the cause of blight; and that this malady is occasioned by sudden changes in the atmosphere, from heat to cold, by

\* Virgil, Georg. lib. ii.



which the tender organs of vegetation are injured, the rising sap checked and inspissated, and both a nidus and food created for various kinds of insects.

Of what are termed blights, the honey-dew is ejected by the *aphis*; the mildew is a species of *mucor*; and there is sometimes found on the apple-tree another species, if not more, of the same genus, differing from the mildew in colour, being of a dark brown, and perhaps one sort of the *rubigo* of Virgil (Georg. lib. i.), to avert which, the Romans celebrated “*Rubigalia festa*,” in the kalends of May.

No effectual means, however, have yet been discovered to prevent their bad effects.

The soil best adapted to most kinds of apples, is a deep and rich loam, when under the culture of the plough; on this the trees grow with the greatest luxuriance, and produce the richest fruit. Some trees, however (the stire and golden pippin in particular), form exceptions to this general rule, and flourish most in a hot and shallow soil, upon a lime or sand stone. The best sorts of pear-trees also prefer the rich loam, but inferior kinds will even flourish where the soil will scarcely produce herbage.

The apple-trees are divided into *old* and *new* sorts; each class comprises some called *kernel-fruits* (viz. the fruit growing on its own native roots), as a distinction from those produced by the operation of grafting. The old sorts are the more valuable, and are those which have been long introduced, as the stire, golden pippin, hagloe crab, several varieties of the harvey, the brandy apple, redstreak, woodcock, moyle, gennet-moyle, red, white,

and yellow musks, pauson, fox-whelp, loan and old pearmain, dymock-red, ten commandments, and others. The modern varieties derive their appellations from such capricious and various causes, that a correct list cannot be composed: in some instances the same fruit bears a different name, even in the same parish. A regular and scientific classification of the whole would be a valuable acquisition to our rural oeconomics; and there are at this time persons of opulence and public spirit, fully adequate to such an undertaking.

The pears held most in estimation are the *squash*, so called from the tenderness of its pulp; the old-field, from having grown as a seedling in a field of that name; the huffcap, from the quantity of fixed air contained in its liquor; the bar-land, from a field in the parish of Bosbury, called the Bare-lands; the sack pear, from its richness; and the red pear, from its colour. Of inferior sorts, the long-land is most valuable, and for the general use of the farmer, perhaps the best.

It has been the fate of most improvements in nature, or in art, to have been patronised at one time, and neglected at another, from circumstances wholly unconnected with their intrinsic merits. Thus *orcharding* (if the expression be allowable), from the time of Henry VIII. to that of Charles I. appears to have engaged great attention: many treatises were published on the subject, and the practice was proportionably extended and improved. The civil dissensions which closed the unfortunate reign of Charles, could not fail to cramp the efforts of genius, and to suspend the operation



tion of industry; and the public mind, like that of an individual, does not soon return even to a favourite subject, from which it has been once diverted or driven. Before the calamities of the period alluded to, orcharding seems to have been brought to a very considerable degree of perfection; and even the ordinary means of preservation appear to have been neglected after. If these conjectures should be admitted (and they are offered merely as such), they account for that decay of the old and most valuable fruits in Herefordshire, which is so generally acknowledged and lamented. Their renovation, or the introduction of others equally good, cannot be too strongly urged, and the public spirit of the present age has not been indifferent on the occasion; more endeavours have perhaps been directed towards this object within the last twenty years, than during a century preceding. Grafting, as most expeditious, has been most frequently attempted; but it is presumed that no mode of grafting, hitherto practised, has been found adequate to the purpose. The shoots being unavoidably taken from old trees, flourish a few years from the vigour of the crab-stock, then canker and relapse into all the infirmities of the parent tree. On this principle, the renovation of the old fruit appears impracticable: by the general laws of nature, each animated being lives to propagate its species, and after a time resigns its place to a successor. The opinion of the best informed

planters is, that the seeds of the old fruits should be sown, and the most strong and healthy plants selected for cultivation and a supply of grafts. This experiment has been adopted, on a large scale, by several planters, has hitherto promised the fullest success, and has further the sanction of that period in which orcharding received particular attention.\* A treatise on this subject was published by William Lawson, a north-country man, in the year 1626, and he states, that “the best way to plant an orchard is to turn the ground with a spade in February, and to set, from February to May, some kernels of the best and soundest apples and pears, finger-deep, and at a foot distance, and to leave the likeliest plants only in the natural place, removing the others as time and occasion shall require.” Lord Scudamore also fully understood the nature and value of this practice: after the assassination of his friend the duke of Buckingham, in the year 1628, he retired to Hom-Lacy, and amidst other useful and honourable employments of a country life, he paid great attention to the culture of fruit-trees, and particularly to that of the *red-streak*, which he seems to have introduced into general notice and esteem. As late also as the year 1654, a treatise, called “The Countryman’s Recreation, or the Art of Planting, Grafting, &c.” remarks, “that although the pepins be sown of the pomes of peares and good apples, yet we shall find that some of them do love the tree whereof they came,

\* One of the annual premiums given by the Agricultural Society of this county is, “for the best new variety of the apple raised from seed;” and several new varieties of excellent qualities have already been thus produced.



and those be right which have a smooth bark, and are as fair as those which he grafted."

These instances, it is presumed, are sufficient to shew, that, at the period alluded to, it was well known that good fruits might be raised by sowing the kernels of good apples, and selecting those plants which, in the absence of thorns, and in the general appearance of their leaves and bark, bore the greatest resemblance to the cultivated variety of the parent tree; whilst those which approached the native crab were to be carefully rejected. Yet Evelyn, in the appendix to his *Sylva*, published several years afterwards, proves that the practice was hardly known here in his time. He writes, "Nothing is more *facile* than to raise new kinds of apples, *in infinitum*, from kernels; yet in that apple county (Hereford), so much addicted to orchards, we could never encounter more than two or three persons that did believe it." This method is now becoming more and more general, and the most experienced planters consider it as the best, if not the only expedient to preserve our provincial celebrity.

The colours of good cyder-fruits are red and yellow; the colour to be avoided is green, as affording liquor of the harshest, and generally of the poorest quality; the pulp should be yellow, and the taste astringent: apples of a small size (*cæteris paribus*) are always to be preferred to those of a larger, in order that the rind and kernel (in which principally consist the strength and flavour of the liquor) may bear the greatest proportion to the pulp, which affords the weakest and most watery juice. In selecting fruits for cultivation, respect should be paid

to the soil and situation of the intended orchard; where both are favourable, no restraint is necessary; but in cold situations and unkind soils the most early fruits are obviously those which may be expected to acquire maturity.

An orchard is generally raised with most success, and at least expence, in a hop-yard; the ground under this culture being always well tilled and manured, as well as fenced against every kind of cattle: the rows should extend from north to south, as in that direction each part of every tree will receive the most equal portions of light and heat. The distance between each row, as well as the space between each tree, must depend on the situation and soil. When the former is high and exposed, the trees should be closely planted, to afford each other protection; and when the latter is poor and shallow, their growth will of course be less luxuriant, and they will consequently require less room. But in low and sheltered situations, and in deep and rich soils, wider intervals should be allowed. In the former instances, twelve yards between each row, and six between each tree are sufficient: in the latter, twenty-four yards between each row, and eight between each tree will not be too much. Pruning is not in general use; the most approved method is, that of rendering thin, and pervious to the light, the points of the external branches, so that the internal parts of the tree may not be wholly shaded by the external parts. Large branches should rarely, or never be amputated.

The merit of cider will always depend much on the proper mixture, or rather on the proper separation,



ration, of the fruits: those, whose rind and pulp are tinged with green, or red, without a mixture of yellow, should be carefully sorted from such as are yellow, or yellow mixed with red. The latter kinds, which should remain on the trees until ripe enough to fall without being much shaken, are alone capable of making fine cider. Each sort should be collected separately, and kept till it becomes perfectly mellow. For this purpose, it is the common practice to place the fruit in heaps, about a foot in thickness, fully exposed to the sun, air, and rain; being never covered, except in very severe frosts. Each kind should also be ground separately, or mixed with such only as become ripe at the same time; but it is from the former practice that fine ciders, of different flavours and degrees of strength, are best obtained from the same orchard; the liquors being mixed after they are made. The practice of mixing different varieties of fruit is, however, often found eligible, for it is less difficult to find the requisite quantities of richness, astringency, and flavour, in three varieties of fruit, than in one; and hence cider composed of the juices of mixed fruits generally succeed with greater certainty than those made with one kind.

In grinding, the fruit should be reduced, as nearly as possible, to an uniform consistency, so that the rind and kernels are scarcely discoverable from the general mass: it should be ground slowly, with free access of air. In the cider-mill of this county, a circular stone about  $3\frac{1}{2}$  feet in diameter, 1 foot wide, and about 12 hundred weight, is supported on its edge, and drawn by a horse round a circular trough of

stone about 8 feet in diameter, and about the depth of 8 inches; into this trough the apples are gradually introduced; and a mill of the dimensions above described is equal to the complete grinding of one hogshead in a day. This mill resembles those used in grinding bark, and those also adapted to the purposes of manufacturing gunpowder; in favourable situations perhaps they might be so constructed as to save the labour of the horse by the use of water; but it is not known that this experiment has yet been made, or the suggestion offered before. All the modes previously in use, such as pounding apples in wooden mortars, or cracking them in a hand-mill between two wooden cylinders, armed with spikes, &c. &c. are very imperfect indeed, compared with the merits of the mill now in use; from which this county has probably derived no small portion of its merited fame. The quantity of apples sufficient to fill the provincial hogshead of one hundred and ten gallons, varies from twenty-four to thirty bushels; a smaller quantity of pears will fill the same vessel, or even of apples, if made use of immediately from the tree.

When the fruit has been thoroughly ground, the reduced pulp should remain twenty-four hours before it is taken to the press; a large quantity of juice will then pass through the hair cloths used in pressing, and this is to be deposited in casks, not quite filled, and situated in the open air. The first fermentation to which the liquor is subject, is the vinous; the second, if not checked or prevented, is the acetous; the third, the putrefactive. The great object, therefore, of the cider-maker, is to watch the first operation, by which

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some of the impurities are floated on the surface, but most of them sink to the bottom; the fine part is then carefully drawn off into another vessel, and the lees afterwards filtrated in the manner of jelly, through linen bags, by which the liquor remaining in them is brought to an equal degree of fineness, and is added to the other. All further fermentation is to be avoided; and, on any appearance of it, small quantities are drawn off into open tubs, and returned to the main body in a state of flatness. The first fermentation, if the weather be cool or frosty, will generally be completed within a few days; and if the first opportunity of drawing it from the lees be neglected, a change of weather, or other circumstances, may render it again impure in a very short time: the brightness of the liquor is therefore the best criterion to decide the proper period of racking. The casks should want four or five gallons to complete their fullness, and having remained in the open air until the end of March, they should then be completely filled, and the bungs be fixed, which, until now, have only been placed loosely in their situations.

Ciders, thus manufactured from good fruits, will retain a considerable proportion of their sweetness to the end of three or four years, when it is gradually lost. At two years old it is in the best state to put into bottles, after which it will soon become brisk and sparkling; and if it possess much richness, it will remain, with little perceptible change, during twenty or thirty years, or as long as the cork duly performs its office.

It will readily be supposed that all these precautions are not attended

to in making cider for the common use of the farm-house. The flavour of the liquor is then a secondary consideration, and the great object is to obtain a large quantity at a small expence. In this case, the apples are usually ground as soon as they become moderately ripe, and the juice is either racked off at once, as soon as it becomes tolerably clear, or more frequently conveyed at once from the press to the cellar: a violent fermentation then commences, and continues until nearly the whole of the saccharine part is decomposed. The casks are filled up and stopped early in the succeeding spring, (sometimes sooner) and no further attention is given. The liquor thus managed is generally harsh and rough, and such as is usually supposed to be preferred by many of the farmers and peasants.

A still inferior kind of liquor is made by re-grinding the reduced pulp from which the cider has been pressed, in a small quantity of water. The residue of three hogsheads of cider thus yields about one hogshead of the inferior kind, which may be kept until the next autumn, but usually supplies the place of cider, for the common purposes of the farm-house, until harvest, when the superior kind is required and allowed.

The culture of the pear-tree, and the management of perry, differ so little from those of the apple and its produce, that the same rules are applicable to both. The pear-tree is, however, most successfully propagated on stocks of its own species, and lives much longer than the apple. Like the latter, it grows with the greatest luxuriance in strong and deep soils; and in these the finest liquor is produced from it: but it

will



will flourish in every variety of soil where it is not incommoded with water, and might probably be cultivated in almost every part of England, with nearly as much success as in this county, if the fruit be ground in a similar mill, and equal attention paid in the process of manufacture. In planting pear-trees, a wider interval should be allowed between them than is necessary to the apple-tree. In the most closely-planted orchards the rows should not be less than eighteen yards distant, nor the trees less than eight or nine from each other. When the ground is to remain under tillage, it is better to allow even twenty-five or thirty yards between the rows. As in cider, the fruit which is ground together should be as uniformly ripe as possible; and few kinds of pears are found to improve, by being kept, after they have fallen, through ripeness, from the trees. Perry will not always become fine as readily as cider; an ounce and a half or two ounces of dissolved isinglass are then applied, in the usual manner, to a cask of one hundred and ten gallons\*.

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*Account of a Method of gaining Land from the Sea. By Mr. John Knapping, of South Shoebury, Essex. From the Transactions of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce†.*

In the month of April, 1801, I

entered into an agreement with some men who had been accustomed to make embankments against the sea, to enclose 234 acres of sittings, or broken ground, which I had hired, upon lease, of the right hon. the earl of Winchelsea, in the island of Foulness, and which was overflowed by the sea every tide. I could have enclosed nearly twenty acres more at the same time, but did not deem it prudent, because, in that case, the base or foot of my new bank must have been set too near the ocean; and, by that means, the surge, when the wind blew hard from the east or north-east, would have been liable to damage and undermine it. The base or seat of my new wall is thirty-two feet, and I first contracted to have it only six feet high, and to be six feet wide on the top; to complete which, I agreed to give the men fifty-eight shillings per rod. There are 304 rods of it, and the work so executed came to 881*l.* 12*s.* But judging afterwards that its base would still bear an additional height, which I conceived to be necessary for the better security of the land, I had the wall or bank made a foot higher, and allowed a contraction of one foot more for the slope, or *batten*, as it is termed; so that its dimensions now are 304 rods in length, 32 feet base, seven feet perpendicular height, and five feet wide at the top. This additional height cost me about 150*l.* more, which, added to the price of the first contract, and the planks

\* The reader, who is desirous of a more detailed information on these subjects, will find them fully and scientifically discussed in "A Treatise on the Culture of the Apple and Pear, and on the Manufacture of Cider and Perry, by T. A. Knight, esq. 8vo. Printed at Ludlow, 1801."

The old and exploded methods of making and managing cider will also be found in the Appendix to *Evelyn's Sylva*.

† The Gold Medal was adjusted to Mr. Knapping, for his Communication.



for the workmen to wheel their barrows upon, &c. made the whole cost of the embankment amount to very nearly 1100*l*.

This wall, or bank, is entirely formed of earth, a considerable part of which I obtained by cutting a ditch, or *delft*, as it is usually termed, about nine feet wide, and about fifteen feet from the foot or base on the land side of the wall. This *delft* serves as a reservoir to take off the rain water from the newly enclosed land, which is conveyed through the wall, or bank, into the sea, by a sluice or gutter, which is open when the tide is out; and through which gutter also the salt water can be let in, when necessary, to fill the *delft* or the ditches cut between the different fields, or enclosures, to keep cattle apart, &c. By the end of the month of October, 1801, this undertaking was completed, and the wall, or bank, remains firm and good, and will receive considerable strength and stability by sowing the seeds of the couch grass thereon, and feeding the same closely with sheep. Before the land was thus enclosed, no use could be made of it, except that of grazing it occasionally with a few sheep, when the tide was gone off. It now begins to grow quite solid, and will already bear the weight of a large bullock. It naturally begins to produce a sort of fine grass, which sheep, in particular, are very fond of, and which is of a very wholesome quality, but not as yet very nutritious, or fattening, that property, however, it will acquire more and more every year; and it will, I doubt not, in the course of less than twenty years, be as good grazing land as any on

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this level, and may by that time be converted into tillage, if required.

In addition to the preceding statements, respecting the land gained from the sea, by Mr. J. Knapping, in the island of Foulness, the following observations, by Mr. J. Wise, of Rochford, may probably be of some use for the perusal of those concerned in embankments of that nature.

In one of my first descriptions of the island in question, you will recollect that I said the greatest part thereof belongs to the earl of Winchelsea; and, among the number of farms in that place, that which Mr. J. K. now occupies, called Eastwick farm, is one of those on the property of his lordship. At the expiration of the last lease of the said farm, the old tenant refused it upon the terms offered to him; and among those who applied to rent it, was the present tenant, who voluntarily proposed to enclose, embank, and secure the saltings adjoining thereto, as they are termed, at his own cost and charge, provided that his lordship would agree to grant him a lease upon certain terms and conditions then specified. With these proposals his lordship was well pleased, and not only granted him a lease for twenty-one years, at a certain rent, but likewise made the like propositions to another tenant who held a farm adjoining; and to these propositions the other tenant also acceded. Had the tenants not agreed to enclose the saltings, it is probable that his lordship would have undertaken it at his own expence. But it must appear to be much more eligible, to every thinking man, for the tenant than for the landlord, in such cases, to do it; be-

2 I

cause



cause the tenants are more likely to understand the nature and the mode, as well as the expence of embanking, than their landlords; and all that the landlord has to do, when such a thing is taken in hand by his tenant, is to see that it is done substantially. Under these circumstances Mr. J. K. undertook the matter in question; and he has completed it in a very superior manner.

His next object then was to discover and pursue some plan by which both himself and the community might be most benefited by this newenclosed land. It had been found by others, in similar cases, that to break up and convert such land into tillage too soon, would not answer; for the quantity of salts with which it is impregnated is so very great, that, when exposed to the sun, &c. they completely chrystalize the soil; and although the green corn, during the winter and spring months, may have a luxuriant and healthy appearance when sown thereon, yet, as soon as the earth begins to get dry, it is scorched and burnt up, so that scarcely any of it arrives at perfection. The plan therefore to which Mr. J. K. resorted, was that of stocking it hard with sheep, and small Welch or Scotch cattle, which will eat a sort of weed provincially termed *lamb's tongue* (somewhat resembling the *sweet gale* in appearance, but not in smell), and which sheep in particular are fond of. By feeding it closely with sheep (and of these the Welch, Norfolk, or South down sorts are to be preferred), the land becomes every year more solid, the briny particles subside, and a sort of very fine small grass naturally begins to grow within the course of eight or ten years after it

has been embanked; and, in less than fifteen years, it may be converted into tillage, and will produce wonderful crops, sometimes of mustard-seed, &c. But as these pernicious crops are what no tenant ought to be suffered to grow, so will it be the utmost wish of the present tenant to avoid growing them; for they usually so taint the soil, that they can never afterwards be eradicated or destroyed. The best way is to pursue the grazing system above alluded to, for at least the first fourteen years; and then, having previously laid out and divided the land into separate enclosures, it may be converted into tillage for corn, and that to advantage. An excellent mode of managing such land, if it is meant to be tilled, is to lay about eight waggon-loads of chalk upon every acre, when it has been embanked about fifteen years, and not to plough it till five or six years afterwards. It will then grow any sort of grain, and especially oats, beans, and wheat, in great abundance, and of the most excellent qualities. Such is the process of management which the present tenant means to pursue; and there is scarcely a doubt but it will answer his warmest expectations, should his noble landlord allow him sufficient encouragement to pursue it.

I beg leave to make another remark before I conclude this essay; and it is this. If a quantity of the seeds of the couch-grass be sown, or, what is still preferable, if the roots of that grass be planted upon the bank or mud wall when it is first formed, that, with the treading of the sheep, &c. will tend much to strengthen its texture, and to preserve it from being injured by the tide.



From another letter of Mr. Knap-  
ping, it appears that he began to  
undertake this embanking about the  
beginning of the month of April,  
1801, and that in the month of Sep-  
tember following the whole was  
completed; that upwards of 230  
acres of land were effectually in-  
closed and secured from the sea, at  
a very considerable expence, viz.  
one thousand pounds and upwards;  
and that this land is already con-  
verted into pasture, capable of feed-  
ing a great number of sheep, and  
even bullocks, and is likely to be-  
come, in the course of a few years,  
fit for tillage, or any purpose to  
which land can be converted.

The above statement is confirmed  
by six certificates:—

T. Ellwood, Curate of Foulness.

W. Potten, Churchwarden.

T. Wiggins, Overseer of the Poor.

Edm. Witton,

F. Bannister,

W. Meakins,

} Inhabitants.

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*Account of the Method used in reco-  
vering the Dutch Frigate Ambus-  
cade, of 32 guns, sunk near the  
Great Nore. By Mr. Joseph  
Whidbey, Master Attendant in  
Sheerness Dock-Yard. From the  
Philosophical Transactions of the  
Royal Society.*

At eight o'clock in the morning  
of the 9th day of July, 1801, the  
Dutch frigate Ambuscade left the  
moorings in Sheerness harbour, her  
fore-sail, top-sails, and top-gallant-  
sails being set, with the wind aft,  
blowing strong. In about thirty  
minutes she went down by the head,  
near the Great Nore; not giving  
the crew time to take in the sails,  
nor the pilot or officers more than

four minutes notice before she  
sunk; by which unfortunate event  
twenty-two of the crew were drown-  
ed. This extraordinary accident  
was owing to the hawse-holes be-  
ing extremely large and low, the  
hawse-plugs not being in, and the  
holes being pressed under water by  
a crowd of sail on the ship, through  
which a sufficient body of water  
got in, unperceived, to carry her to  
the bottom.

The instant she sunk, she rolled  
over to windward across the tide,  
and lay on her beam ends; so that,  
at low water, the muzzles of the  
main-deck guns were a little out of  
the water, and pointed to the ze-  
nith, with thirty-two feet of wa-  
ter round her.

The first point I had to gain, was  
to get her upright. Before I could  
accomplish it, I was obliged to cut  
away her fore-mast and main-top-  
mast; which had no effect, until  
the mizen-mast was also cut away;  
she then instantly lifted her side, so  
that at low water the lee-railing on  
the quarter-deck was visible.

By proceeding in this manner, the  
first part of my object was obtain-  
ed, with a secured main-mast, and  
all its rigging, to enable me, should  
I be fortunate enough to weigh the  
ship, to lighten her by it with the  
greatest possible expedition.

The ship being in the fore-men-  
tioned state, gave me an opportunity  
the next low water to get out her  
quarter, fore-castle, and some of her  
main-deck guns, with a variety of  
other articles.

I next proceeded to sling her;  
which was done with two nineteen  
inch cables, divided into eight equal  
parts. The larboard side of the  
ship being so much higher than the  
starboard, enabled me to clench  
each



each of the ends round two of the ports, excepting one that was clenched round the main-mast; and with great difficulty, by long rods and diving, I got small lines rove through four of the ports on the starboard-side, by which means I got four of the cables through those ports across her deck, which were clenched to the main-mast and larboard-side, having four ends on each side completely fast, at equal distances from each other. I brought the Broederscarp, of 1063 tons burthen, out of the harbour, which received the four ends on the starboard-side, also four lighters of 100 tons each, which took in the other four ends, on the larboard-side, over their bows. All the eight ends were, at low water, hove down with great power, by a purchase lashed distinctly on each of them. I then laid down two thirteen inch cables, spliced together with an anchor of twenty-four hundred weight, in a direction with the ship's keel. On the end of the cable next the frigate a block was lashed, through which was rove a nine inch hawser, one end of which was made fast to the ship; the other end was brought to a capstan on board the Broederscarp, and hove on it as much as it would bear, with an intention to relieve the frigate from the powerful effect of cohesion. This had so far the desired effect that, at about half-flood, I perceived the ship to draw an end, and swing to the tide; and all the slings were considerably relieved. At high water she was completely out of her bed. At the next low water I hove all the purchases down again. At half-flood she floated; and the whole group drove together into the harbour, a distance of three miles, and grounded the frigate on

the west side of it. It took me two tides more to lift her on the shore, sufficiently high to pump her out; which was then done with ease, and the ship completely recovered, without the smallest damage whatever, either to her bottom or her sides.

I do not apprehend there is any thing new in the mode I adopted in weighing the Ambuscade, excepting the idea of removing the effect of cohesion, by the process before described; and I have every reason to think that if that principle had been acted on in the attempt made to weigh the Royal George, it would have succeeded.

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*Of the Manner of preparing China Soy, by Michael von Grubbens. From the Memoirs of the Academy of Sciences of Stockholm.*

The transactions of the academy of sciences for the year 1764 contain a description, by the late captain Ekeberg, of the preparation of China soy; but as that description is not only incomplete but even inaccurate, (for by following it the genuine China soy cannot be obtained,) I am persuaded that M. Ekeberg never saw, nor was acquainted with, the method employed for preparing it. I presume that he gave this description from the accounts of the Chinese, which are not always to be depended on, as I found, by experience, in the five years of my residence among them, when I wished to make myself acquainted with their method of managing a kind of silk worm, which spins five or six times a year, of dying cotton and silk, and with several other branches of Chinese economy.

Having since, at a dear rate, acquired



quired accurate information on these subjects, I have seen how widely their accounts differ from the truth. I experienced the same thing when I wanted to learn their method of making soy; but having at length obtained a perfect knowledge of the process, I think it my duty to communicate it to the academy.

Soy is made of a species of kidney-beans (which are white, and much smaller than those of Turkey) wheaten flour, common salt, and water, in the following proportions: fifty pounds of kidney-beans, fifty pounds of salt, sixty pounds of flour, and two hundred and fifty pounds of water. After the kidney-beans have been well washed, they are boiled in an open pot, in spring water, several hours, or till they become sufficiently soft to be mashed between the fingers. During the whole time they are boiling, they ought to be covered with water, that they may not be burned. Care should be taken not to boil them too much, as too great a portion of the substance would be left in the liquor. When the kidney-beans are boiled in this manner, they are taken out, and put into large low wooden vessels, or, according to the Chinese method, into tubs made of split bamboo, two inches and a half deep, and five feet in diameter. In these they are spread to the thickness of about two inches. When they are cool enough to be stirred with the hand, flour is gradually sprinkled over them, and well mixed with the kidney-beans; and this is continued till the whole of the flour is used. When the mass becomes too dry, and the flour does not blend with the kidney-beans, a small quantity of the hot liquor may be added. The whole being well

mixed, the mass is spread in the above-mentioned vessels, taking care that it may not lie in cakes more than an inch, or an inch and a half thick; after which, put over them covers that fit exactly. When you perceive that the mixture begins to grow mouldy, and that heat is disengaged from it, which takes place in two or three days, the cover may be lifted up and supported by two sticks, in order to give the air free admission. During this time a rank smell is exhaled: if the mixture assume a green colour, it is a sign that all goes right; but if you observe that it begins to grow black, raise the cover still higher, that the mixture may come still more in contact with the air. If the mixture once become black it is entirely spoiled. When you perceive that the whole mass is green and mouldy, which commonly happens in eight or ten days, remove the cover, and expose the mixture several days to the air and sun.

When the whole mass has become as hard as stone, cut it into small pieces, and throw them into a large earthen pitcher; add 250 pounds of water, in which the 50 pounds of salt have been dissolved; stir the whole well together, and take notice how high the water reaches in the pitcher. In case one pitcher is not sufficient, divide the mass into several, always observing that each should be proportioned to the quantity of matter put into it.

The pitcher being thus filled, place it in the sun; the contents should be stirred and shaken regularly each morning and evening. Take care to put a cover over the pitcher every evening, to secure the mass from the cold. This cover should be made convex above, that



rain may run off with the more facility. It must likewise be put on if it should happen to rain in the day-time.

The greater the heat of the sun is, the sooner the preparation of the soy is finished. This operation is, in general, undertaken only during the summer, and yet it requires two or three months.

In proportion as the mass diminishes by evaporation, add spring water to it; continue this process till the salt water has entirely dissolved both the flour and the kidney beans; then leave the pitcher a few days longer in the sun, that the dissolution may be the more complete, as on that circumstance the quality of the soy always depends. During this time you ought not to neglect to shake it every day.

When you find that the mass has become more succulent and oily, pour out the whole into bags, from which by pressure, you extract the soy, which is then clear, and ready for use. It must not be boiled afterwards, as M. Ekeberg asserts, but must be put into bottles, which should be carefully corked. The Chinese use large stone bottles for this purpose. Before it is pressed the soy is of a dark brown colour, but it then becomes black.

With the pulp that remains, the Chinese make two other kinds of soy; the first time they add one hundred and fifty pounds of water and thirty pounds of salt; and, after pressing the mass, they again

pour to it one hundred pounds of water and twenty pounds of salt, constantly proceeding in the manner described above.

The two latter are not strong, but very salt, particularly that last extracted, the colour of which likewise is much lighter. These two kinds are the most common in China, and are used both by the Chinese and Europeans: the difference between them is as 8:4:1.

In this manner I prepared, in 1759, at my residence in Canton, all the soy that I used there; I even brought with me a few bottles to Sweden: it was succulent, oily, pretty salt, and quite different from that commonly sold in Europe. In taste it was equal to that of Japan, which is generally considered to be the best.

The accuracy of this description may be the more relied on, as I always prepared my soy myself; I even venture to assert, that there is no other process for obtaining soy of the best quality. M. Ekeberg says that the soy is boiled, and that sugar, ginger, and other spices are added to it; but this cannot be the case, since a pound of soy costs no more than 2 *canderins*, Chinese money (about threepence-halfpenny English). This was the ordinary price during the whole time of my residence in China: so that it cannot be supposed that those ingredients are employed in its preparation. Besides this soy has no taste of sugar or spices, but that of salt predominates in it.

ANTI-



## ANTIQUITIES.

*Articles Indented & accorded betwixt Will<sup>m</sup>. Maitland Principall Secretarye and of the privy Counsell with the Queene of Scotts, And the right honorable Lord Will<sup>m</sup>. Howard Baron of Effingham, Knight of the Garter and Lord Chamberlaine of Houshold to the Queenes Ma<sup>tie</sup> of England Cōmissioners for both the said Queenes hereunto authorised At Greenwich the 6<sup>th</sup> Daye of July 1562\*. Copied from the Original in the MS. Collection of the Marquis of Buckingham.*

**I**N Primis, it is accorded & agreed betwixt the said Comyssioners upon certaine knowledge of the naturall effectiō that bothe the said Quenes of Englande and Scotlande do beare one to the other, & consequently of their mutuall earnest desires to mete personally together, that both the said Quenes shall by the permyssion of Almightye God mete together at the Citie of Yorke or in defaulte thereof at some convenient place betwixt the said Citie and the Rver of Tweed in the Realm of Englande betwixt the 20<sup>th</sup>

of Auguste and the 20<sup>th</sup> day<sup>]</sup> of Septembre. Item, because the meeting of the two Quenes sholde be full of joye and give cause to manifest their great mutuall love & affections, as also to increase thesame, it is accorded that neither of them nor any of their counsaylors, servants, or subjectes shall motion any thing of (Jealousie†) that may be prejudiciall to ether of the said Quenes the Realmes or the Lyberties of the same, provided nevertheless that the Quene of England maye at her pleasure require the perfecting of the treatie made at Edingburgh 3<sup>de</sup> Julii 1560 ‡. Item, the said Quene of Scotts shall not be pressed w<sup>th</sup> anye thing whiche she shall shew herself to mislike, before sheshall have retorned into her owne realme, nor that she or anie other p<sup>son</sup> comyng in her companie, and being of her trayne, shal be challenged or troubled during her abode within the said realm of England, for anie cause passed or begon before her entre into the realme of England. And yf anye p<sup>son</sup> of the trayne of the Quene of Scotts co-

\* Vide Robertson's account of this treaty, first edition 4to, page 251, vol. I. Buchanan, page 165; and Hume, vol. IV, page 147, 4to.

† The words between parentheses are conjectural, the original being in such places mutilated or illegible.

‡ This date should be the 6th of July, vide Robertson, vol. I, page 200, 4to. The copy of this treaty is in the British museum, Bib. Cotton. Calegula B. IX. Fol. 93.



mytt anye offence w<sup>h</sup>in the realme of Englande contrary to the laws of Englande, that neither the Quene of Scotts nor anie other of her trayne besides the p<sup>r</sup>sons offending shal be trobled therefore. And yff there be (offence committed) by anie one of her trayne against anie other of the same, so it be not capitall, the offender shal be justefied; or order of the said Quene and her marshall or other her officer (taken. But if it) be comytted against anie Englishman, the Scottishe marshall shall assist and be present w<sup>th</sup> thordinary judge of Englande, to see that indifferency be used toward equal processe. Item, it shall be lefull for the said Quene of Scotts to come into this realme with the n<sup>o</sup>bre of one thousande p<sup>r</sup>sons or under, of all estates and degrees whatsoever, with moneys coined and uncoined, L<sup>r</sup>es close and patent, w<sup>th</sup> all other bagg & bagguage, and to remayne as longe as it shall please her, and to retorne likewise at her (pleasure; and) all man<sup>r</sup> of persons, yf they excede not the n<sup>o</sup>bre aforesayd, may come and repayre to her, either from Scotlande or from anie other place w<sup>th</sup> l<sup>r</sup>es or messages, and retorne (in like) manner w<sup>th</sup>out any let or impedym<sup>t</sup>, saving that they shall give notyce of their passage to the principall offyceres or their deputies upon the frontyers of their names and surnames. Item, for the more ready knowledge of the n<sup>o</sup>bre that shall come with the said Quene of Scotts, there shal be on the p<sup>r</sup>tie of the said Quene, certificats made in writing of the names and surnames, w<sup>th</sup> their qualities, of all noblemen and p<sup>r</sup>sons of great estate, and of the nombre of all sortes that shall come into the realme of Englande by virtue of these articles, that is to saye, the n<sup>o</sup>bre

of suche as shal be reputed to be of the said Quenes housholde, by itself, and likewise of the trayne of everie other nobleman attendinge upon her, which certificate shal be delyvered; at the least, tenne daies before her comyng to the frontyers, to the warden of the marches, and by him shal be delyvered to suche principal person of the nobilitie as shall be sent from the Quene of Englande to receive the said Quene of Scotts, upon the frontier, and to conduct her to the place of entreview. Item, it is further accorded, that the said Quene of Scotts shall, if she please, entre into this realm of Englande by the town of Barwicke; so as her trayne within that towne exceed not the n<sup>o</sup>bre of two hundred persons at one tyme; and that in the hole, from the time of her entre untill her retorne, there may pass and repass thro the said town, the n<sup>o</sup>bre of three hundred persons, and not above; and the rest to pass by Norham and Wark. Item, it shall be permitted to the said Quene of Scott and her trayne, to use the rytes and ceremonyes of their relegion as at this day they use at Scotland. Item, because the monye of Scotland be not currant within this realm, the Quene of Englande is contented that either her tresorer of Barwic receiving of the officares of the said Quene of Scotts the somme of ten thousand pound of golde and silver of Scotland, or under, shall deliuer in exchange, so much currante monies of England as the same shall be worth in value and riches, havinge regarde to the silver, golde, and metal contained in the said Scottish monies; or else her majestie shall give her orders, that the monies of Scotland, being of gold and holding in finess, not under the carract; and  
being



being of siluer and holding in fineness not under ten ounces, shall be valued and made currant in this realme of England, from the tyme of the entre of the said Quene of Scott, according to the juste values of the same monies, being tried and compared with the monies of the golde and siluer of the said realm of England, and so to remain currant 6 monethes after the said entre, or longer, as to the Quene of Englande shall seem convenient. Item, it is accorded that both the said princes shall ratifye and confirme these said articles enterchangeably, under their hands and grete seales, to be delivered to either party, before the last day of July next.

(Signed) W. Maitland.

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*Narrative of certain Transactions during the Civil Wars in which Colonel Lunsford was concerned, drawn up by himself, and here given from his original MS. in the Collection of the Marquis of Buckingham\*.*

Calling to minde the uncerteinty of my life, which the continuall torments of my wounds put me in minde of; and hearing of many to loose their lives by accidents nothing so dangerous, and wounds nothing so cruell as mine are; and fearing, (if I dye) that my friends and others, innocent and free from any of my supposed errors, might unjustly suffer; and by concealing the truth, I myselfe and my late action might be traduced, and I apprehended as an author of an inhumane and monstrous fact;—have for these reasons thought

fitt to put in writing the whole truth of the late action, protesting to God and man that what I here relate is the truth;—and if I live I shall be able to justifie it, if I dye it is my last legacie, which I bequeath to the beleif of all indifferent men, not prepossessed with violent passions, or overweighed with untrue testimonies, or greatness of mine adversaries; I will not speake at all of the cause or beginning of those discontentes betwixt sir Tho. Pelham and myselfe—I will only fix upon the last tragedy, and truly relate the particulars thereof in a bare narration.

Having withdrawn myself into the parts beyond seas, to avoid the great storme which I saw was falling upon me at home, in hope that time would have allayed the fury of mine adversaries; and that during my absence some reasonable propositions would have taken place for a reconciliation, that as we were neighbours and kinsmen, so forgetting former unkindnesses, we might at length have been reconciled, and enjoyed the content and happiness of friends: There did I intend to leade my life in a voluntary banishment, till my desires might have gained contente: But I was not able so to continue, in regard of my father's strict hand, who denied me fitting meanes of maintenance there; and this brought me over, fraught with desires and hopes to survease the former, or obtaine the latter.

After my retorne, I kept myself retired for the most part about London, where had I been owner of so wicked an intent as to murder sir Tho. Pelham, I had many opportunities to put the same in exe-

\* For some account of Col. Lunsford, vide Granger Biog. Hist. of England, vol. 2d, p. 243, 2d edit. and Gray's Hudibras, vol. 2, p. 313, 1st edit.



cution: but I never aymed at any such thing, such thoughte being none of my companions.——And besides I had often received strict commands of my father, upon his blessing sent me by divers friends, to carry myself temperately, and beware of harbouring any vindictive resolutions, or revengefull thoughte; and thus I lived for a space in discontente; when I thought it high time to be-thinke myself of some likelie course to end these my troubles. I beheld my father a prisoner for my sake, and thereby his estate weakened, threatning ruine to myself and the rest of his children; I saw the hideous apprehension of a perpetuall imprisonment if I were apprehended; I found my foe fierce, violent, and implacable (as I thought) being backed, and presuming upon the authority of great ones, now made mine adversaries: What should I doe? my father by severall messages had advised my conformitie to the decree; and though, as a father, he was loath to be the executioner, and usher his son himself to punishment, yet had he acquainted the lords with my retorne. I oft resolved to obey his commands, and submit myself: But then I thought I was for ever lost, and likely to be immured during my life; reason persuading me that mine enemies would be less tractable to any fair conclusion, whenever they had their wills, and me fast, having shewed themselves so implacable while I was at libertie.

Here then I summoned my best thoughte to counsell, from whence resulted this conclusion:—That an interview with sir Tho. Pelham, and some motions made by myself for a reconciliation, would worke with him more than all former fruitless passages of my frends had done:

And with this resolution I rode downe to my father's house, acquainting no man therewith but my brother Herbert Lunsford, and that but the same morning when I attempted it: He dissuaded me all he could; but hopes of good success that way had so fully possessed me, that I neglected his counsell. And so upon Sunday the 4th of August I waited the opportunity of sir Tho. Pelham's retorne from church, being accompanied with one only man, both of us armed with swords and pistols, not at all acquainting him with my intent, only asking him whether, if there were occasion, he would draw his sword with me. The reason why we were so armed, and of my question to him, was, that if I should finde sir Tho. Pelham attempt to apprehend me, rather than to give ear to my proposition, I might the easier free myself from the danger. Hitherto I had no cause to suspect that sir Tho. Pelham was so strong guarded or armed; but hoped mine accesse would have been easier, not carrying along with me any thoughte to offer him any violence at all. But when I had espied four of his servantes (one of them with a drawn sword), followe the coach, I then thought it no wisdom to approach nearer naked, but drew my sworde without any other meaning then to defend myself; and so endeavoured to get speech with sir Tho. Pelham; which if he enterteyned, I hoped all would be well; or if he refused, that then he would have suffered me to retreate. But I had no sooner shewed myself, but I was saluted by his discharging into my left side with a pistoll bullet, and assaulted by the rest with their naked swords, which dangers made me hasten the more towards



towards the coach, to speak to sir Tho. Pelham, hoping to have found so much humanity in him, till he might have exchanged a word or two: But instead of safetie and sanctuarie, which I had expected from him, I found (after I had visited the coach) that he was in the other coach behinde, and had sent out his forlorne hope before, to skirmish and give the alarum; and whilst I was looking into the coach, one Millington attempted to run me through at my back; and had effected it, if by the providence of God, a clasp in the waistband of my doublet had not stayed the further entering of his sworde; this danger was cause sufficient to make me turn about towards the man, at whom I made, but he, though seconded by three of his fellowes, upon the discharge of my pistoll ran with them all away to a coach some distance behind, guarded with 18 or 20 men, as I guessed, crying out, "Let the gentlemen come; let the gentlemen come!" But the coach, with most of the guards, turned about and went away, whilst myself and servant went into the fields to have gone our ways. But it seemed they were not so minded to parte with me, for two of sir Tho. Pelham's men lay for an ambuscade under a hedge, the one with a fowling-piece, the other with a machlock; I was a marke ayimed at by both; the one missed, but the other shot me in the knee joint, and presently ran away, till seeing me fall, they thought they might without danger re-assume their courage: And then many of them together fell upon me, knocked me downe dead upon the ground, and so lyeing gave me eight wounds, and struck twice to finish me; but one of their fellowes (hat-

ing such butcherly acts) did most honestly defend me from that danger, and notwithstanding I was so hacked and hewed, not able to stirr or stand, they bound my hands behinde me, and carried me to sir Tho. Pelham's house, where I lay 15 days. But not any of my friends were admitted to speake to me, or to comfort me: And being very weake yet, and dangerously ill of my wounds, not fitt to be removed, I was in two days conveyed to Newgate, where I am still kept close, not being allowed in all my weakness the comfort of such of my friends to take care or charge of my mangled as weake body, as are by nature most bound to preserve the same; which I thinke hath seldome been denyed to men convicted of more heinous crimes than any yet laid to my charge.

And now as I begun, I will end with a protestation, that myne intention in my desire to speake with sir Tho. Pelham, were faire and candid, not spotted with any bloody resolution. And I intreate all who may chance to see this my declaration, to be charitable in their censures, and to believe, that I am not in my spirit so basely directed, as that amid feare of death, or what the worst of miserie can befall me, can draw from me any relation then what is really true. And if any person examined against me have or shall depose otherwise of my act or intente, then what I have related, I shall wish they may a little consider what have befallen two of those who have been agents in the uncharitable usage of me. And God forgive them.

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After such tyme as I had received my cruell wounds, and was fallen downe,



downe, I was uncivilly dragged to a coach, having my hands bound behinde me; and being carried to \* \* \* \* \* I was there kept close prisoner, and debarred from the visitte of any, but such as proved miserable comforters, and who used all their art to provoke my tounge in my coller, to betraye myself; and some, to shew their content at my captivitie, caused the bells to be runge, and bonfires to be made (a ceremony seldom used but for more noble reasons), some to entrapp me to speake freely (by hearing them in that vayne), used great libertie of words towards great persons; the particulars whereof in convenient tyme I shall make bould to unfould.

After I had been close imprisoned, and provoked for 15 dayes, being very weake, I was in two dayes brought upp in a horse-litter to London, and with such crueltie, that although (through extreame payne) I often cryed out to drive softly, yet soe little compassion I found, that the driver made the more haste, that in eleven hours or thereaboute they brought me from Grinsted to London, which hasty worke did more increase my paines, and endanger my legg, the slowness of the cure of which my chirurgians yet impute to it.

When I came to Newgate, I was placed in a roome extreame cold and little, wherein was a chimney fitter to send out smoake to smoake me, than keepe fire to heate me; a bed without curtaynes, and that a yard too short for me, which I was forced to lengthen with joyned stools, for my legg to lye uppon: and to sweeten the roome, an offensive house of office was on the one side. In this manner, full of payne and torment, was I forced to lye, and

none suffered to comfort me, or waite with me, to trye to ease or turne me. In this torment I have sometimes layen 24 houres together, when none could heare me cry out, the dore fast lokt uppon me, when neither chirurgeon, phissision, or sustenance, or any reliefe, could come to me. The keepe have beene reported to have beene absent, when myselfe have heard them speak in the court, and have made my throate hoarse with callinge on them, but without answeare. This made me jealous (not without cause) that the people of the house were bribed to neglect me, that thus I might linger, which made me pray by death to end this misery; neither could it be hoped for a longe tyme, when I was thus left forsaken over-night, that I should have beene lyvinge in the morninge. I lay for a fortnight together, nor sene nor spoken to by any but the phissisions and chirurgians, scarce eatinge three meales in that tyme, having little fittinge meate prepared for me. Notwithstanding this abstinence, I fell into a burning fever, and for want of sleepe, and through paine, I became distraughted, tearinge my plasters and flesh, cryed out and raved like a madman, beatinge my fistes and armes black and blewe against the wall, and often attempted to leape forthe of my bedd, but my wounds and weaknes did me the service to keepe me fast; and yet duringe all this extremitie, had I none to watch with me, or helpe to turne me in my bedd. But I praise God I was through the care of Dr. Fludd recovered of the sickness, but likely to loose my limbs.

This is a true relation of my usage, and all this attended with soe many fowle circumstances,



stances, as would give matter for a new tragedie. Let the owners and contrivers of this crueltie, challenge their share in so uncharitable usage. But let not those Gentles (whose veines strea me with noble blood) owne the least part thereof: my selfe have beene the woefull patiente; yet have I soe much charitie to wish the authors of this my miserie (when they shall have neede of it) more comfort than hath fallen to my portion in this extremitie.

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*Certe yne Orders and Dyrections to bee observed by the Household, Officers, and other Persons, Servantes to the Right Honourable Henry Earle of Huntingdon, for the better and more exquisite Performance of everie man's dutie in his severall Place, as well toward his lordship as also towards the Right Honourable the Ladye Elizabeth, Countess of Huntingdon, his Wife, to their most Honour and Profit; which Orders their Honours Pleasure and expresse Commaundment is to have kept and obeyed, from the Tyme of the Declaration and Publishing of them, viz. From Nichols's Hist. of Leicestershire.*

Whereas their honours both by the advise of their frends, examples of persons of their owne ranke, and by their own diligent observations (having some fewe yeres past ben housekeepers) do finde that nothing is a greater ruin to their estates than disorder, have entered into a dew and mature consideration for the avoyding of the former evill; that thereby their house and family may be well guyded, have determined, and hereby sett downe and prescribed

to their officers and servants these precepts insuinge, to thend that everie officer maie the more surelie bee established auethorized in the execution of his place, without controlment for dooing his dutie, and every other hould themselves satisfied with their dooinge according to their orders, and learn thereby to demeane themselves, as well particularly to officers, as also generally one to another. And forasmuche as their honours knowe yt to bee vaine, and to no purpose, to prescribe rules and orders, unles care bee therewall had to the obedience and practize of them: therefore their honours doe straightlie charge and commaund their cheif officers, (namely,) the stewarde and comptroller of their househould, to see the same in all pointes duly performed: and for the encouragement of those that are tractable to well-dooinge, and the assuraunce of suche as shalbee otherwise, what they are to trust unto, their honours doe perswade, exhort, and enjoyne all their lovinge servants, to apply their uttermoste endeavoures to the observation thereof; geeving them hereby to understand, that such as will conforme themselves, shall reap the benefit of their good favors; and that others disobedient (at leaste wisc upon admonition) are to incurr their honour's heavy displeasure; and if they persevere without reformation, to be removed from their service. And for that everie one may knowe the charge and dutye as well of certayne perticuler officers, as of their owne, his lordship hath first sett down the same as followeth; viz.

The Office of the Stewarde.

First, That he have a perfect check-



check-rowle of the names of all the servants in ordinarye and reteyners, with addition of their places of service; and as the same shall be increased or altered, so to keep the check-roll accordinglie.

Item, that he have a speciall regard not to exceed the number of servants in ordinarie hereafter sett downe; and yf any be tendred to his lordship to any place that shalbe void, to make dilligent enquirye of his sufficiencie, judgement, and honestie; and thereof to enforme his lordship before he be accepted or refused; in the choise of which servante, care is to be had, that none of the ordinarye retinue bee maryed, specially of those that are in any place or office.

And forasmuche as the daunger may grow great by taking of reteyners; to be provident therefore that none have his lordships lyverye, other than such as shalbe appointed to some place of office under his lordship, as bailiff, wood-warde, keeper, or other like; in the choise of which advise would be taken, and conference had, with the forreigne officers that deal for his lordship's revenue, because such as are fitt are best knowen unto them.

Item, that he have a perfect inventarye of all the ordinarye stuff, furniture, and plate, that shalbe in the charge of any perticuler person within the house; and that he cause severall inventories indented to be made between him and everie inferior officer in the house, of the things committed to their severall charges, for which they are to be answerable, upon the accompte that is to be taken of them every half yeare.

Item, that he have likewise a check-roll or inventory from the

gentleman of the horse, of all the horses and geldings in the stable or elsewhere, and of the furniture to them; and as the same shall decay and be worne out, and others provided in their roomes, so to alter the inventarye accordinglie; which inventory shall be indented betweene them.

Item, that he have care to examine everie perticuler office (weecklie or monthlie) within the house, as well concerning the orderly keeping of all things within their said office, as also to see that there be perfect skores and bookes kept for every severall officer; and thereupon to see reformation of whatsoever shalbe amisse within the same.

Item, that he wicklie examine the householde-booke, to see the receipts and expenses of all manner of provisions, as well of store as of consumptions, and whatsoever shall concerne the said booke; after which examination and casting up, to signe the same himselfe; and yff he shall finde the charg to exceede the proportion sett downe, to enforme their honnors with the reason thereof, to the ende order may be taken to redresse the same.

Item, that he advise with the clarke of the kitchen of all manner of provisions to be made for the house, either in grosse or in perticuler, respecting the season of the yeere, and how the same may bee made with the least charge and trouble.

Item, that he doe carefully, every quarter at the leaste, examine all skores, receipts, and expences, and thereupon to see how the remeaynes doe answer thereunto; and yf any defect be in the officers, to see reformation.

Item, he shall cause all the orders and



and statutes which my lord hath appointed for the better government of his house, to be reade openly before all the householde once every quarter, that they, knowing them may yeelde the more ready obedience.

Item, that every Friday at night he shall call unto him the householde chaplin, gentleman usher, gentleman of the horse, and clarke of the kitchin, or some of them, for assistance, and consulte with them concerning all disorders and misdemeaners of the servants in the house, admonishinge and reprehending the offenders according to the qualitie of their offences committed, and in case he does not thereupon reform himselfe, then their honnors to be made acquainted, and the party or parties to be removed.

All these orders before sett downe, their honnors doe not onely approve, but also promise to be ready with their owne authorities, to maynteyne and countenance their stewarde and above-mentioned officers from tyme to tyme, in the due execution of them.

All other orders by the said steward to be directed and put in execution, (which are here omitted) are referred to his discretion, as belonging to his office; whereof their honnors will also allow, and do hereby give him full aucthoritie in that behalfe.

#### The Gentleman Usher's Office.

First, that he have a check-roll of all my lords servants in ordinarie, viz. of gentlemen, yeomen, and groomes, with addition of their places of servyce; and the like of all my lords reteyners; and that as the said servants shall chang, either

in person or place of service, so to renewe the check-roll accordinglie.

Item, that he give directions to them that shall supplye the place of groome of the chamber, what they ought to doe in the due execution of the said office; and that he cause them to make cleane the dyning and withdrawing chambers; and that the tables, formes, stooles, and all things be sett up, and layde in very good order, every morning by seaven of the clock in somer, and eight in the winter; and the said groome be alwaies there attendant, to make fyres, and to doe suche other service as the said gentleman-usher shall command him; and besides to see the chappell ordered, for their honnors and others, as apperteyneth.

Item, that he take order that, as well gentlemen as yeomen waiters, doe give their daylie attendance upon their honnors persons; and that he appoint one gentleman and one yeoman at the leaste, to waite on his lordship when he walketh abroad.

Item, that he have a speciall care that the gentleman and ycomen waiters give their dayly attendance in the great chamber, for furnishing of the same, when any strangers shall come to the house.

Item, that himselfe (in good example to others) be at the chappell in prayer and preaching tyme; and that not only he himselfe have a vigilant eye to mark who is absent, but also doe appoint the usher of the hall, or some other, diligently to observe the same, and to informe him of them, that he may reprehende them for their negligence in that behalfe; whearein yf any (notwithstanding) will continue, and yeelde no good reason of his absence, that he command the usher of



of the hall not to suffer him to dyne or sup there, the next meale, after such offence committed.

Item, when any stranger shalbe at my lords house, that he goe to the kitchen betweene ten and eleaven of the clock in the morning, and betweene five and six in the evening, to see the forwardnes of dynner or supper, and thereupon to sende warning to the pantry, buttery, and cellar, to make ready for their honnors.

Item, that he would every night send word the clarke of the kitchen what Bread, wine, and suger, hath been spent at my lords table that day.

Item, that himselfe doe attende before the salt for my lords board, when it shall be brought up, when strangers shall be there.

Item, that he suffer not the server to go to the dresser, without two gentlemen and two yeomen at least to wait on him.

Item, that he suffer no swearing, singing, noyse, or disorder, to be used at the dresser, at the serving forth of their honnors meate; but that every man, in silent manner, do abide there to receave the same, as the server shall appoint and doe go up withall accordingly.

Item, that he appoint some of the gentlemen and yeomen waiters, with himselfe, after he and they have dyned and supped, to come up to the great chamber, there to give their attendance, (speciallie when strangers bee there) as apperteyneth.

Item, that he suffer no gentleman or yeoman waiter to stand with his hat on his head, or to sitt or walke in the great chamber, after the bourdes be covered.

Item, that upon the repaire of

any strangers to the house, he give notice to the clarke of the kitchen of them and their company; and that himselfe be ready to give their enterteynment, and to see them brought to their lodgeings; and to keepe them company as to their severall callings shall appertaine, taking orders that their lyveries be served into their chambers accordingly.

Item, that he doe everie morning by himselfe, or some one of the gentlemen by his appointment, repaire to the chamber of such honorable or worshipfull personages, as shall lodge in the house, to know what they want, and whether they please to have their breakfast.

Item, that he doe specially charge the groome of the chamber, and the rest of the waiters, not to suffer any dishe of meate to be had or conveyed out of the chamber by any man whatsoever, except by the gentleman-usher's appointment; neither any meate be taken secretly out of any dishe by any person whatsoever; but that all be stayed till the server have voyded their honnors' table; and that, in the carrying downe, none be ymbeselled, taken, or broken.

Item, that he cause the usher of the chamber every night to give intelligence to the clarke of the kitchen of the names of suche persons as doe dyne or supp that day at their honnors' table.

Item, that upon Frydayes and fastinge-dayes, at night, he appoint, beside himselfe, fowre or six, as he thinketh best, to waite on their honnors' bourd; and that none other, but those fowre or six, with the pantler, butler, or cellerer, be admitted to their honnors' reversion



on those nights; and yf any presume (without his leave) to sitt downe with them, that he cause the usher of the hall to remove them thence.

Item, that he suffer no yeoman to play at cards, tables, or chests, in the great chamber; and that such gentlemen-waiters as shall play in the afternoone, do it at the syde bourd, and not at their honour's bourde, nor after the bourdes bee covered; nether at all upon the sabboth or Lord's-day.

Item, that he suffer no drawing or shewing of swords or daggers in the chamber, or in the withdrawing-room; nor any wrestling or striving, nor any noyse or disorder there to be used.

Item, that every gentleman whatsoever, other than the steward and comptroller, doe give their attendance for serving, or any other duty to be performed at their honnors' table, as they shalbe required and directed by the gentleman-usher; and that suche of them as by turnes and his appointment, shall sitt at the stewarde's table, doo ymmediately after dynner and supper repaire up to the greate chamber, to give their due attendance whilst the waiters eate their meate; which yf he neglect to doo, then he to sende for them.

Item, that he be carefull in their honnors' service, at home and abroad, both for himselfe and others their honnors' servants, to call upon them, that in waiting abroad upon their honnors, they keepe together in decent and comely order, gentlemen before, and yeomen after, as in his discretion shalbe thought most fitt for the shewe of their honnors, and the credit of his officers and servants; avoiding all lyngring or

staying behind their honnors, as though they were of divers companies.

Item, that he have a care to see the pages and footemen well governed, and do from tyme to tyme give them instruction for service; and by no meanes to suffer them to use dicyng, gaming, or frequenting of alehouses.

Item, that he discreetlie dispose and appoint to everie their servants their lodgeing in the house or elsewhere, with such conveniencie as may best suit their qualitie and place of service; and see that the same be not altered, but by his privitie and consent.

Item, for all other orders by him to be directed and put in execution (which are here omitted), the same are referred to his discretion as belonging to his office; wheareof his lordship will allow, and do hereby give him full auctoritie therein.

The Gentleman of the Horse, his Office.

First, that he have a check-roule of all my lord's servants in ordinarie, viz. of gentlemen, yeomen, and groomes, with addition of their place of service; and the like of all my lord's reteyners; and that as they shall alter in person or place, to renewe the check-roule accordinglie.

Item, that he have the like roule of all my lord's horssees and geldings, with the difference of those that beare the name of house and winter geldings, and of sommer nagges; and as the same horssees, geldings, or naggs, shall decaie and be made away, and others renewed in their places, or for further store, so to alter his roule from tyme to tyme accordinglie; and to give to the steward a copie thereof.

Item,



Item, that he make difference of horses, geldings, or naggs, for gentlemen, yeomen, and groomes, with preferment to the better sorte, according to the men's places, and the best shewe for my lord's service; and that he suffer no man to ride upon horse, geldinge, or naggs, but by his appointment, except their honnors speciallie do give commaundement in that beehalf.

Item, that he take order with the coachmen and groomes of the stable, for the safe-keeping and well-ordering of the coaches, saddles, bridles, clothes, and all other furniture belonging to that office, as may bee for the best preserving of them, and their honnor's profit; and that hee see them carefullie to keep the same, according to his appointment; wherein yf they be negligent, or faile in the performance of their duties, then to see them punished.

Item, that hee take order with them for husbandlie usage of the haye, and to appportionate the provender to be allowed to everye man's charge, according to the number of horses that are in house; the same provender to be bestowed on the horses, without ymbeselling or diminishing any parte thereof; and that they receave in no man's horse, nor deliver forthe any provender or haye, but by the appointment of the gentleman of the horse, or of some other cheef officer in his absence; and that hee cause all the hay to be spent in the stable to bee made in bottles, foreseeing also that the racks wante no staves, thereby to avoide waste and spoile.

Item, that hee admitte no man to have anie horsse or gelding kept in my lord's stable, pastures, or parks, but suche as are allowed by

their honnors' commaundment and appointment; and that such as have horses so allowed, doo ride them in my lord's and their owne private busines, and not his lord's, except it be upon speciall occasion, which is left to the consideration and discretion of the gentleman of the horse.

Item, that hee suffer none to take any my lord's geldings out of the pasture without his lycense; neither suffer any of the groomes to lend out anye saddle, bridle, or other furniture, without his privytie or leave.

Item, to avoide over-many bills and reckonings, and to reduce all householde expence into one accompte of the steward's, his lordship's pleasure ys, that theire bee no new furniture, of what kinde soever, bought or taken upon creditte from the sadler's, or anye other place, before the steward have seene the decaye and unserviceablenes of the ould.

Item, to avoide excessive charge, his lordship doth expresslie commaund, that there bee henceforth no fees, ether of horse, or any furniture to them, taken or required by the said gentleman of the horse, other than suche as, after viewe taken of the unserviceablenes of them, by the steward, his lordship shalbe pleased to give by his speciall warrant or commaund.

Item, his lordship's pleasure ys, that the gentleman of the said horse, twice in everie yeere at the least, or oftener, as occasion maye requier, shall deliver to the stewarde a note of all the horses and furniture decayed, and of every thing bought or sould concerning the stable, or for the furniture of horses.

Item, hee shall weckelie exhibitte



to the steward, in writing under his hand, a true note of all provender spent, and of all pettie provisions belonging to the stable, as shooring, mending of saddles, and suche like; which bills the steward shall see satisfied, and make entrie of them into his booke of household, and in the title of stable charges.

The Clerke of the Kitchen, his Office.

Firste, that hee keepe a perfect booke of all manner of provisions, made or to be made for the use of their honnors' house, from tyme to tyme, as well suche as shal bee brought in of my lord's store and of presents, as also of other that shal bee brought and provided, ether in grosse or particular; and shall see to the keeping of the skoares and tallis of suche as shal bee received or delyvered out to or for the use of their honnors' house.

Item, that hee appointe the dyett for their honnors, and for all other in the house dailye, according to a proportion from tyme to tyme to bee consulted and agreed uppon, with his lordship's steward and controller; and that hee have due consideration herein, according to the season of the yeere, and as may beste bee provyded in that country or place wheare their honnors shall abide.

Item, that hee bee careful in the yssuing and expence of such provision and accates as shalbe brought in, and to keepe his booke perfect for the same, wheareby maie appeare the cause of the expending of the ordinarie charge; which booke being caste upp, hee shall exhibite once weekelie to the steward or comptroller, to be examined and subscribed by one of them.

Item, that hee suffer no ordinarie

breakfasts to be allowed by the cookes, but upon occasion to strangers, for the better enterteynement of them and their servants, or els upon his owne discreation, or by his leave.

Item, that hee have a vigilant eye to the cooke, to see to the well and orderlie dressyng and usinge of suche victualls, spice, and fruite, as shalbe committed to their charge, and for the well husbandringe of the same, as apperteyneth.

Item, that he bende his speciall care to see that the yemen of the larder, or suche as shall have the charge thereof, doo keepe the same, and the provisions committed to him, cleanlie and sweete; whearcin yf he faile in his dutie, then to enforce the steward of his defaulte.

Item, that hee doo everie weeke call to the pantler, butler, baker, and brewer, to yeelde their reckonings; what grane hath been receaved, and what bread, flower, beare, or ale, hath been delivered oute againe and expended; and that hee incerte the same into his owne booke, to be exhibited to the steward or comptroller at the ende of every weeke as aforesaide.

Item, that he suffer no servant of the house, nor any other persons, to come into the kitchin, or to have any recourse into the same (except it be uppon speciall cause), but to keepe the same close and privat, to the ende he himselfe and the cookes may performe their service, and doe their duties, with quietnes, and not be disturbed in the same.

Item, that the clarke do take speciall regard to the expence of wood and cole in the kytchen, not suffering any more to be spent but as much as necessarilie may serve the turne, without waste.



Item, that he doe dilligently take heed to the skullerye-man, that hee doe skower and keepe his pewter vessels verie clean and unbruised; and that daylie after dynner and supper he doe cause the said skullerye-man to make searche for suche peeces of pewter as shalbe lacking, and to bring them into the skullerie againe for his discharge.

Item, that he shall call to the butler, pantler, cellerer, and other officers, for a true account of suche things as are expended in their offices, ether daylye or weekelie, as he shall think fitt.

Item, that he shall deliver to the cookes or others, no spices or sugar, but according to the allowance of the head officers; and thereof to the said officers to give account weekelie.

For all other things here omitted, concerning the office of the clarke of the kytchen, the same are referred to his discreation; the execution wheareof their honnors will allowe, and doo hereby give him full aucthoritie in that behalfe.

#### The Cooke's Office.

First, that the cheefe cooke, for the tyme being, shall have speciall regard for the dressing of their honour's dyet; and that he joine with the clarke of the kitchen, for their honnors' better service, as well for preserving all things within the larder as otherwise.

Item, that he use all kinde of husbandrie in the yssuing out of the meate, as may be for my lord's honor and profitt; and be carefull for his part that nothing be ymbeselled or wasted by any of the kitchen, or other of my lord's followers or servants.

Item, that he suffer no breakfasts to be given ordinarilie within or

without his charge, but by the appointment of the clarke of the kytchen, or of some one of my lord's cheefe officers.

Item, that he have great regard to see the under cooke to doo his dutie, and that the boyes of the kytchin be kept in due obedience, as well from raunging abroad, as for other abuses within the house; and that he take order, as much as in him lyeth, that they may come to prayers in the house, and speciallie upon the sabbath-day, to the publick exercise of God's worship.

Item, that he keepe his kytchin close from the repaire of chaire-folkes and other persons having no necessarie business there; and especiallie have good regard for harboring within his office any stranger, other than his appointed number.

#### The Usher of the Hall's Office.

Firste, that hee bee in the hall, and see that the almoner (or some other appointed) have swept and ordered the hall, by six of the clock in the morning, in sommer, and in winter by eight of the clock.

Item, that hee give dilligent attendaunce theare, for the enterteyninge of suche straungers and serving-men as shall come in, and curteously offer to them drynke at the barr.

Item, that hee suffer no servaunt of householde to tarry in the hall in the tyme of divine service; but that he will him to goe in the chappell or place of prayer; and yf he refuse to goe, to acquaint some one of the head officers therewith.

Item, that as soone as their honours' bourde in the great or withdrawing chamber is covered, he be ready for dynner and supper, to see the boardes in the hall covered, and a bason and ewer for the steward's table



table every sabbath-day, or when straungers be in the house.

Item, that hee suffer no man to play at cards, tables, or other game, during the tyme of prayer, or on the sabbath-day, nor after the bourdes be covered; and that he suffer no dyce-play at all in the hall.

Item, that after the bourdes be covered, he do, in decent order, bare-headed, walke up and downe by the hall, to see all things orderly observed: and that he depart not thence till all dinners or suppers be done.

Item, that uppon the appearing of the server, and his going to the dresser, hee, standing towards the upper end of the hall, doo with a loude voice say, "Gentlemen and yeomen, waite on the server;" and at the coming of their honnors' meate, he be readie at the screene to receave the server, and they say with a loude voice, "By your leave;" and cause all men in the hall to come to the other side of the hall, and be bare-headed whilst their honnors' meate passeth through.

Item, that when their honnors' meate is served up to the chamber, and the gentlewomens, that he call with a loude voice, saying, "Gentlemens servants, to the dresser;" and come himselfe to the steward's messe; and that, when there are straungers, he call the groomes of the stable to waite in the hall; and yf any refuse, to give knowledge to some of the head officers.

Item, that he suffer no stranger to sitt downe with those that waite, but by the appointment of some one of the head officers; and that all those that attende in any office take their diett at the waiters' table, excepting the cooks, and those under them.

Item, that hee suffer none to sitt at the steward's table, but suche as shalbe appointed to be called thereunto.

Item, that he cause all men to keepe silence in the hall, especiallie at dynner and supper tyme.

Item, that he cause every man in the hall to be bare-headed, when their honnors' second course or fruit doth passe through.

Item, that hee suffer no waiter to sitt downe before all the meate be brought out of the chamber, nor before the gentleman usher be come downe, and be readie to sitt himselfe.

Item, that he suffer no dogge to be fedd in the hall, in the tyme of dynner and supper, but cause the porter to have them oute of the gates before the dynner bee begonne.

Item, that he give notice, by the groome of the hall, to the porter, of the going of the server to the dresser, that thereupon he may shut up the gates.

Item, that he suffer no man to drawe or shewe any sworde or dagger in the hall.

Item, that he suffer no supper in the hall upon fasting-nights, but for the gentleman usher and suche waiters as he shall appoint to be with him, at their honnors' reversion.

Item, that he shall every night after supper, give intelligence to the clerke of the kytchin what bread and beare was spent that day in the hall, and what number of straungers dyned and supped there.

Item, that yf any loude talke shalbe made in the hall at any of the tables, and the same be not forborne upon the usher's commaundment to speak softlie; then shall the usher, with a loude voyce, call



the almoner to take away, which he shall doe presently.

### The Almoner's Office.

Item, that he purloyne no meate from the almes, but that he put the same in the place appointed for the poore, which place or vessels he shall alwaies keepe sweet and cleane; and that he give the said almes, with the consent and help of the usher of the hall and porter, to suche as are aged, poore, and in want, and not to stout rogues and idle persons.

Item, that he shall every morning, by seven of the clock in sommer, and by eight in wynter, sweepe the hall and places neare adjoyning, and make cleane the bourdes, benches, and fourmes thereof.

Item, that hee shall keepe a booke or skoare of all the wood and coll that is brought into the wood-yard; and shall see the same delivered forth to the fewiller, kytchin boyes, or others, according to the directions which he shall receave from the head officers.

### Yoman of the Pantrye, Cellarer, and Ewyre.

First, that hee be readie in his office at eight of the clocke in the morning, to serve for breakfast, and before nine to cover for dynner, and beefore six at night to cover for supper, and at eight at night for lyverye.

Item, that hee suffer no breakfasts in his office; but serve everie man at the barre, and suffer no man to come in, unlesse it bee by the appointment of some one of the cheefe officers.

Item, that hee bee ready, with his portpane on his arme, to serve

the hall, when the usher shall call for him.

Item, that hee keepe his booke perfect of all such breade as hee shall receave from the baker, both of manchette and chette, of both sorts, and the true number of the casts, and everye of them.

Item, that hee doe in tyme give warning to the baker for want of breade, to the end that hee may bake in tyme, thereby to have breade somewhat stale before it be eaten.

Item, that he chipp his breade orderlie, without wast; and that hee serve all tables in the hall with such breade as shalbe stale.

Item, that hee bring his booke at everie weeke's end, and cast upp, to the clerke of the kitchin, that it maie appeare what bread and what lightes have been receaved and spent everie daie the weeke before.

Item, that hee be carefull for the well usinge of suche plate, and other things apperteyning to his office, and of the naprie committed to his charge, that it be foulded up, and not caste aboute, nether otherwise occupied than apperteyneth.

Item, that he keepe an inventarye, indented betweene him and the clerke of the kitchin, of all such plate, naprie, and other things committed to his charge; and that hee doe once a month give an accompt thereof to the clerke of the kitchin accordinge to the same inventarye.

### The Yoman of the Buttrye.

First, that hee bee readie in his office by eight of the clocke in the morning to serve for breakfasts, and at eleven for dynner, and three in the afternoone for beaver, and at



at six for supper, and at eight at night for liverye.

Item, that hee suffer no extraordinarie drinking in his office; but that hee doe serve all men at the barr, and suffer no man to come in, unless he be brought in by some one of the chiefe officers.

Item, that hee suffer no breakfasts in his office, except hee bee appointed by some one of the cheife officers.

Item, that he preserve so the beare and ale appointed for their honnors' owne table, as yt be not made common, but so used as hee have vessels and bottles one under another, and those stale to serve the same.

Item, that hee bee readye to serve the hall, at breakfasts, dynner, and supper, when the usher shall call.

Item, that he bring in writing at everie weeke's end, to the clerke of the kitchin, what beare hath been spent that weeke.

Item, that hee keepe a perfect note, from tyme to tyme, what beare he receaveth from the brewer; and that at everye coming in thereof he give notice to the clerke of the kytchin.

### The Clerk's Office.

First, that he bee attendaunte at the gate, as well for repaire of strangers, as repulse of such disorderlye persons as would come yn.

Item, that upon notice had of the goeing of the server to the dresser, he doe straighte shutte the gates, and suffer no man to come in untill dynner be donne.

Item, that he have a vigilant eye that no silver or other vessel be carried oute of the gates.

Item, that hee suffer none in se-

crete manner, to carry away any breade or meate out of the gate.

Item, that hee sitt not at the gate without his staff.

Item, that hee suffer no doggs, so neere as hee can, to lye in the courte, nor to come within the gate.

Item, that hee do saffellie keep all such persones as shalbe committed unto him, either by his lordship or his cheif officers.

Item, that hee suffer no vagabonds, rogues, or diseased persones, to linger aboute the gates.

Item, that hee shall shutte the gates at neine of the clocke in the wynter, and tenn in the sommer; and after those howers, that hee open not them againe before five of the clocke in the morning in sommer, and six in winter, withoute urgent cause.

Item, that hee shalbee carefull that such persones as are forbidden by any of the head officers to come within the gates, bee not suffered at any time hereafter to come in untill the said head officers have signified unto him their consent thereunto.

Item, that yf at any tyme hee shall suspecte any person to carry or convey oute of the gates any plate, pewter, linnen, victuall, or any other thing whatsoever, under his cloake, coate, or otherwise, hee shall staie the said partie, and require of him from whence he received it, and whither he is to carrie the same; and therewith to acquaint some of the head officers.

Item, that none be suffered to carrie either wood or coll out of the gates, saving such as have allowance, of whom he shall have speciall warning.

Item, that hee doe see the great courte within the gates to be kept clenlye



clenlye, in as good order as it ought to be.

Item, that hee suffer no laundres to come within the gates to fetch anyeshirtes or linnen from anye man to washe; but everie man so to order that matter, that the howse be not encumbered with the resorts of any such persone.

#### The Office of the Yoman of the Wardropp.

Item, that he shall looke carefullie to all such things as are committed to his charge, mending suche things as need, and preserving the rest by all good meanes he can.

Item, he shall eayre the bedding, and all other furniture, from tyme to tyme, as the same shall neede, that my lorde sustaine no losse thorough his defaulte.

Item, that he shall make readie and trimme up the chambers when strangers do come, according to their qualitie and degree.

Item, that he shall everie daye, when occasion serveth, bring downe oute of the chambers, suche plate, linnen, pewter, and all other things, to the several offices whearunto they belonge.

#### The Yeoman of the Grannarye.

Item, that he shall receave all sortes of graine, and thereof keepe a perfectt booke.

Item, he shall keepe sweete, by often turning, all suche corne and graine as he receiveth; and deliver the same to the millner, from tyme to tyme, as he shall have direction from some of the head officers, weying it to the millner, and receiving it by weight againe, and the same to deliver to the baker and brewer accordinglie.

Item, hee shall give up, weekly,

a true note, to some of the head officers, of all suche corne and graine, as hath been delivered to the baker and brewer the same weeke.

#### The Baker.

Item, that he give diligent attendance in his office, and to be in readiness to receive such meale as the millner shall bringe, accordinge to the weight delivered by the yeoman of the granaries; and the same to bake, from tyme to tyme, as he shall receive direction from the clerke of the kytchin, and yeoman of pantry.

Item, that he shall make of everie strike of meale of wheate loaves, every loafe weying ounces; and of manchetts every caste weying

ounces.

Item, that he shall deliver upp into the counting-house, everye weeke, to the head officers, a true note, what meale he hath receaved, what bread hath been baked, what flower hath been delivered into the pasterie, and what remeaneth in his custodie.

#### The Brewer.

Item, that he shall give diligent attendance in his office at all tymes, and keepe his brewing-house and brewing vessells cleane and sweete.

Item, that he keep his hoggsheads and other brewing vessels from bruseing or rotting; and he carefullie looke to the hooping of his hoggsheads and other vessells, that there be no losse to my lord by his negligence.

Item, that he shall receave his malte from the millner by weight; and shall, from tyme to tyme, brewe suche and so muche beere of every

quarter



quarter of malte, as he shalbe appointed by the head officers.

Item, that he shall give knowledg to the butler, or some of the head officers, when his beare is ready to be tunned up, that they may appoint the groomes of the stable, fewiller, hindes, and some other which have their diet in the house, to helpe to bestowe the same in the butteries; and that they use no chaire folkes at any tyme.

Item, their honnors' pleasure and commaundment ys, that no officer of household whosoever, shall chal- lendge or take any fees, of what nature or kindē soever the same bee, unles their honnors, or one of them, do by their owne guift and warrant appoint the same;—also their honnors' pleasure and expresse commaundment is, that no officer or servaunt in their house shall (with- out the knowledge or consent of some of the head officers) use any chaire folkes; but that all things which are to be done, shal be per- formed by his householde servaunts.

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*A Description of the Form and Man- ner, how and by what Orders and Customes the State of the Fellow- ship of the Middle Temple (one of the Houses of the Court) is main- tained; and what Ways they have to attain unto Learning. (Temp. Reg. Hen. VIII.) From an Ori- ginal MS. Herbert's Hist. of the Inns of Court.*

First, there is no lands nor re- venues belonging to the house, whereby any learner or student mought be holpen and encouraged to study, by means of some yearly stipend or salary; which is the oc- casion that many a good witt, for

lack of exhibition, is compelled to give over and forsake study, before he have any perfytt knowlege in the lawe, and to fall to practisyng, and become a *typler* in the law.

#### The Auctoryte of the Hed Officer in the House.

Item, that there is in the said house, yearly chosen by the elders of the house, one of the sagest of them to bere the office and name of tresorer: and his auctorite is to ad- mit into the fellowship such as he thinketh mete: his auctorite is to assign to such as are of the fellow- ship there, their chambers and lodg- ings. This auctorite is to gather of certen of the fellowship, a tribute yerely of *iiis. iiid.* a piece, which among them hath the name of a pencion; and to receive of certain of the fellowship a rent of certaine chambers. This office is also to pay of the said money, the rent due to the lord St. John's for the house that they dwell in; and to pay also of the same money, the wages for reparations of their chambers and houses. This office is also to pay of the same money the wages or sa- lary of the servants of the house; as the stuard, their butlers, cokes, and other officers; and yearly to yield accompt of his receipt unto two auditors, which are appointed unto them by the elders of the house.

The Diversity of Fellowships there, their Manner of Study, and Pre- ferment therein.

Item, that there is in the same house of the fellowship there, two companyes; the one called the clerks commens, the other called the masters commens.

Item, the clerks commens are such young men as are admitted to the



the fellowship of the house, who, during two of the first years, or thereabout after their admission, shall dyne and sup together, and syt one more at a mess than the masters commens doth; and untill they be called up to be of the masters commens, they shall not pay the pension money of *iiis. iiiid.* a piece; neither pay so much for their commens weekly as the masters commens doth by *vid.* a piece; and their serve the masters commens of their meat every day at dynner and supper.

Item, that the masters commens are such as have been in the house, by the space of two yeres or thereabouts; and then are by the elders of the house, which they call benchers, called up to the masters commens, whereas they sit one less in a mess than the clerks commens do; and pay *vid.* a week for their commens more than the clerks commens do; and pay eche of them *iiis. iiiid.* yerely to the treasurer for their pencion.

Furthermore, the masters commens are ferder divided into three companies; that is to say, no utter baristers, utter baristers, and benchers.

Item, those that be no utter baristers are such as for lack of continuance in the house, or because they do not study or profit in learning, are not by the elders of the house called to dispute, argue, and plead some doubtful matter in the law, which among them is called *motyng*, before the benchers and elders.

Item, the utter baristers are they, which, after they have continued in the house by the space of five or six years, and have profited in the study of the law, are called by the

elders or benchers to plead, argue, and dispute, some doubtful matter in the law, before certain of the same benchers, in the terme time, or in the two principall times in the yere, of their lernyngs, which they call *grand vacations*; and the same manner of argument or disputations is called *motyng*; and this making of utter-baristers, is as a preferment or degree, given him for his lernyng.

Also the benchers are those utter-baristers, which, after they have continued in the house by the space of fourteen or fifteen years, are by the elders of the house chosen to reade, expound, and declare some estatute openly unto all the company of the house, in one of the two principall times of their learning, which they call the grand vacation in summer; and during the time of his reading, he hath the name of a *reader*, and after of *bencher*.

Item, that they have two chief times of learning with them, which they call their *grand vacations*; the one doth begin the first Munday in cleane Lent, and doth continue three weeks and three days, in which time one of the elders or benchers, that hath before time read, and expounded some estatute, doth then read and expound some other statute again: the other doth begin the first Munday after Lammas Day, and doth continue three weeks and three days, in which doth rede such as are first chosen to be benchers.

Item, by the old custome of the house, all such as are made fellows of the house, unles they be dispensed withall at their admittance, are compelled to be personally present at two the first *grand vacations* in Lent, after their coming; at two the



the first *grand vacations* in summer, after their comyng; and two the first Christmasses, that be solemnly kept, after their comyng, upon peyne of forfaiture of xxs. for every defaut.

Item, all they that are fellows of the house, except at the time of their admittance they be dispensed withall, or for their lernyng be promotyd, and made utter-baristers, are compelled to exercise all such roomes and offices, as they shall be called unto, at such time as they shall kepe a solempne Christmass, upon such peynes as are by old custome used to be assessed for the refusal of occupying of such offices.

Furthermore, in the same *grand vacations*, when that one of the elders doth rede and expound an estatute, such baristers as are of long continuance, do stand in a place together, where as they rehearse some one opinion, or saying of him that readeth, and by all ways of learning and reason, that can be invented, do impugne his opinion; and sometimes some of them do impugne it, and some other do approve it, and all the rest of the house give eare unto their disputations; and at last the reader doth confute all their sayings, and confirmeth his opynion.

Also in the same *grand vacations*, every day at night, except Sondag, Saturday, or some feste of ix. lessons, before three of the elders or benchers at the leste, is pleaded and declared in homely law-French, by such as are young lerners, some doubtfull matter, or questions in the law; which afterwards an utter-barister doth rehearse, and doth argue and reason to it in the law-French; and after him an other utter-barister doth reason in the

contrary part in the law-French also; and then do the three benchers declare their myndes in English; and this is that they call motyng; and the same manner is observed in the terme-time.

Furthermore, besides this; after dyner and supper the students and lerners in the house, sit together by three and three in a company; and one of the three putteth forth some doubtfull question in the law, to the other two of his company; and they reason and argue to it in English; and at last, he that putteth forth the question, declaryth his minde, also shewing unto them the judgment or better opinion of his boke, where he had the same question: and this do the students observe every day through the yere, except festivall days.

Also after the term ended, and after the two *grand vacations* ended, then the young men that be no utter-baristers do dispute and argue in lawe-Frenche, some doubtfull question before the utter-baristers, who at the last do shew their opinions, in Englysh, thereunto; and this manner of disputation is called *meane vacation motes*, or *chapel motes*.

Item, that the Myddil Temple doth finde two readers, which are utter-baristers, unto two houses of chancery; that is to say, Stronde-Inne, and New-Inne: which readers do reade unto them upon some statute in the terme-time, and in the *ground vacations*: and they of the house of Chancery do observe the manner of disputations and motyng, as they do in the Temple: and their readers do bring eche of them two with him of the Temple, and they argue unto it also.

And besides this, in the *ground vacation*



*vacation* time, out of the four houses of court, come two and two out of every house of chancery; and there according to their yeares and continuance of the house that they be of, which they call auncienty, they do argue and reason to some doubtfull matter that is proposed, so that the most youngest doth begyn, and the next to him in continuance doth follow; and at last he that readeth to that house of chancery, doth declare his opynion in the matter that is called in question.

There is none there that be compelled to lerne, and they that are learners, for the most part, have their places of learning and studies so sett, that they are much troubled with the noyse of walking and communication of them that be no learners: and in the terme time they are so unquieted by clients and servants of clients, that resort to such as are attorneys and practysers, that the students may as quietly study in the open streets as in their studies.

Item, they have no walk in whiche too talk and confer their learnings, but in the church; which place all the terme times hath in it no more quietnesse than the *pervyse* of *Powles*, by occasion of the confluence and concourse of such as are suters in the law,

The Charges of the Masters Commens and Clerks Commens, for their Mete and Drinke by the Yeare, and the Manner of the Dyet, and the Stypend of their Officers.

Inprimis, every one of the masters commens payeth by the yeare for his dyet vi*l.* 10*s.*

Item, every one of the clerks commens payeth by the yeare for his dyet vi*l.* iii*s.* 3

This is a generall rule allways observed, that whensoever two of the masters commens doth sit at a messe, then at so myche mete doth sytt three of the clerks commens: and when three of the masters commens doth syt at a messe, then doth foure of the clerks commens sit at so much meat.

Sunday.—At Dinner.

Betwene two of the masters commens is served meat to the value of iii*d.* and the third part of ii*d.*

At Supper.

Betwene three of the masters commens at supper is served meat to the value of iii*d.*

Munday.—At Dinner.

Betwene two of the masters commens is served meat to the value of 1*d.* ob. and the third part of ii*d.*

At Supper.

Betwene two of the masters commens is served meat to the value of ii*d.* ob.

Tuysday.—At Dynner.

In the terme time is meat to the value of iiiii*d.* served betwene two of the masters commens; and out of the terme betwene three of the masters commens, mete to the value of iii*d.*

Wednesday.—At Dynner.

Meat to the value of 1*d.* ob. and the third part of ii*d.* betwene two of the masters commens.

At Supper.

Meat to the value of 1*d.* and the third part of ii*d.* betwene two of the masters commens.

Thurs-



Thursday.—At Dynner.

Two of the masters commens have meat to the value of *iiid.*

At Supper.

Two of the masters commens have meat to the value of *iid. ob.*

Fryday.—At Dinner.

Two of the masters commons have meat to the value of *iiid. ob.*

Saturday.—At Dinner.

Two of the masters commens have meat to the value of *iiii d. ob.*

At Supper.

Every one of the masters commens and clerks commens have four eggs.

The Stypend of the Officers by the Yeare.

The stewards wages by the yeare, *iiii marks.*

The chief butlers wages by the yeare, *xxxiii s. iiid.*

The second butlers wages by the yeare, *vis. viiid.*

The third butlers wages by the yeare, *vis. viiid.*

The chief cokes wages by the yeare, *xls.*

The manciple, or students servant, his wages by the yeare, *xxvis. viiid.*

The under cookes wages by the yeare, *xxs.*

The laundress of the clothes of the house, her wages yearly, *vis. viiid.*

Also at Christmasse the three butlers have in reward of every gentleman of the house, *xiiid.* and some give them in reward more.

Also at Easter the cookes manciple have in reward of every gentleman *xiiid.* or thereabouts.

The Manner of Punishment of Offences and making of Orders.

There is among them no certaine punishment for offences; but such offences and misdemeanors as are committed, are punished by the judgment of the elders or benchers, who punish the offender, either by payment of money, or by putting him forth of commens; which is, that he shall take no meate nor drynke among the fellowship, untill the elders list to revoke their judgment.

Item, at certain tymes in the yeare, the benchers and utter-barristers do resort together, and there do consult and advise themselves, concerning the causes of their house, and make decrees and orders concerning such things as they think meet to be reformed in the house; and that they call a parliament.

The Manner of Divine Services in the Church, and their charges thereunto.

Item, that they have every day three *masses* said, one after the other; and the first *masse* doth begin in the mornynge at seaven of the clock, or thereabouts. The festi-vall days they have *mattens* and *masse* solemnly sung; and during the *matyns* singing, they have three *masses* said.

Their chardges towards the salary or mete and drynke of the priests is none; for they are found by my lord of St. John's, and they that are of the fellowship of the house, are charged with nothing to the priests, saving that they have eighteen offering days in the yeare, so that the chardge of each of them is *xviii d.*

Their Order for Payment of Debts due to the House.

Item, if any of the fellowship be in-



indebted to the house, either for his diet, either for any other duty of the house, he shall be openly in the hall proclaymed; and whosoever will pay it for him, shall have and enjoy his lodging and chamber that is so indebted.

#### Apparell.

They have no order for their apparell; but they may go as him listeth, so that his apparell pretend to no lightness or wantonnesse in the wearer; for even as his apparell doth shew him to be, even so shall he be esteemed among them.

#### The Fashion of their House in the Night.

In the night time they have not their gates shut, so that every man may go in and out through the house all seasons of the night, which is occasion that their chambers are often times robbed, and many other misdemeanors used.

#### Library.

They now have no library, so that they cannot attaine to the knowledge of divers learnings, but to their great chardges, by the buying of such bookes as they lust to study. They had a simple library, in which were not many bookes besides the law, and that library, by meanes that it stood allways open, and that the learners had not each of them a key unto it, it was atte the last robbed of all the bookes in it.

#### Their usage in time of Pestilence.

If it happened that the plague of pestilence be any thing nigh their house, then every man goeth home into his country, which is a great loss of learning; for if they had some house nigh London to resort unto, they might as well exercise their learning as in the temple untill the plague were ceased.

MISCEL-



## MISCELLANEOUS ESSAYS.

*Of the Muscles, with their Tendons, being the Instruments by which Animal Motion is performed.—From Paley's Natural Theology.*

It will be our business to point out instances in which, and properties with respect to which, the disposition of these muscles is as strictly mechanical, as that of the wires and strings of a puppet.

1. We may observe, what I believe is universal, an exact relation between the joint, and the muscles which move it. Whatever motion the joint, by its mechanical construction, is capable of performing, that motion, the annexed muscles, by their position, are capable of producing. For example; if there be, as at the knee and elbow, a hinge joint capable of motion only in the same plane, the levers, as they are called, i. e. the muscular tendons, are placed in directions parallel to the bone, so as by the contraction or relaxation of the muscles to which they belong, to produce that motion and no other. If these joints were capable of a freer motion, there are no muscles to produce it. Whereas, at the shoulders and hip, where the ball and socket-joint allows, by its construction, of a rotary or sweeping motion, tendons are placed in such a position, and pull in such a direc-

tion, as to produce the motion of which the joint admits. For instance, the *sartorius*, or taylor's muscle, rising from the spine, running diagonally across the thigh, and taking hold of the main bone of the leg a little below the knee, enables us, by its contraction, to throw one leg and thigh over the other; giving effect, at the same time, to the ball and socket-joint at the hip, and the hinge joint at the knee. There is, as we have seen, a specific mechanism in the bones for the rotatory motions of the head and hands; there is also, in the oblique direction of the muscles belonging to them, a specific provision for the putting of this mechanism of the bones into action. And mark the consent of uses. The oblique muscles would have been inefficient without the articulation: the articulation would have been lost, without the oblique muscles. It may be proper, however, to observe with respect to the head, although I think it does not vary the case, that its oblique motions and inclinations are often motions in a diagonal, produced by the joint action of muscles lying in straight directions. But whether the pull be single or combined, the articulation is always such, as to be capable of obeying the action of the muscles. The oblique



lique muscles attached to the head are likewise so disposed, as to be capable of steadying the globe, as well as of moving it. The head of a new born infant is often obliged to be filleted up. Afterwards the head drops, and rolls in every direction. So that it is by the equilibrium of the muscles, by the aid of a considerable and equipollent muscular force in constant exertion, that the head maintains its erect posture. The muscles here supply what would otherwise be a great defect in the articulation; for the joint in the neck, although admirably adapted to the motion of the head, is insufficient for its support. It is not only by the means of a most curious structure of the bones that a man turns his head, but by virtue of an adjusted muscular power, that he even holds it up.

As another example of what we are illustrating, viz. conformity of use between the bones and the muscles, it has been observed of the different vertebræ, that their processes are exactly proportioned to the quantity of motion which the other bones allow of, and which the respective muscles are capable of producing.

2. A muscle acts only by contraction. Its force is exerted in no other way. When the exertion ceases, it relaxes itself; that is, it returns by relaxation to its former state, but without energy. This is the nature of the muscular fibre; and being so, it is evident that the reciprocal energetic motion of the limbs, by which we mean motion with force in opposite directions, can only be produced by the instrumentality of opposite or antagonist muscles; of flexors and extensors answering to each other. For in-

stance, the *biceps* and *brachiiæus internus* muscles placed in the front part of the upper arm, by their contraction bend the elbow; and with such degree of force, as the case requires, or the strength admits of. The relaxation of the muscles after the effort, would merely let the fore-arm drop down. For the back stroke, therefore, and that the arm may not only bend at the elbow, but also extend and straighten itself with force, other muscles, the *longus* and *brevis brachiiæus externus*, and the *anconæus* placed on the hinder part of the arm, by their contractile twitch, fetch back the fore-arm into a straight line with the cubit, with no less force than that with which it was bent out of it. The same thing obtains in all the limbs, and in every moveable part of the body. A finger is not bent and straightened without the contraction of two muscles taking place. It is evident, therefore, that the animal functions require that particular disposition of the muscles which we describe by the name of antagonist muscles; and they are accordingly so disposed. Every muscle is provided with an adversary. They act like two sawyers in a pit, by an opposite pull; and nothing surely can more strongly indicate design and attention to an end than their being thus stationed; than this collocation. The nature of the muscular fibre being what it is, the purposes of the animal could be answered by no other. And not only the capacity for motion, but the aspect and symmetry of the body, is preserved by the muscles being marshalled according to this order, e. g. the mouth is held in the middle of the face, and its angles kept in a state of exact correspondency; by



by two muscles drawing against, and balancing each other. In a hemiplegia, when the muscle on one side is weakened, the muscle on the other side draws the mouth awry.

3. Another property of the muscles, which could only be the result of care, is their being almost universally so disposed as not to obstruct or interfere with one another's action. I know but one instance in which this impediment is perceived: we cannot easily swallow whilst we gape. This, I understand, is owing to the muscles employed in the act of deglutition, being so implicated with the muscles of the lower jaw, that, whilst these last are contracted, the former cannot act with freedom. The obstruction is, in this instance, attended with little inconveniency; but it shews what the effect is where it does exist, and what loss of faculty there would be, if it were more frequent. Now when we reflect upon the number of muscles, not fewer than four hundred and forty-six in the human body, known and named,\* how contiguous they lie to each other, in layers, as it were, over one another, crossing one another, sometimes embedded in one another, sometimes perforating one another, an arrangement, which leaves to each its liberty and its full play, must necessarily require meditation and counsel.

4. The following is oftentimes the case with the muscles. Their action is wanted where their situation would be inconvenient. In which case the body of the muscle is placed in some commodious position at a distance, and made to communicate with the point of ac-

tion, by slender strings or wires. If the muscles, which move the fingers, had been placed in the palm or back of the hand, they would have swelled that part to an awkward and clumsy thickness. The beauty, the proportions of the part, would have been destroyed. They are therefore disposed in the arm, and even up to the elbow; and act by long tendons, strapped down at the wrist, and passing under the ligament to the fingers, and to the joints of the fingers, which they are severally to move. In like manner, the muscles which move the toes, and many of the joints of the foot, how gracefully are they disposed in the calf of the leg instead of forming an unwieldy tumefaction in the foot itself? The observation may be repeated of the muscle which draws the nictitating membrane over the eye. Its office is in the front of the eye, but its body is lodged in the back part of the globe, where it is safe, and where it incumbers nothing.

5. The great mechanical variety in the figure of the muscles may be thus stated. It appears to be a fixed law, that the contraction of a muscle shall be towards its centre. Therefore the subject for mechanism on each occasion is, so to modify the figure, and adjust the position of the muscle, as to produce the motion required, agreeably with this law. This can only be done by giving to different muscles a diversity of configuration, suited to their several offices, and to their situation with respect to the work which they have to perform. On which account we find them under a multiplicity of forms and attitudes; some-

\* Keill's Anat. p. 295, ed. 3d.



times with double tendons, sometimes with treble tendons, sometimes with none; sometimes one tendon to several muscles, at other times one muscle to several tendons. The shape of the organ is susceptible of an incalculable variety, whilst the original property of the muscle, the law and line of its contraction, remains the same; and is simple. Herein the muscular system may be said to bear a perfect resemblance to our works of art. An artist does not alter the native quality of his materials, or their laws of action. He takes these as he finds them. His skill and ingenuity are employed in turning them, such as they are, to his account, by giving to the parts of his machine a form and relation, in which these unalterable properties may operate to the production of the effects intended.

6. These ejaculations can never too often be repeated. How many things must go right for us to be an hour at ease! How many more to be vigorous and active! Yet vigour and activity are, in a vast plurality of instances, preserved in human bodies, notwithstanding that they depend upon so great a number of instruments of motion, and notwithstanding that the defect or disorder sometimes of a very small instrument, of a single pair, for instance, out of the four hundred and forty-six muscles which are employed, may be attended with grievous inconveniency. There is piety and good sense in the following observation taken out of the Religious Philosopher: "With much compassion," says this writer, "as well as astonishment at the goodness of our loving Creator, have I considered the sad state of a certain gentleman, who, as to the rest, was in pretty good health, but only

wanted the use of these two little muscles that serve to lift up the eye-lids, and so had almost lost the use of his sight, being forced, as long as this defect lasted, to shove up his eye-lids every moment with his own hands!" In general, we may remark how little those who enjoy the perfect use of their organs, know the comprehensiveness of the blessing, the variety of their obligation. They perceive a result, but they think little of the multitude of concurrences and rectitudes which go to form it.

Beside these observations, which belong to the muscular organ as such, we may notice some advantages of structure which are more conspicuous in muscles of a certain class or description than in others. Thus,

I. The variety, quickness, and precision of which muscular motion is capable, are seen, I think, in no part so remarkably as in the tongue. It is worth any man's while to watch the agility of his tongue; the wonderful promptitude with which it executes changes of position, and with what perfect exactness. Each syllable of articulated sound requires for its utterance a specific action of the tongue, and of parts adjacent to it. The disposition and configuration of the mouth, appertaining to every letter and word, is not only peculiar, but, if nicely and accurately attended to, perceptible to the sight; insomuch that curious persons have availed themselves of this circumstance to teach the dumb to speak, and to understand what is said by others. In the same person, and after his habit of speaking is formed, one, and only one position of the parts will produce a given articulate sound correctly. How instantaneously are these positions



tions assumed and dismissed: how numerous are the permutations, how various, yet how infallible? Arbitrary and antic variety is not the thing we admire; but variety obeying a rule conducing to an effect, and commensurate with exigencies infinitely diversified. I believe also that the anatomy of the tongue corresponds with these observations upon its activity. The muscles of the tongue are so numerous and so implicated with one another, that they cannot be traced by the nicest dissection; nevertheless, which is a great perfection of the organ, neither the number, nor the complexity, nor what might seem to be the entanglement of its fibres, in any wise impede its motion, or render the determination or success of its efforts uncertain.\*

In fact, the constant warmth and moisture of the tongue, the thinness of the skin, the *papillæ* upon its surface, qualify this organ for its office of tasting, as much as its inextricable multiplicity of fibres do for the rapid movements which are necessary to speech. Animals which feed upon grass, have their tongues covered with a perforated skin, so as to admit the dissolved food to the *papillæ* underneath, which, in the mean time, remain defended from the rough action of the unbruised *epiculæ*.

There are brought together within the cavity of the mouth more dis-

tinguished uses, and parts executing more distinct offices, than I think can be found lying so near to one another, or within the same compass, in any other portion of the body, viz. teeth of different shape; first for cutting, secondly for grinding: muscles, most artificially disposed for carrying on the compound motion of the lower jaw, half lateral, and half vertical, by which the mill is worked: fountains of saliva, springing up in different parts of the cavity, for the moistening of the food, whilst the mastication is going on: glands to feed the fountains: a muscular constriction of a very peculiar kind in the back part of the cavity, for the guiding of the prepared aliment into its passage towards the stomach, and in many cases for carrying it along that passage: for, although we may imagine this to be done simply by the weight of the food itself, it in truth is not so, even in the upright posture of the human neck; and most evidently is not the case with quadrupeds; with a horse, for instance, in which, when pasturing, the food is thrust upward by muscular strength, instead of descending of its own accord.

In the mean time, and within the same cavity, is going on another business, altogether different from what is here described, that of respiration and speech. In addition, therefore, to all that has been mentioned,

\* I here entreat the reader's permission to step a little out of my way to consider the parts of the mouth in some of their other properties. It has been said, and that by an eminent physiologist, that, whenever nature attempts to work two or more purposes by one instrument, she does both or all imperfectly. Is this true of the tongue, regarded as an instrument of speech, and of taste: or regarded as an instrument of speech, of taste, and of deglutition? So much otherwise, that many persons, that is to say, nine hundred and ninety-nine persons out of a thousand, by the instrumentality of this one organ, talk, and taste, and swallow, very well.



we have a passage opened from this cavity to the lungs, for the admission of air, exclusively of every other substance: we have muscles, some in the larynx, and without number in the tongue, for the purpose of modulating that air in its passage, with a variety, a compass, and precision, of which no other musical instrument is capable. And, lastly, which, in my opinion, crowns the whole as a piece of machinery, we have a specific contrivance for dividing the pneumatic part from the mechanical, and for preventing one set of actions interfering with the other. Where various functions are united, the difficulty is to guard against the inconveniencies of a too great complexity. In no apparatus put together by art, and for the purposes of art, do I know such multifarious uses so aptly combined as in the natural organization of the human mouth; or where the structure compared with the uses, is so simple. The mouth, with all these intentions to serve, is a single cavity; is one machine; with its parts neither crowded nor confused, and each unembarrassed by the rest; each at least at liberty, in a degree, sufficient for the end to be attained. If we cannot eat and sing at the same moment, we can eat one moment, and sing the next; the respiration proceeding freely all the while.

There is one case, however, of this double office, and that of the (earliest) necessity, which the mouth alone could not perform; and that is, carrying on together the two actions of sucking and breathing. Another route, therefore, is opened for the air, namely, through the nose, which lets the breath pass backward and forward, whilst the lips, in the act of sucking, are neces-

sarily shut close upon the body, from which the nutriment is drawn. This is a circumstance which always appeared to me worthy of notice. The nose would have been necessary, although it had not been the organ of smelling. The making it the seat of a sense, was superadding a new use to a part already wanted; was taking a wise advantage of an antecedent and a constitutional necessity.

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*Of the Succession of Plants and Animals. From the same.*

The generation of the animal no more accounts for the contrivance of the eye or the ear, than, upon a supposition stated in a preceding chapter, the production of a watch by the motion and mechanism of a former watch, would account for the skill and intention evidenced in the watch so produced; than it would account for the disposition of the wheels, the catching of their teeth, the relation of the several parts of the works to one another, and to their common end, for the suitableness of their forms and places to their offices for their connection, their operation, and the useful result of that operation. I do insist most strenuously upon the correctness of this comparison; that it holds as to every other mode of specific propagation; and that whatever was true of the watch, under the hypothesis above mentioned, is true of plants and animals.

1. To begin with the fructification of plants. Can it be doubted but that the seed contains a particular organization? Whether a latent plantule with the means of temporary nutrition, or whatever else it be,



be, it incloses an organization suited to the germination of a new plant. Has the plant which produced the seed any thing more to do with that organization than the watch would have to do with the structure of the watch which was produced in the course of its mechanical movement? I mean, has it any thing at all to do with the contrivance? The maker and contriver of one watch, when he inserted within it a mechanism suited to the production of another watch, was, in truth, the maker and contriver of that other watch. All the properties of the new watch are to be referred to his agency; the design manifested in it, to his intention; the art to him as the artist, the colocation of each part to his placing; the action, effect, and use, to his counsel, intelligence, and workmanship. In producing it by the intervention of a former watch, he was only working by one set of tools instead of another. So it is with the plant, and the seed produced by it. Can any distinction be assigned between the two cases; between the producing watch, and the producing plant? both passive, unconscious substances; both, by the organization which was given to them, producing their like, without understanding or design, both, that is, instruments.

2. From plants, we may proceed to oviparous animals; from seeds to eggs. Now I say that the bird has the same concern in the formation of the egg which she lays, as the plant has in that of the seed which it drops, and no other, nor greater. The internal constitution of the egg is as much a secret to the hen, as if the hen were inanimate. Her will cannot alter it, or change a single

feather of the chick. She can neither foresee nor determine of which sex her brood shall be, or how many of either; yet the thing produced shall be, from the first, very different in its make, according to the sex which it bears. So far, therefore, from adapting the means, she is not before-hand apprized of the effect. If there be concealed within that smooth shell a provision and a preparation for the production and nourishment of a new animal, they are not of her providing or preparing: if there be contrivance, it is none of hers. Although, therefore, there be the difference of life and perceptivity between the animal and the plant, it is a difference which enters not into the account. It is a foreign circumstance. It is a difference of properties not employed. The animal function and the vegetable function are alike destitute of any which can operate upon the form of the thing produced. The plant has no design in producing the seed, no comprehension of the nature or use of what it produces: the bird, with respect to its egg, is not above the plant with respect to its seed. Neither the one nor the other bears that sort of relation to what proceeds from them which a joiner does to the chair which he makes. Now a cause, which bears this relation to the effect, is what we want, in order to account for the suitableness of means to an end; the fitness and fitting of one thing to another; and this cause the parent plant or animal does not supply.

It is further observable concerning the propagation of plants and animals, that the apparatus employed exhibits no resemblance to the thing produced; in this respect holding



holding an analogy with instruments and tools of art. The filaments, *antheræ*, and *stigmata* of flowers bear no more resemblance to the young plant, or even to the seed, which is formed by their intervention, than a chisel or plane does to a table or chair. What then are the filaments, *antheræ*, and *stigmata* of plants, but instruments, strictly so called?

3. We may advance from animals which bring forth eggs, to animals which bring forth their young alive; and, of this latter class, from the lowest to the highest, from irrational to rational life, from brutes to the human species; without perceiving, as we proceed, any alteration whatever in the terms of the comparison. The rational animal does not produce its offspring with more certainty or success than the irrational animal: a man than a quadruped, a quadruped than a bird; nor (for we may follow the gradation through its whole scale) a bird than a plant; nor a plant than a watch, a piece of dead mechanism, would do, upon the supposition which has already so often been repeated. Rationality, therefore, has nothing to do in the business. If an account must be given of the contrivance which we observe; if it be demanded, whence arose either the contrivance by which the young animal is produced, or the contrivance manifested in the young animal itself, it is not from the reason of the parent that any such account can be drawn. He is the cause of his offspring in the same sense as that in which a gardener is the cause of the tulip which grows upon his parterre and in no other. We admire the flower; we examine the plant; we perceive the conduciveness of many of its parts to their

end and office: we observe a provision for its nourishment, growth, protection, and fecundity: but we never think of the gardener in all this. We attribute nothing of this to his agency; yet it may still be true, that without the gardener, we should not have had the tulip. Just so it is with the succession of animals even of the highest order. For the contrivance discovered in the structure of the thing produced, we want a contriver. The parent is not that contriver. His consciousness decides that question. He is in total ignorance why that which is produced took its present form rather than any other. It is for him only to be astonished by the effect. We can no more look, therefore, to the intelligence of the parent animal for what we are in search of, a cause of relation and of subserviency of parts to their use, which relation and subserviency we see in the procreated body, than we can refer the internal conformation of an acorn to the intelligence of the oak from which it dropped, or the structure of the watch to the intelligence of the watch which produced it; there being no difference, as far as argument is concerned, between an intelligence which is not exerted, and an intelligence which does not exist,

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*Letters on the subject of Education.  
From Hayley's Life of Cowper.*

#### LETTER XXVI.

To the Rev. William Unwin.

My dear friend, Sept. 7, 1780.

As many gentlemen as there are in the world, who have children, and heads capable of reflecting on the important subject of their education, so many opinions there are about



about it; many of them just and sensible, though almost all differing from each other. With respect to the education of boys, I think they are generally made to draw in Latin and Greek trammels too soon. It is pleasing no doubt to a parent, to see his child already in some sort a proficient in those languages, at an age when most others are entirely ignorant of them; but hence it often happens, that a boy, who would construe a fable of *Æsop*, at six or seven years of age, having exhausted his little stock of attention and diligence, in making that notable acquisition, grows weary of his task, conceives a dislike for study, and perhaps makes but a very indifferent progress afterwards. The mind and body have in this respect, a striking resemblance of each other. In childhood they are both nimble, but not strong; they can skip, and frisk about with wonderful agility, but hard labour spoils them both. In maturer years they become less active, but more vigorous, more capable of a fixt application, and can make themselves sport with that which a little earlier would have affected them with intolerable fatigue. I should recommend it to you therefore, (but after all you must judge for yourself) to allot the two next years of little *John's* scholarship, to writing and arithmetic, together with which, for variety's sake, and because it is capable of being formed into an amusement, I would mingle geography, (a science which if not attended to betimes, is seldom made an object of much consideration;) essentially necessary to the accomplishment of a gentleman, yet (as I know by sad experience) imperfectly if at all, inculcated in the

schools. Lord Spencer's son, when he was four years of age, knew the situation of every kingdom, country, city, river, and remarkable mountain in the world. For this attainment, which I suppose his father had never made, he was indebted to a plaything; having been accustomed to amuse himself with those maps which are cut into several compartments, so as to be thrown into a heap of confusion, that they may be put together again with an exact coincidence of all their angles and bearings, so as to form a perfect whole.

If he begin Latin and Greek at eight, or even at nine years of age, it is surely soon enough. Seven years, the usual allowance for those acquisitions, are more than sufficient for that purpose, especially with his readiness in learning; for you would hardly wish to have him qualified for the university before fifteen, a period, in my mind, much too early for it, and when he could hardly be trusted there without the utmost danger to his morals. Upon the whole, you will perceive that in my judgment the difficulty, as well as the wisdom, consists more in bridling in, and keeping back, a boy of his parts, than in pushing him forward. If, therefore, at the end of the two next years, instead of putting a grammar into his hand, you should allow him to amuse himself with some agreeable writers upon the subject of natural philosophy, for another year, I think it would answer well. There is a book called *Cosmotheoria Puerilis*, there are *Durham's Physico*, and *Astro-theology*, together with several others in the same manner, very intelligible even to a child, and full of useful instruction.

W. C.  
LETTER



## LETTER XXVII.

To the Rev. William Unwin.

Sept. 17, 1780.

My dear friend,

You desire my further thoughts on the subject of education. I send you such as had for the most part occurred to me when I wrote last, but could not be comprised in a single letter. They are indeed on a different branch of this interesting theme, but not less important than the former.

I think it your happiness, and wish you to think yourself, that you are, in every respect, qualified for the task of instructing your son, and preparing him for the university, without committing him to the care of a stranger. In my judgment a domestic education deserves the preference to a public one, on an hundred accounts, which I have neither time nor room to mention. I shall only touch upon two or three that I cannot but consider as having a right to your most earnest attention.

In a public school, or indeed any school, his morals are sure to be but little attended to, and his religion none at all. If he can catch the love of virtue from the fine things that are spoken of it in the Classics, and the love of holiness from the customary attendance upon such preaching as he is likely to hear, it will be well; but I am sure you have had too many opportunities to observe the inefficacy of such means, to expect any such advantage from them. In the mean time, the more powerful influence of bad example, and perhaps of bad company, will continually counter work these only preservatives he can meet with, and may possibly send him

home to you, at the end of five or six years, such as you will be sorry to see him. You escaped indeed the contagion yourself, but a few instances of happy exception from a general malady, are not sufficient warrant to conclude, that it is therefore not infectious, or may be encountered without danger.

You have seen too much of the world, and are a man of too much reflection, not to have observed, that, in proportion as the sons of a family approach to years of maturity, they lose a sense of obligations to their parents, and seem at last almost divested of that tender affection, which the nearest of all relations seem to demand from them. I have often observed it myself, and have always thought I could sufficiently account for it without laying all the blame upon the children. While they continue in their parents' house, they are every day obliged, and every day reminded how much it is their interest, as well as duty, to be obliging and affectionate in return. But at eight or nine years of age the boy goes to school. From that moment he becomes a stranger in his father's house. The course of parental kindness is interrupted. The smiles of his mother, those tender admonitions, and the solicitous care of both his parents, are no longer before his eyes—year after year he feels himself more and more detached from them, till at last he is so effectually weaned from the connection, as to find himself happier any where than in their company.

I should have been glad of a frank for this letter, for I have said but little of what I could say upon the subject, and perhaps I may not be able to catch it by the  
end



end again. If I can, I shall add to it hereafter.

Yours, W. C.

### LETTER XXVIII.

To the Rev. William Unwin.

My dear friend, *Oct. 5, 1780.*

Now for the sequel.—You have anticipated one of my arguments in favour of a private education, therefore I need say but little about it. The folly of supposing that the mother tongue, in some respects the most difficult of all tongues, may be acquired without a teacher, is predominant in all the public schools that I have heard of. To pronounce it well, to speak and to write it with fluency and elegance, are no easy attainments; not one in fifty of those who pass through Westminster and Eton, arrive at any remarkable proficiency in these accomplishments; and they that do, are more indebted to their own study and application for it, than to any instruction received there. In general, there is nothing so pedantic as the style of a school-boy, if he aim at any style at all, and if he do not, he is of course inelegant, and perhaps ungrammatical. A defect no doubt in great measure owing to a want of cultivation, for the same lad that is often commended for his Latin, frequently would deserve to be whipped for his English, if the fault were not more his master's than his own. I know not where this evil is so likely to be prevented as at home—supposing always, nevertheless (which is the case in your instance) that the boy's parents, and their acquaintance, are persons of elegance and taste themselves. For to converse with those who converse with propriety, and to be directed to such

authors, as have refined and improved the language by their productions, are advantages which he cannot elsewhere enjoy in an equal degree. And though it require some time to regulate the taste, and fix the judgment, and these effects must be gradually wrought even upon the best understanding, yet I suppose much less time will be necessary for the purpose, than could at first be imagined, because the opportunities of improvement are continual.

A public education is often recommended as the most effectual remedy for that bashful and awkward restraint, so epidemical among the youth of our country. But I verily believe, that instead of being a cure, it is often the cause of it. For seven or eight years of life, the boy has hardly seen or conversed with a man, or woman, except the maids at his boarding house. A gentleman, or a lady, are consequently such novelties to him, that he is perfectly at a loss to know what sort of behaviour he should preserve before them. He plays with his buttons, or the strings of his hat; he blows his nose, and hangs down his head, is conscious of his own deficiency to a degree, that makes him quite unhappy, and trembles lest any one should speak to him, because that would quite overwhelm him. Is not all this miserable shyness the effect of his education? To me it appears to be so. If he saw good company every day, he would not be terrified at the sight of it, and a room full of ladies and gentlemen, would alarm him no more than the chairs they sit on. Such is the effect of custom.

I need add nothing more on this subject, because I believe little

John



John is as likely to be exempted from this weakness as most young gentlemen we shall meet with. He seems to have his father's spirit in this respect, in whom I could never discern the least trace of bashfulness, though I have often heard him complain of it. Under your management, and the influence of your example, I think he can hardly fail to escape it. If he do, he escapes that which has made many a man uncomfortable for life, and ruined not a few; by forcing them into mean and dishonourable company, where only they could be free and cheerful.

Connections formed at school, are said to be lasting, and often beneficial. There are two stories of this kind upon record, which would not be so constantly cited as they are whenever this subject happens to be mentioned, if the chronicle that preserves their remembrance, had many besides to boast of. For my own part, I found such friendships, though warm enough in their commencement, surprisingly liable to extinction: and of seven or eight, whom I had selected for intimates, out of about three hundred, in ten years time not one was left me. The truth is, that there may be, and often is an attachment of one boy to another, that looks very like a friendship, and while they are in circumstances that enable them mutually to oblige and to assist each other, promises well, and bids fair to be lasting. But they are no sooner separated from each other, by entering into the world at large, than other connections, and new employments, in which they no longer share together, efface the remembrance of what passed in earlier days, and they become stranger

to each other for ever. Add to this, that the man frequently differs so much from the boy, his principles, manners, temper, and conduct, undergo so great an alteration, that we no longer recognize in him our old play-fellow, but find him utterly unworthy, and unfit for the place he once held in our affections.

To close this article, as I did the last, by applying myself immediately to the present concern. Little John is happily placed above all occasion for dependence on all such precarious hopes, and need not be sent to school in quest of some great men in embryo, who may possibly make his fortune.

Yours, my dear friend,

W. C.

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*On the proper Course of Elementary Study.—From Chatham's Letters.\**

Bath, Jan. 12, 1754.

My dear Nephew,

Your letter from Cambridge affords me many very sensible pleasures: first, that you are at last in a proper place for study and improvement, instead of losing any more of that most precious thing, time, in London. In the next place, that you seem pleased with the particular society you are placed in, and with the gentleman to whose care and instruction you are committed: and above all I applaud the sound right sense and love of virtue, which appears through your whole letter. You are already possessed of the true clue to guide you through this dangerous and perplexing part of life's journey, the years of education; and upon which the complexion of all the rest of your days will infallibly depend: I say you have the

\* Addressed to the first Lord Camelford, his nephew. For some account of this work, see the "Review of Books," at the close of this volume.



true clue to guide you, in the maxim you lay down in your letter to me, namely, that the use of learning is, to render a man more wise and virtuous; not merely to make him more learned. *Macte tuâ virtute*; go on, my dear boy, by this golden rule, and you cannot fail to become every thing your generous heart prompts you to wish to be, and that mine most affectionately wishes for you. There is but one danger in your way; and that is perhaps natural enough to your age, the love of pleasure, or the fear of close application and laborious diligence. With the last there is nothing you may not conquer: and the first is sure to conquer and enslave whoever does not strenuously and generously resist the first allurements of it, lest, by small indulgencies, he fall under the yoke of irresistible habit. *Vitanda est Improba Siren, desidia*, I desire, may be affixed to the curtains of your bed, and to the walls of your chambers. If you do not rise early, you never can make any progress worth talking of; and another rule is, if you do not set apart your hours of reading, and never suffer yourself or any one else to break in upon them, your days will slip through your hands unprofitably and frivolously; unpraised by all you wish to please, and really unenjoyable to yourself. Be assured, whatever you take from pleasure, amusements, or indolence for these first few years of your life, will repay you a hundred fold in the pleasures, honors, and advantages of all the remainder of your days. My heart is so full of the most earnest desire that you should do well, that I find my letter has run into some length, which you will, I know, be so good to excuse. There remains

now nothing to trouble you with, but a little plan for the beginning of your studies, which I desire in a particular manner may be exactly followed in every tittle. You are to qualify yourself for the part in society to which your birth and estate call you. You are to be a gentleman of such learning and qualifications, as may distinguish you in the service of your country hereafter; not a pedant, who reads only to be called learned, instead of considering learning as an instrument only for action. Give me leave therefore, my dear nephew, who have gone before you, to point out to you the dangers in your road; to guard you against such things as I experience my own defects to arise from; and, at the same time, if I have had any little successes in the world, to guide you to what I have drawn many helps from. I have not the pleasure of knowing the gentleman who is your tutor, but I dare say he is every way equal to the charge, which I think no small one. You will communicate this letter to him, and I hope he will be so good to concur with me, as to the course of study I desire you may begin with; and that such books, and such only as I have pointed out, may be read. They are as follow: Euclid; a course of logic; a course of experimental philosophy; Locke's *Conduct of the Understanding*; his *Treatise, also, on the Understanding*; his *Treatise on Government, and Letters on Toleration*. I desire, for the present, no books of poetry but Horace and Virgil: of Horace, the Odes, but above all, the Epistles and *Ars Poetica*. These parts, *Nocturnâ versate manu, versate diurnâ*. Tully de *Officiis, de Amicitia, de Senectute*. His *Catilinarian Orations, and Philippics*;



Philippics: Salust: at leisure hours, an abridgment of the history of England to be run through, in order to settle in the mind a general chronological order and series of principal events, and succession of kings: proper books of English history, on the true principles of our happy constitution, shall be pointed out afterwards. Burnet's History of the Reformation, abridged by himself, to be read with great care. Father Paul on Beneficiary Matters, in English: a French master, and only Moliere's plays to be read with him, or by yourself, till you have gone through them all. Spectators, especially Mr. Addison's papers, to be read very frequently, at broken times, in your room. I make it my request that you will forbear drawing totally, while you are at Cambridge; and not meddle with Greek, otherwise than to know a little the etymology of words in Latin, or English, or French: nor to meddle with Italian. I hope this little course will soon be run through; I intend it as a general foundation for many things of infinite utility, to come as soon as this is finished.

Believe me,

With truest affection,

My dear nephew,

Ever yours.

Keep this letter, and read it again.

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*On the Conduct to be observed by a Youth on entering College: and the Necessity of being religious. From the Same.*

Bath, January, 14, 1754.

My dear nephew,

You will hardly have read over

one very long letter from me, before you are troubled with a second. I intended to have writ soon, but I do it the sooner on account of your letter to your aunt, which she transmitted to me here. If any thing, my dear boy, could have happened to raise you higher in my esteem, and to endear you more to me, it is the amiable abhorrence you feel for the scene of vice and folly, (and of real misery and perdition, under the false notion of pleasure and spirit,) which has opened to you at college; and at the same time, the manly, brave, generous, and wise resolution, and true spirit, with which you resisted and repulsed the first attempts upon a mind and heart, I thank God, infinitely too firm and noble, as well as too elegant and enlightened, to be in any danger of yielding to such contemptible and wretched corruptions. You charm me with the description of Mr. Wheeler,\* and while you say you could adore him, I could adore you for the natural, genuine love of virtue which speaks in all you feel, say, or do. As to your companions, let this be your rule: cultivate the acquaintance with Mr. Wheeler, which you have so fortunately begun; and in general, be sure to associate with men much older than yourself; scholars whenever you can: but always with men of decent and honourable lives. As their age and learning, superior both to your own, must necessarily, in good sense, and in the view of acquiring knowledge from them, entitle them to all deference, and submission of your lights to theirs, you will parti-

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\* The rev. John Wheeler, prebendary of Westminster. The friendship formed between this gentleman and lord Camelford, at so early a period of their lives, was founded in mutual esteem, and continued uninterrupted till lord Camelford's death.



cularly practise that first and greatest rule for pleasing in conversation, as well as for drawing instruction and improvement from the company one's superiors in age and knowledge, namely, to be a patient, attentive, and well-bred hearer, and to answer with modesty: to deliver your own opinions sparingly and with proper diffidence; and if you are forced to desire farther information or explanation upon a point, to do it with proper apologies for the trouble you give; or if obliged to differ, to do it with all possible candour, and an unprejudiced desire to find and ascertain truth, with an entire indifference to the side on which that truth is to be found.—There is likewise a particular attention required to contradict with good manners; such as begging pardon, begging leave to doubt, and such like phrases. Pythagoras enjoined his scholars an absolute silence for a long noviciate. I am far from approving such a taciturnity; but I highly recommend the end and intent of Pythagoras's injunction; which is, to dedicate the first parts of life more to hear and learn, in order to collect materials, out of which to form opinions founded on proper lights, and well-examined sound principles, than to be presuming, prompt, and flippant, in hazarding one's own slight crude notions of things; and thereby exposing the nakedness and emptiness of the mind, like a house opened to company before it is fitted either with necessities, or any ornaments for their reception and entertainment. And not only will this disgrace follow from such temerity and presumption, but a more serious danger is sure to ensue, that is, the embracing errors for truths, prejudices for principles; and when that

is once done, (no matter how vainly and weakly,) the adhering perhaps to false and dangerous notions, only because one has declared for them, and submitting for life, the understanding and conscience to a yoke of base and servile prejudices, vainly taken up, and obstinately retained. This will never be your danger; but I thought it not amiss to offer these reflections to your thoughts. As to your manner of behaving towards these unhappy young gentlemen you describe, let it be manly and easy; decline their parties with civility; retort their raillery with raillery, always tempered with good breeding; if they banter your regularity, order, decency, and love of study, banter, in return, their neglect of them; and venture to own frankly that you came to Cambridge to learn what you can—not to follow what they are pleased to call pleasure. In short, let your external behaviour to them be as full of politeness and ease, as your inward estimation of them is full of pity mixed with contempt.—I come now to the part of the advice I have to offer you, which most earnestly concerns your welfare, and upon which every good and honourable purpose of your life will assuredly turn: I mean the keeping up in your heart the true sentiments of religion. If you are not right towards God, you can never be so towards man: the noblest sentiment of the human mind is here brought to the test. Is gratitude in the number of a man's virtues? if it be, the highest Benefactor demands the warmest returns of gratitude, love, and praise: *Ingratum qui dixerit, omnia dixit*. If a man wants this virtue where there are infinite obligations to excite and quicken it, he will be likely to want all others to-  
wards



wards his fellow-creatures, whose utmost gifts are poor, compared to those he daily receives at the hands of his never failing Almighty Friend. "Remember thy Creator in the days of thy youth," is big with the deepest wisdom: The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom; and, an upright heart, that is understanding. This is eternally true, whether the wits and rakes of Cambridge allow it or not: nay, I must add, of this religious wisdom, Her ways are ways of pleasantness, and all her paths are peace, whatever your young gentlemen of pleasure think of a whore and a bottle, a tainted health and a battered constitution. Hold fast, therefore, by this sheet-anchor of happiness, religion; you will often want it in the times of most danger; the storms and tempests of life. Cherish true religion as precious as you will fly with

abhorrence and contempt superstition and enthusiasm. The first is the perfection and glory of the human nature; the two last, the depravation and disgrace of it. Remember, the essence of religion is, a heart void of offence towards God and towards man; not subtle speculative opinions, but an active vital principle of faith. The words of a heathen are so fine that I must give them to you: *Compositum Jus, Fasque Animi, Sanctosque Recessus Mentis, et incoctum generoso Pectus Honesto.*

Go on, my dear child, in the admirable dispositions you have towards all that is right and good, and make yourself the love and admiration of the world! I have neither paper nor words to tell you how tenderly

I am yours.



## POETRY.

ODE *for the* NEW YEAR, 1804.By HENRY JAMES PYE, *Esq. Poet-Laureat.*

**W**HEN, at the Despot's dread command,  
 Bridg'd Hellespont his myriads bore  
 From servile Asia's peopled strand,  
 To Græcia's and to Freedom's shore—  
 While hostile fleets terrific sweep  
 With threatening oar th' Ionian deep,  
 Clear Dirce's bending reeds among  
 The Theban Swan no longer sung :\*  
 No more by Isthmus' wave-worn glade,  
 Or Nemea's rocks, or Delphi's shade,  
 Or Pisa's Olive-rooted grove,  
 The temple of Olympian Jove,  
 The Muses twin'd the sacred bough,  
 To crown th' Athletic victor's brow,  
 Till on the rough Ægean main,  
 Till on Platea's trophied plain,  
 Was crush'd the Persian Tyrant's boast,  
 O'erwhelm'd his fleet, o'erthrown his host,  
 Then the bold Theban seiz'd again the lyre,  
 And struck the chords with renovated fire :  
 " On human life's delusive state,  
 " Tho' woes unseen, uncertain, wait,  
 " Heal'd in the gen'rous breast is every pain,  
 " With undiminish'd force, if Freedom's rights remain."†

Not so the British Muse—Tho' rude  
 Her voice to Græcia's tuneful choir,  
 By dread, by danger unsubdu'd,  
 Dauntless she wakes the lyric wire :

\* See Pind. Isth. Ode viii.

† Ibid.



So when the awful thunder roars,  
 When round the livid lightnings play,  
 Th' Imperial eagle proudly soars,  
 And wings aloft her daring way.  
 And, hark! with animating note  
 Aloud her strains exulting float,  
 While pointing to th' invet'rate host,  
 Who threat destruction to this envied coast:  
 "Go forth, my sons—as nobler rights ye claim,  
 "Than ever fann'd the Grecian patriot's flame,  
 "So let your breasts a fiercer ardour feel,  
 "Led by your Patriot King, to guard your Country's weal."

Her voice is heard—from wood, from vale, from down,  
 The thatch-roof'd village, and the busy town,  
 Eager th' indignant country swarms,  
 And pours a people clad in arms,  
 Num'rous as those whom Xerxes led,  
 To crush devoted Freedom's head;  
 Firm as the band for Freedom's cause who stood,  
 And stain'd Thermopyle with Spartan blood;  
 Hear o'er their heads the exulting goddess sing:  
 "These are *my* favourite sons, and *mine* their Warrior King!"

Thro' Albion's plains, while wide and far  
 Swells the tumultuous din of war,  
 While from the loom, the forge, the flail,  
 From Labour's plough, from Commerce' sail,  
 All ranks to martial impulse yield,  
 And grasp the spear, and brave the field,  
 Do weeds our plains uncultur'd hide?  
 Does drooping Commerce quit the tide?  
 Do languid Art and Industry  
 Their useful cares no longer ply?  
 Never did Agriculture's toil  
 With richer harvests clothe the soil;  
 Ne'er were our barks more amply fraught,  
 Ne'er were with happier skill, our ores, our fleeces wrought.

While the proud foe, to swell invasion's host,  
 His bleeding country's countless millions drains,  
 And Gallia mourns, through her embattled coast,  
 Unpeopled cities, and unlabour'd plains,  
 To guard and to avenge this favour'd land,  
 Tho' gleams the sword in ev'ry Briton's hand,  
 Still o'er our fields waves Concord's silken wing,  
 Still the Arts flourish, and the Muses sing;  
 While moral Truth, and Faith's celestial ray,  
 Adorn, illumc, and bless, a George's prosp'rous sway.



ODE for his Majesty's BIRTH-DAY, 1804. *By the Same.*

## I.

AS the blest Guardian of the British Isles,  
Immortal Liberty, triumphant stood,  
And view'd her gallant sons, with favouring smiles,  
Undaunted heroes of the field or flood;  
From Inverary's rocky shores,  
Where loud the Hyperborean billow roars,  
To where the surges of the Atlantic wave  
Around Cornubia's Western borders rave,  
While Erin's valiant warriors glow  
With kindred fire to crush the injurious foe,  
From her bright lance the flames of Vengeance stream,  
And in her eagle eye shines Glory's radiant beam.

## II.

Why sink those smiles in Sorrow's sigh?  
Why Sorrow's tears suffuse that eye?  
Alas! while weeping Britain sees  
The baleful fiends of pale Disease  
Malignant hovering near her throne,  
And threat a Monarch all her own—  
No more from Anglia's fertile land,  
No more from Caledonia's strand,  
From Erin's breezy hills no more  
The panting legions crowd the shore;  
The buoyant barks, the vaunting host  
That swarm on Gallia's hostile coast,  
The anxious thought no longer share,  
Lost in a nearer, dearer care,  
And Britain breathes alone for GEORGE's life her prayer.

## III.

Her prayer is heard—Th' Almighty Power,  
Potent to punish or to save,  
Bids Health resume again her happier hour;—  
And, as across the misty wave  
The fresh'ning breezes sweep the clouds away  
That hid awhile the golden orb of day,  
So from Hygeia's balmy breath  
Fly the drear shadow's of Disease and Death—  
Again the manly breast beats high,  
And flames again the indignant eye,  
While, from the cottage to the throne,  
This generous sentiment alone



Lives in each heart with patriot ardour warm,  
 Points every sword, nerves every Briton's arm,  
 "Rush to the field where GEORGE and Freedom lead,  
 Glory and fame alike the warrior's meed,  
 Brave in their Country's cause, who conquer or who bleed."

*An ADDRESS to their MAJESTIES, on entering the Yacht at the Fête given on board, at Weymouth, on the 29th of September, 1804, in Honour of the Birth-Day of her Royal Highness the Duchess of Wirttemberg.*

*Spoken by Mr. Elliston and Miss De Camp, in the Characters of a Sailor and his Wife.*

*The Sailor breaks from his Companions, and says to them,*

**I** TELL you I will speak, so stand aside,  
 And let a Sailor, who has long defy'd  
 His country's foes, for once approach his King,  
 The humble tribute of respect to bring.  
 He, God preserve him! loves an English tar,  
 Nurs'd amid tempests, and the din of war;  
 And hears, well-pleas'd, an honest tongue impart  
 The plain effusions of a single heart.

*[Turning to the King.]*

Then trust me, Sir, there's not a bosom here,  
 Nor one that breathes a thought, to Britons dear,  
 Which does not feel the gen'rous glow of pride  
 To see his Friend, his Monarch by his side.  
 Ah! could you but conceive the general grief,  
 The look, which mock'd all comforts' cold relief,  
 Whene'er a transient cloud of illness spread  
 Its chilling vapour o'er your honour'd head,  
 I need not now proclaim your subjects joy,  
 Most marked by what we felt, when fears alloy  
 To ev'ry fond anxiety gave birth,  
 "And taught the value of our jewel's worth."\*  
 If *thus* your people feel, what tongues can tell  
 The rapt'rous joy that must the bosom swell,  
 Of those who add, to ties like ours, the call  
 Which Nature's sympathies impress on all,  
 Whether they feel a Monarch's scepter'd lot,  
 Or dwell the peasant of the poorest cot:  
 But chiefly her's, who, in a foreign land,  
 Far from her father, and his shelt'ring hand,

\* Cowper's Task.



In absence felt that doubled cause of woe,  
 Which all who taste suspense too keenly know;  
 Who now, perhaps, the while her health goes round,  
 And the deck echoes to the festive sound,  
 In fond imagination views the scene,  
 And sighs to think what barriers intervene  
 To stop the thanks, that hang upon her tongue  
 Intent on him, from whom her being sprung,  
 "Oh! may he live," she cries, with mingled tears,  
 "Longer than I have time to tell his years :\*  
 And, while the dews of sleep his brows o'erspread,  
 May all good angels guard his nightly bed!"

[*Sailor's Wife interrupts the Sailor.*]

My worthy friend, have you forgot the fame  
 Of old St. Michael, of goose-killing name?  
 How, ev'ry year, on this auspicious day  
 Our vows to him with grateful teeth we pay,  
 When cackling animals by instinct feel  
 A sort of tremor through the bosom steal?  
 You surely have; but pr'ythee say no more,  
 For, if you are not mute, I must implore  
 My Sovereign himself his aid to lend.  
 He, to all just prerogative the friend,  
 Will never see a female, fair and young,  
 Robb'd of her best prerogative, her tongue.  
 And now, forsooth, when ladies ride a race,  
 And vie with men in ev'ry manly grace;  
 Oh! could our grandmothers on earth arrise,  
 How would such thoughts astound their wond'ring eyes!  
 They, who the Decalogue in cross-stich wrought,  
 Or good morality in samplers taught,  
 Who never rode but on some festive day,  
 When behind John, upon a long-tail'd grey;  
 Strapp'd to a modest pillion's sober side,  
 My good aunt Deborah came out a bride,  
 She a long-waisted Joseph proudly wore,  
 And on her head an ample bonnet bore.  
 What would she say to see the modern maid,  
 With jockey sleeves and velvet cap array'd,  
 Dashing thro' thick and thin to win the post,  
 And swearing when she finds her wishes crost!  
 But how can I one thought to censure give,  
 When here, collected in this vessel, live  
 Whatever virtues dignify our kind,  
 Or stamp with excellence the female mind!

\* Shakespeare's Henry the VIIIth.



Here the soft maid, whose plighted vow is past  
 To him she fondly loves, with whom at last  
 She hopes to pass her happiest hours of life,  
 May read each duty which adorns a wife

*[Turning to the Queen.]*

Reflected from the throne, where rank and birth  
 Shed the soft lustre of domestic worth.  
 Or would a daughter's heart enquire the way  
 How best she may a parent's care repay,

*[Turning to the Princesses:]*

Believe me, ladies, when I turn to you,  
 To pay the tribute to your virtues due,  
 I am no actress here, if from its lid  
 The tear of admiration start unbid;  
 There are rewards a King may call his own,  
 Brighter than all the jewels of his throne;  
 Bought by a life in deeds of virtue spent,  
 Which, firm as adamant, on Heaven intent,  
 Was never from its course of duty bent. }  
 Forgive my tongue thus prattling out of time,  
 Like sweet bells jingling on unmeasur'd chime;  
 Since 'tis the fulness of my joy that speaks,  
 The heart thro' forms of ceremony breaks;  
 For who can see a King whose virtues blend,  
 Which deck the Father, Monarch, and the Friend,  
 And not, by Nature's magic sympathy,  
 Recall at once some fond congenial tie?  
 Then trust me, Sir, henceforth, when tempests roar,  
 And the winds whistle through my cottage door,  
 While in my solitary bed I'm laid,  
 And fears for Tom my anxious soul invade,  
 The thought that 'tis for you my sailor braves  
 The battle's danger, and the stormy waves,  
 Shall make my heart with patriot ardour burn,  
 And hope anticipate his glad return.

So now farewell; but oh, may all, next year,  
 Again with merry hearts assemble here,  
 Once more to view their happy Sovereign prove  
 His Queen's, his Children's, and his People's love!



## ODE

*To the People of Great Britain, on the threatened Invasion.*

*By Dr. CHARLES BURNEY.*

ARM, Britons, arm! Your Country's cause,  
Your Monarch, Constitution, Laws,  
Religion, wives, and infant train,  
Now call to arms!—nor let their call be vain!  
No:—tread the path which erst your fathers trod:  
The stake is England! Britons, rise:  
Your foes are Gauls! Those foes chastise:  
Foes to your King, your Country, and your God!

Shall he,—with virtues amply known,  
Our King, be hurl'd from Britain's throne  
By Gauls, embrued in royal gore,  
Who menace death or slavery round our shore?  
No:—tread the path which erst your fathers trod:  
Nor let the foes' licentious pride  
Your Monarch's lawful power deride:  
Foes to your King, your Country, and your God!

Shall we, who boast a Briton's name,  
Renounce our Constitution's claim?  
King, Lords, and Commons, levell'd low,—  
And, tamely crouching, court the threaten'd blow?  
No:—tread the path which erst your fathers trod:  
No foes in arms, with treacherous hate,  
Shall shake your church, shall change your state,  
Foes to your King, your Country, and your God!

Shall we, whose laws our rights secure,  
Protecting all,—or rich or poor,—  
Those laws abandon:—fram'd of old  
By sires whose souls were stamp'd in Freedom's mould?  
No:—tread the path which erst your fathers trod:  
No proud dictator Britain knows:  
Nor brook the rule of tyrant foes:  
Foes to your King, your Country, and your God!

Shall we Religion's voice neglect:  
Her duties spurn, her word reject:  
While priests by ruthless steel expire,  
And temples sink, involv'd in Atheist fire?



No :——tread the path which erst your fathers trod :  
 The learn'd and pious sons of pray'r  
 From foes protect, with grateful care,—  
 Foes to your King, your Country, and your God !

Shall we, whom Wedlock's bands entwine,  
 With dastard souls our wives resign ;  
 While Love and Honour “ blow War's blast ;”  
 And Memory lives to paint endearments past ?  
 No :——tread the path which erst your fathers trod :  
 Guard female worth, and female charms.  
 Guard wedded love, from foes in arms :—  
 Foes to your King, your Country, and your God !

Shall we, who've fondly watch'd each grace  
 That seem'd to mark our infant race,  
 Now prematurely fix their doom,  
 While murderous rites pollute the victim's tomb ?  
 No :——tread the path which erst your fathers trod :  
 Like them th' ensanguin'd battle dare :  
 The foes nor child nor matron spare :  
 Foes to your King, your Country, and your God !

The trumpet sounds ! Ye British host,  
 On British ground defend your coast :  
 In every clime you've tam'd their pride,  
 When Kings their rulers—Sanctity their guide !  
 Now tread the path which erst your fathers trod :  
 United brave the impending storm !  
 One dreadful phalanx, Britons, form :  
 Friends to your King, your Country, and your God !

## EPODE

*On the Siege of Acre, and British Triumphs in the East.*

*By MR. BOWLES.*

### I.

**F**LY, son of Terror, fly !  
 Back o'er the burning desert he is fled !  
 In heaps the gory dead  
 Gash'd in the trenches lie !  
 His dazzling files no more  
 Flash on the Syrian sands,  
 As when from Egypt's ravag'd shore,  
 Aloft their gleaming falchions swinging,  
 Aloud their victor-paens singing

Their



Their onward way the Gallic legions took,  
 Despair, dismay, are on his alter'd look,  
 Yet hate indignant low'rs ;  
 Whilst high on Acre's fuming tow'rs  
 The shade of English Richard seems to stand ;  
 And frowning far, in dusky rows,  
 A thousand archers draw their bows !  
 They join the triumph of the British band,  
 And the rent watch-tow'r echoes to the cry,  
 Heard o'er the rolling surge,—“ They fly, they fly !”

## II.

“ Winds of the wilderness sweep o'er their bands,  
 “ And may their bones whiten the desert wide !”  
 The Mam'luc said, as on red Egypt's sands,  
 Gnashing, he clench'd his scymitar, and died !  
 The war trump answer'd : O'er the slain,  
 Yea the proud chief took up his taunting strain,  
 “ Victors of the world we tread—  
 “ From yonder monuments\* the dead  
 “ Our glorious march survey  
 “ To Acre—India !—In the sky  
 “ Let the banner invincible fly,  
 “ And our triumphs the trumps to the wilderness bray !”  
 Shall Acre's† feeble citadel,  
 Victor, thy shatter'd hosts repel ?  
 Insulting chief, despair—  
 A Briton meets thee there !  
 See beneath the burning wall  
 In reeking heaps th' assailants fall !  
 Now the hostile fires decline,  
 Now through the smoke's deep volumes shine !  
 Now above the bastions gray  
 The clouds of battle roll away ;  
 Where, with calm, yet glowing mien,  
 Britain's victorious Youth‡ is seen ;  
 He lifts his eye,  
 His country's ensigns wave through smoke on high,  
 Whilst the long-mingl'd shout is heard, “ They fly, they fly.”

## III.

Ancient Kishon,§ prouder swell,  
 On whose banks they bow'd, they fell—  
 The mighty ones of yore, whilst, with pale dread,  
 Inglorious Sisera fled !

3 M 4

Hoary

\* Pyramids.

† Acre, situated near Kishon and Carmel.

‡ Sir Sydney Smith.

§ See Song of Deborah:—“ The river Kishon, that ancient river : Oh, my soul, thou hast trodden down strength.



Hoary Carmel, witness thou,  
 And lift in conscious pride thy brow ;  
 As when, upon thy cloudy plain,  
 Baal's prophets cry'd in vain !  
 They gash'd their flesh, and leap'd, and cry'd,  
 From morn till ling'ring even-tide.  
 Then stern Elijah on his foes,  
 Strong in the might of Heav'n, arose !—  
 They died :—He, on the altars rent,  
 As the blackning clouds and rain  
 Came sounding from the western main,  
 Stood, like the Lord of fate, alone and eminent.

## IV.

What triumphs yet remain ?  
 Was it a groan ?—a hero\* fell.  
 On Egypt's plain  
 More loud the shouts of battle swell !  
 Host meet host with direr crash, —  
 Another† pours the red vindictive flash  
 Of battle. Mourn, proud Gallia, mourn  
 Thy distant sons scatter'd or slain ;  
 Whilst from their gory grasp is torn  
 The ensign hail'd “ invincible,” in vain !  
 What mystic monument ‡, to day restor'd,  
 Is wrested from the mosque's oblivious gloom ?  
 It is thy hallow'd tomb,  
 Scander §, the conqueror of the world, ador'd  
 A God to farthest Caucasus : the son  
 Of Ammon, who the crown of glory won,  
 Immortal, who the seas subdu'd ;  
 And said, (when on the sandy solitude  
 The hew-form'd city's || gleamy turrets rose)  
 “ Roll commerce here, till time shall close  
 “ The scene of things.” Their course long ages keep ;  
 Another\*\* bears the sceptre of the deep !  
 O'er wider seas  
 The sails of commerce catch the breeze ;  
 Thy city's battlements are rent,

And

\* Sir Ralph Abercrombie.

† Lord Hutchinson.

‡ Among the Egyptian antiquities now in the British Museum, there is a most singular monument, of the rarest and most valuable marble, the green Brechia, rescued, by the activity of Mr. Clark, the celebrated traveller, from the French ; and supposed by him, for many cogent reasons, to be the tomb of the founder of Alexandria. His arguments have great weight ; but whether they are well founded or not, the circumstance is, at least, highly poetical.

§ The Arabic name of Alexander.

|| Alexandria.

\*\* England.



And Britain's plain  
Holds of thy greatness, thy poor last remain—  
Thy awful moment.  
May she the paths of thy best\* fame explore,  
Till pyramids are dust, and time shall be no more.

THE WITCH OF LAPLAND.

*Written before a late storm. Partly in Imitation of Gray's  
"Descent of Odin."*

*By MR. BOYD.*

U PROSE the fiend of Gaul with speed,  
And seiz'd his fiery-footed steed,  
And over sea and land he flew,  
Till near the witches den he drew.  
The lofty rock, the gloomy cave,  
Echoed to Finland's roaring wave ;  
And far within the fiend's abode  
That rules the blasts, and vex the flood,  
"Give me a wind," the demon cry'd,  
"To sweep the broad Atlantic side,  
And drive away the British train,  
That block our ports, and guard the Main.  
A storm, a storm, to scour the sea,  
And claim a noble gift from me !  
Grant me a storm, and name your price.  
My pupil gives me large supplies."

WITCH.

"Tell what my reward shall be,  
Before my whirlwinds scourge the sea."

DEMON.

"Phials of tears I will bestow,  
By matrons shed in deepest woe ;  
And cinders swept from burning towns,  
And jewels rest from plunder'd crowns.  
A trampled cross, a sacred bowl,  
Pledge of a renegade's soul ;  
And if you to my prayer incline,  
That soul-benumbing plant is thine,  
Grafted on the Cyrnean† yew,  
Fostered with Tartarian dew.  
Nay, if you the blast unbind,  
A nobler gift shall soothe your mind.  
A mitre by a prelate worn,  
Who gave his creed to public scorn.

And

\* Alexander's maritime renown,

† Ancient name of Corsica.



And here it is on vellum fair,  
 In letters blue, his backward prayer,  
 When his dire spells the Magian hurl'd  
 Against the guardian of the world.  
 This scarf is dyed in infants' blood,  
 Shed by its sire in furious mood ;  
 When robb'd by Gaul, with phrenzy wild,  
 Famine to shun, he stabb'd his child.  
 The maiden that this girdle wore,  
 Lies pale and stiff on Weser's shore ;  
 To shun the Gaul's infuriate chace,  
 She chose the water's cold embrace.  
 And see what Gallic love bestows,  
 Impartial boon to friends and foes,  
 Those *scales* that weigh with even poise,  
 Plagues, that is, *blessings in disguise.*"

## WITCH.

" Give me all thy plundered store,  
 That cross and kerchief stain'd with gore,  
 But somewhat still you must resign,  
 Before the hurricane be thine :  
 A warrior's hand I must obtain,  
 Unmatch'd in combats of the main ;  
 This martial hand in battle lost,  
 Alone can free your cumber'd coast ;  
 And you the precious bones must find,  
 Wherever borne by wave or wind.  
 This charmed hand must be my prize,  
 Spreading to gigantic size ;  
 And, nerved anew by magic lays,  
 The anchor's magnitude can raise.  
 Fate and France the boon demand,  
 'Tis Neptune's gift—'tis Nelson's hand."

" I know the hand, I hate the name,"  
 The fiend reply'd, with eyes of flame,  
 And seaward soon he took his flight,  
 Borne on the dragon wing of night.  
 And oft he search'd the sea-wolf's jaw,  
 And oft the shark's voracious maw ;  
 At length a shattered arm he found,  
 And bore to Lapland's stormy bound.

The Crone her crimson flag unfurl'd,  
 Dread signal to the vap'ry world ;  
 And soon her elves, with sullen tune,  
 Drew a dim halo round the moon.



Loud and long the tempest blew,  
 Uptackle ran the gallant crew ;  
 The navy furl'd her sails in haste,  
 Half yielding to the furious blast.  
 But mightier powers had rendered vain  
 The compact of the hellish train.  
 And soon like eagles scattered far,  
 By the rude rage of windy war,  
 The squadrons rallied to their post,  
 Lining with fate the trembling coast.

Storming with rage, the demon finds  
 The grey commandress of the winds,  
 And loud with furious jars assail'd,  
 Demanding why her magic fail'd.  
 "Alas!" the Beldam cry'd, and shook  
 Her sides with laughter as she spoke,  
 "My friend, you quite mistook my meaning;  
 Dead fingers from the ocean gleaning,  
 That hand I meant is active still;  
 And HE that baffles all our skill,  
 Defends from ev'ry chance of war,  
 That member with peculiar care.  
 But, for the spoils you and your chief  
 Gave me, a treasure past belief,  
 They shall be paid (by hell I vow)  
 With ten-fold *usury* below."

### PALESTINE;

A PRIZE POEM. By REGINALD HEBER.

**R** EFT of thy sons, amid thy foes forlorn,  
 Mourn, widow'd queen, forgotten Sion, mourn!  
 Is this thy place, sad city, this thy throne,  
 Where the wild desert rears its craggy stone?  
 While suns unblest their angry lustre fling,  
 And way-worn pilgrims seek the scanty spring?—  
 Where now thy pomp, which kings with envy view'd?  
 Where now thy might, which all those kings subdu'd?  
 No martial myriads muster in thy gate;  
 No suppliant nations in thy temple wait;  
 No prophet bards, thy glittering courts among,  
 Wake the full lyre, and swell the tide of song:  
 But lawless Force, and meagre Want is there,  
 And the quick darting eye of restless Fear;

While



While cold Oblivion, 'mid thy ruins laid,  
Folds his dark wing beneath the ivy shade.

Ye guardian saints ! ye warrior sons of heaven,  
To whose high care Judæa's state was given !  
O wont of old your nightly watch to keep,  
A host of gods, on Sion's towery steep !  
If e'er your secret footsteps linger still  
By Siloa's fount, or Tabor's echoing hill ;  
If e'er your song on Salem's glories dwell,  
And mourn the captive land you lov'd so well ;  
(For oft, 'tis said, in Kedron's palmy vale,  
Mysterious harpings swell the midnight gale,  
And, blest as balmy dews that Hermon cheer,  
Melt in soft cadence on the pilgrim's ear ;)  
Forgive, blest spirits, if a theme so high  
Mock the weak notes of mortal minstrelsy !  
Yet, might your aid this anxious breast inspire  
With one faint spark of Milton's seraph fire,  
Then should my Muse ascend with bolder flight,  
And wave her eagle-plumes exulting in the light.

Oh happy once in heaven's peculiar love,  
Delight of men below, and saints above !  
Though, Salem, now the spoiler's ruffian hand  
Has loos'd his hell-hounds o'er thy wasted land ;  
Though weak, and whelm'd beneath the storms of fate,  
Thy house is left unto thee desolate ;  
Though thy proud stones in cumbrous ruin fall,  
And seas of sand o'er-top thy mouldering wall ;  
Yet shall the Muse to fancy's ardent view  
Each shadowy trace of faded pomp renew :  
And as the Seer on Pisgah's topmost brow,  
With glistening eye beheld the plain below,  
With prescient ardour drank the scented gale,  
And bade the opening glades of Canaan hail ;  
Her eagle eye shall scan the prospect wide,  
From Carmel's cliffs to Almotana's tide ;  
The flinty waste, the cedar-tufted hill,  
The liquid health of smooth Ardeni's rill ;  
The grot, where, by the watch-fire's evening blaze,  
The robber riots, or the hermit prays ;  
Or, where the tempest rives the hoary stone,  
The wintry top of giant Lebanon.

Fierce, hardy, proud, in conscious freedom bold,  
Those stormy seas the warrior Druses hold ;

From



From Norman blood their lofty line they trace,  
 Their lion courage proves their generous race.  
 They, only they, while all around them kneel  
 In sullen homage to the Thracian steel,  
 Teach their pale despot's waning moon to fear  
 The patriot terrors of the mountain spear.

Yes, val'rous chiefs, while yet your sabres shine,  
 The native guard of feeble Palestine,  
 O ever thus, by no vain boast dismay'd,  
 Defend the birthright of the cedar shade!  
 What though no more for you th' obedient gale  
 Swells the white bosom of the Tyrian sail;  
 Though now no more your glittering marts unfold  
 Sidonian dyes and Lusitanian gold;  
 Though not for you the pale and sickly slave  
 Forgets the light in Ophir's wealthy cave;  
 Yet your's the lot, in proud contentment blest,  
 Where cheerful labour leads to tranquil rest.  
 No robber-rage the ripening harvest knows;  
 And unrestrain'd the generous vintage flows:  
 Nor less your sons to manliest deeds aspire,  
 And Asia's mountains glow with Spartan fire.

So when, deep sinking in the rosy main,  
 The western Sun forsakes the Syrian plain,  
 His watery rays refracted lustre shed,  
 And pour their latest light on Carmel's head.

Yet shines your praise, amid surrounding gloom,  
 As the lone lamp that trembles in the tomb:  
 For, few the souls that spurn a tyrant's chain,  
 And small the bounds of Freedom's scanty reign.  
 As the poor outcast on the cheerless wild,  
 Arabia's parent, clasp'd her fainting child,  
 And wander'd near the roof no more her home,  
 Forbid to linger, yet afraid to roam:  
 My sorrowing fancy quits the happier height,  
 And southward throws her half-averted sight.  
 For, sad the scenes Judea's plains disclose,  
 A dreary waste of undistinguish'd woes:  
 See War untir'd, his crimson pinions spread,  
 And foul Revenge, that tramples on the dead!  
 Lo, where from far the guarded fountains shine,  
 Thy tents, Nebaioth, rise, and Kedar, thine!  
 'Tis your's the boast to mark the stranger's way,  
 And spur your headlong chargers on the prey,



Or rouse your nightly numbers from afar,  
 And on the hamlet pour the waste of war :  
 Nor spare the hoary head, nor bid your eye  
 Revere the sacred smile of infancy.  
 Such now the clans, whose fiery coursers feed  
 Where waves on Kishon's bank the whispering reed ;  
 And their's the soil, where, curling to the skies,  
 Smokes on Gerizim's mount Samaria's sacrifice.  
 While Israel's sons, by scorpion curses driven,  
 Outcasts of earth, and reprobate of heaven,  
 Through the wide world in friendless exile stray,  
 Remorse and Shame sole comrades of their way,  
 With dumb despair their country's wrongs behold,  
 And, dead to glory, only burn for gold.

O Thou their Guide, their Father, and their Lord,  
 Lov'd for thy mercies, for thy power ador'd !  
 If at thy name the waves forgot their force,  
 And refluent Jordan sought his trembling source ;  
 If at thy name, like sheep, the mountains fled,  
 And haughty Sirion bow'd his marble head :—  
 To Israel's woes a pitying ear incline ;  
 And raise from earth thy long-neglected vine !  
 Her rifled fruits behold the heathen bear,  
 And wild wood-boars her mangled clusters tear.  
 Was it for this she stretch'd her peopled reign,  
 From far Euphrates to the western main ?  
 For this, o'er many a hill her boughs she threw,  
 And her wide arms like goodly cedars grew ?  
 For this, proud Edom slept beneath the shade,  
 And o'er th' Arabian deep her branches play'd ?  
 O feeble boast of transitory power !  
 Vain, fruitless trust of Judah's happier hour !  
 Not such their hope, when through the parted main,  
 The cloudy wonder led the warrior train ;  
 Not such their hope, when through the fields of night,  
 The torch of heaven diffus'd its friendly light :  
 Not, when fierce Conquest urg'd the onward war,  
 And hurl'd stern Canaan from his iron car :  
 Nor, when five monarch's led to Gibeon's fight,  
 In rude array, the harness'd Amorite :  
 Yes—in that hour, by mortal accents stay'd,  
 The lingering Sun his fiery wheels delay'd ;  
 The Moon, obedient, trembled at the sound !  
 Curb'd her pale car, and check'd her mazy round !

Let Sinai tell—for she beheld his might,  
 And God's own darkness veil'd her mystic height :



(He, cherub-borne, upon the whirlwind rode,  
 And the red mountain like a furnace glow'd :)  
 Let Sinai tell—but who shall dare recite  
 His praise, his power,—eternal, infinite?—  
 Awe-struck I cease ; nor bid my strains aspire,  
 Or serve his altar with unhallow'd fire.

Such were the cares, that watch'd o'er Israel's fate,  
 And such the glories of their infant state.  
 —Triumphant race ! and did your power decay ?  
 Fail'd the bright promise of your early day ?  
 No ;—by that sword, which, red with heathen gore,  
 A giant spoil, the stripling champion bore ;  
 By him, the chief to farthest India known,  
 The mighty master of the ivory throne ;  
 In heaven's own strength, high towering o'er her foes,  
 Victorious Salem's lion banner rose :  
 Before her footstool prostrate nations lay,  
 And vassal tyrants crouch'd beneath her sway.  
 —And he, the warrior sage, whose restless mind,  
 Through nature's mazes wander'd unconfin'd ;  
 Who, every bird and beast, and insect knew,  
 And spoke of every plant that quaffs the dew ;  
 To him were known—so Hagar's offspring tell—  
 The powerful sigill and the starry spell ;  
 The midnight call, hell's shadowy legions dread,  
 And sounds that burst the slumbers of the dead.  
 Hence all his might ; for who could these oppose,  
 And Tadmor thus, and Syrian Balbec rose.  
 Yet e'en the works of toiling Genii fall,  
 And vain was Estakhar's enchanted wall.  
 In frantic converse with the mournful wind,  
 There oft the houseless Santon rests reclin'd ;  
 Strange shapes he views, and drinks with wondering ears  
 The voices of the dead, and songs of other years.

Such, the faint echo of departed praise,  
 Still sound Arabia's legendary lays ;  
 And thus their fabling bards delight to tell,  
 How lovely were thy tents, O Israel !

For thee his ivory load Behemoth bore,  
 And far Sofala teem'd with golden ore ;  
 Thine all the arts that wait on wealth's increase,  
 Or bask and wanton in the beam of peace.  
 When Tyber slept beneath the cypress gloom,  
 And silence held the lonely woods of Rome ;



Or e'er to Greece the builders's skill was known,  
 Or the light chisel brush'd the Parian stone ;  
 Yet here fair science nurs'd her infant fire,  
 Fann'd by the artist aid of friendly Tyre,  
 Then tow'r'd the palace, then in awful state,  
 The temple rear'd its everlasting gate.  
 No workman steel, no ponderous axes rung :  
 Like some tall palm the noiseless fabric sprung  
 Majestic silence !—then the harp awoke,  
 The cymbal clang'd, the deep-voic'd trumpet spoke ;  
 And Salem spread her suppliant arms abroad,  
 View'd the descending flame, and bless'd the present God.

Nor shrunk she then, when raging deep and loud,  
 Beat o'er her soul the billows of the proud.  
 E'en they, who dragg'd to Shinar's fiery sand,  
 Till'd with reluctant strength the stranger's land ;  
 Who sadly told the slow revolving years,  
 And steep'd the captive's bitter bread with tears ;—  
 Yet, oft their hearts with kindling hopes would burn,  
 Their destin'd triumphs, and their glad return :  
 And their sad lyres, which, silent and unstrung,  
 In mournful ranks on Babel's willows hung ;  
 Would oft awake to chaunt their future fame,  
 And from the skies their lingering Saviour claim ;  
 His promis'd aid could every fear controul ;  
 This nerv'd the warrior's arm ; this steel'd the martyr's soul !

Nor vain their hope :—bright beaming through the sky,  
 Burst in full blaze the Day-spring from on high ;  
 Earth's utmost isles exulted at the sight,  
 And crowding nations drank the orient light.  
 Lo, star-led chiefs Assyrian odours bring,  
 And bending Magi seek their infant king !  
 Mark'd ye where, hovering o'er his radiant head,  
 The dove's white wings celestial glory shed ?  
 Daughter of Sion ! virgin queen ! rejoice !  
 Clap the glad hand, and lift the exulting voice !  
 He comes,—but not in regal splendour drest,  
 The haughty diadem, the Tyrian vest ;  
 Not arm'd in flame, all glorious from afar,  
 Of hosts the chieftain, and the lord of war :  
 Messiah comes :—let furious discord cease ;  
 Be peace on earth before the Prince of peace !  
 Disease and anguish feel his blest controul,  
 And howling fiends release the tortur'd soul ;  
 The beams of gladness hell's dark caves illumine,  
 And mercy broods above the distant gloom.



Thou palsied earth, with noon-day night o'erspread !  
 Thou sickening sun, so dark, so deep, so red !  
 Ye hovering ghosts, that throng the starless air,  
 Why shakes the earth ? why fades the light ? declare !  
 Are those His limbs, with ruthless scourges torn ?  
 His brows all bleeding with the twisted thorn ?  
 His the pale form, the meek, forgiving eye,  
 Rais'd from the cross in patient agony ?  
 —Be dark, thou sun,—thou noon-day night arise,  
 And hide, oh hide, the dreadful sacrifice !

Ye faithful few, by bold affection led,  
 Who round the Saviour's cross your sorrows shed,  
 Not for His sake your tearful vigils keep ;—  
 Weep for your country, for your children weep !  
 —Vengeance ! thy fiery wing their race pursu'd ;  
 Thy thirsty poniard blushed with infant blood.  
 Rous'd at thy call, and panting still for game,  
 The bird of war, the Latin eagle came.  
 Then Judah rag'd, by ruffian Discord led,  
 Drunk with the steamy carnage of the dead :  
 He saw his sons by dubious slaughter fall,  
 And war without, and death within the wall.  
 Wide-wasting plague, gaunt famine, mad despair,  
 And dire debate, and clamorous strife was there :  
 Love, strong as death, retain'd his might no more,  
 And the pale parent drank her children's gore.  
 Yet they, who wont to roam th' ensanguin'd plain,  
 And spurn with fell delight their kindred slain ;  
 E'en they, when high above the dusty fight,  
 Their burning Temple rose in lurid light,  
 To their lov'd altars paid a parting groan,  
 And in their country's woes forgot their own.

As, mid the cedar courts and gates of gold  
 The traml'd ranks in miry carnage roll'd ;  
 To save their Temple, ev'ry hand essay'd,  
 And with cold fingers grasp'd the feeble blade :  
 Through their torn veins reviving fury ran,  
 And life's last anger warm'd the dying man.

But heavier far the fetter'd captive's doom !  
 To glut with sighs the iron ear of Rome ;  
 To swell, slow pacing by the car's tall side,  
 The stoic tyrant's philosophic pride ;  
 To flesh the lion's ravenous jaws, or feel  
 The sportive fury of the fencer's steel ;



Or pant, deep plung'd beneath the sultry mine,  
For the light gales of balmy Palestine.

Ah! fruitless now no more,—an empty coast,  
She mourn'd her sons enslav'd, her glories lost :  
In her wide streets the lonely raven bred ;  
There bark'd the wolf, and dire hyænas fed.  
Yet 'midst her towery fanes, in ruin laid,  
The pilgrim saint his murm'ring vespers paid :  
'Twas his to climb the tufted rocks, and rove  
The chequer'd twilight of the olive grove ;  
'Twas his to bend beneath the sacred gloom;  
And wear with many a kiss Messiah's tomb :  
While forms celestial fill'd his tranced eye,  
The day-light dreams of pensive piety,  
O'er his still breast the tearful fervour stole,  
And softer sorrows charm'd the mourner's soul.

Oh! lives there one who mocks his artless zeal?  
Too proud to worship, and too wise to feel :  
Be his the soul with wint'ry reason blest,  
The dull, lethargic sovereign of the breast !  
Be his the life that creeps in dead repose,  
No joy that sparkles, and no tear that flows !

Far other they who rear'd yon pompous shrine,  
And bade the rock with Parian marble shine.  
Then hallow'd Peace renew'd her wealthy reign,  
Then altars smok'd and Sion smil'd again.  
There sculptur'd gold and costly gems were seen,  
And all the bounties of the British queen ;  
There barbarous kings their sandal'd nations led,  
And steel-clad champions bow'd the crested head.  
There, when her fiery race the desert pour'd,  
And pale Byzantium fear'd Medina's sword,  
When coward Asia shook in trembling woe,  
And bent appall'd before the Bactrian bow ;  
From the moist regions of the western star  
The wandering hermit wak'd the storm of war.  
Their limbs all iron, and their souls all flame,  
A countless host, the red-cross warriors came ;  
E'en hoary priests the sacred combat wage,  
And clothe in steel the palsied arm of age ;  
While beardless youths and tender maids assume  
The weighty morion and the glancing plume.  
In bashful pride the warrior virgins wield  
The pond'rous falchion and the sun-like shield,

And



And start to see their armour's iron gleam  
Dance with blue lustre in Tarbaria's stream.

The blood-red banner floating o'er their van,  
All madly blithe the mingl'd myriads ran :  
Impatient death beheld his destin'd food,  
And hov'ring vultures snuff'd the scent of blood.

Not such the numbers, nor the host so dread  
By northern Brenn, or Scythian Timur led ;  
Nor such the heart-inspiring zeal that bore  
United Greece to Phrygia's reedy shore !  
There Gaul's proud knights with boastful mien advance,  
Form the long line, and shake the cornel lance ;  
Here, link'd with Thrace, in close battalions stand  
Ausonia's sons, a soft inglorious band ;  
There the stern Norman joins the Austrian train,  
And the dark tribes of late reviving Spain ;  
Here, in black files, advancing firm and slow,  
Victorious Albion twangs the deadly bow :—  
Albion,—still prompt the captive's wrong to aid,  
And wield in freedom's cause the freeman's gen'rous blade !

Ye sainted spirits of the warrior dead,  
Whose giant force Britannia's armies led !  
Whose bick'ring falchions, foremost in the fight,  
Still pour'd confusion on the Soldan's might ;  
Lords of the biting axe and beamy spear,  
Wide conquering Edward, lion Richard hear !  
At Albion's call your crested pride resume,  
And burst the marble slumbers of the tomb !  
Your sons behold in arms, in heart the same,  
Still press the footsteps of parental fame,  
To Salem still their generous aid supply,  
And pluck the palm of Syrian chivalry !

When he from towery Malta's yielding isle,  
And the green waters of reluctant Nile,  
Th' apostate chief,—from Misraim's subject shore  
To Acre's walls his trophied banners bore ;  
When the pale desert mark'd his proud array,  
And Desolation hop'd an ampler sway ;  
What hero then triumphant Gaul dismay'd ?  
What arm repell'd the victor renegade ?  
Britannia's champion !—bath'd in hostile blood,  
High on the breach the dauntless SEAMAN stood.  
Admiring Asia saw th' unequal fight,—  
E'en the pale crescent bless'd the Christian's might.



Oh, day of death ! oh thirst, beyond controul,  
 Of crimson conquest in th' invader's soul !  
 The slain, yet warm, by social footsteps trod,  
 O'er the red moat supply'd a panting road ;  
 O'er the red moat our conquering thunders flew,  
 And loftier still the grisly rampire grew,  
 While proudly glow'd above the rescu'd tower  
 The wavy cross that mark'd Britannia's power.

Yet still destruction sweeps the lonely plain,  
 And heroes lift the generous sword in vain :  
 Still o'er her sky the clouds of anger roll,  
 And God's revenge hangs heavy on her soul.  
 Yet shall she rise ;—but not by war restor'd,  
 Not built in murder,—planted by the sword.  
 Yes, Salem, thou shalt rise : thy Father's aid  
 Shall heal the wound his chastening hand has made ;  
 Shall judge the proud oppressor's ruthless sway,  
 And burst his brazen bonds, and cast his cords away.  
 Then on your tops shall deathless verdure spring ;  
 Break forth, ye mountains, and ye vallies sing !  
 No more your thirsty rocks shall frown forlorn,  
 The unbeliever's jest, the heathen's scorn ;  
 The sultry sands shall tenfold harvests yield,  
 And a new Eden deck the thorny field.  
 E'en now, perhaps, wide waving o'er the land,  
 The mighty angel lifts his golden wand ;  
 Courts the bright vision of descending power,  
 Fells every gate, and measures every tower ;  
 And chides the tardy seals that yet detain  
 Thy lion, Judah, from his destin'd reign.

And who is He ? the vast, the awful form,  
 Girt with the whirlwind, sandal'd with the storm ?  
 A western cloud around his limbs is spread,  
 His crown a rainbow, and a sun his head.  
 To highest heaven he lifts his kingly hand,  
 And treads at once the ocean and the land :  
 And hark ; his voice amid the thunder's roar,  
 His dreadful voice, that time shall be no more !

Lo ! cherub hands the golden courts prepare,  
 Lo ! thrones are set, and every saint is there ;  
 Earth's utmost bounds confess their awful sway,  
 The mountains worship, and the isles obey ;  
 Nor sun nor moon they need,—nor day, nor night ;—  
 God is their temple, and the Lamb their light.

And



And shall not Israel's sons exulting come,  
 Hail the glad beam, and claim their ancient home ;  
 On David's throne shall David's offspring reign,  
 And the dry bones be warm with life again.  
 Hark ! white-rob'd crowds their deep Hosannas raise,  
 And the hoarse flood repeats the sound of praise ;  
 Ten thousand harps attune the mystic song,  
 Ten thousand thousand saints the strain prolong ;——  
 “ Worthy the Lamb ! omnipotent to save,  
 “ Who died, who lives, triumphant o'er the grave ! ”

## AN ELEGY.

*By WILLIAM MASON, not published in his Works.*

*(From Bingley's Tour in North Wales.)*

1.

**F**ROM southern Cambria's richly varied clime,  
 Where grace and grandeur share an equal reign ;  
 Where cliffs o'erhung with shade, and hills sublime  
 Of mountain lineage sweep into the main :

2.

From bays where Commerce furls her wearied sails,  
 Proud to have dar'd the dangers of the deep,  
 And floats at anchor'd ease enclos'd by vales,  
 To Ocean's verge where stray the vent'rous sheep :

3.

From brilliant scenes like these I turn my eye,  
 And lo ! a solemn circle meets its view,  
 Wall'd to protect inhum'd mortality,  
 And shaded close with poplar and with yew.

4.

Deep in that dell the humble fane appears,  
 Whence prayers, (if humble, best,) to heaven aspire ;  
 No tower embattl'd, no proud spire it rears,  
 A moss-grown corslet decks its lowly choir.

5.

And round that fane the sons of toil repose,  
 Who drove the plough-share, or the sail who spread,  
 With wives, with children, all in measur'd rows,  
 Two whitened stones well mark the feet and head.

6.

While these between full many a simple flower,  
 Pansy and pink with languid beauty smile ;  
 The primrose opening at the twilight hour,  
 And velvet tufts of fragrant camomile.

7.

For more intent the smell than sight to please,  
 Surviving love selects its vernal race,



Plants that with early perfume feed the breeze,  
May best each dank and noxious vapour chase.

8.

The flaunting tulip, the carnation gay,  
Turnsole and piony, and all the train  
That love to glitter in the noon-tide ray,  
Ill suit the place where death and silence reign.

9.

Not but perchance to deck some virgin's tomb,  
Where violets sweet their two-fold purple spread,  
Some rose of maiden blush may faintly bloom,  
Or withering hang its emblematic head.

10.

These to renew with more than annual care,  
That wakeful love with pensive step will go ;  
The hand that lifts the dibble shakes with fear  
Lest haply it disturb the friend below.

11.

Vain fear ! for never shall disturber come  
Potent enough to wake such sleep profound,  
Till the dread herald to the day of doom  
Pours from his trump the world-dissolving sound.

12.

Vain fear ! yet who that boasts a heart to feel,  
An eye to pity, would that fear reprove ?  
They only who are curst with breasts of steel,  
Can mock the foibles of surviving love.

13.

These foibles, far beyond cold reason's claim,  
Have power the social charities to spread ;  
They feed, sweet tenderness, thy lambent flame,  
Which, while it warms the heart, improves the head.

14.

Its chemic aid a grateful heart applies,  
That from the dross of self each wish refines ;  
Extracts the lib'ral spirit, bids it rise,  
Till with primeval purity it shines.

15.

Take then, poor peasants, from the friend of Gray,  
His humbler praise, for Gray or fail'd to see,  
Or saw unnotic'd, what had wak'd a lay  
Rich in the pathos of true poesy.

16.

Yes, had he pac'd this church-way path along,  
Or lean'd like me against this ivied wall,  
How sadly sweet had flow'd his Dorian song,  
Then sweetest when it flow'd at nature's call.



17.

Like Tadmor's king, his comprehensive mind  
 Each plant's peculiar character could seize,  
 And hence his moralizing muse had join'd  
 To all these flowers a thousand similies.

18.

But he, alas ! in distant village grave,  
 Has laid with dear maternal dust his own :  
 E'en now the pang which parting friendship gave  
 Thrills at my heart, and tells me he is gone.

19.

Take then from me the pensive strain that flows  
 Congenial to this consecrated gloom,  
 Where all that meets my eye some symbol shows  
 Of grief, like mine, that lives beyond the tomb.

20.

Shows me that you, though doom'd the live-long year  
 For scanty food the toiling arm to ply,  
 Can smite your breasts, and find an inmate there  
 To heave, when memory bids, the ready sigh.

21.

Still nurse that best of inmates, gentle swains !  
 Still act as heart-felt sympathy inspires ;  
 The taste that birth from education gains  
 Serves but to chill affection's native fires.

22.

To you more knowledge than what shields from vice  
 Were but a gift to multiply your cares ;  
 Of matter and of mind let reasoner's nice  
 Dispute, be patience yours, presumption theirs.

23.

You know, (what more can earthly science know ?)  
 That all must die ! by revelation's ray  
 Illum'd, you trust the ashes plac'd below  
 These flowery tufts shall rise to endless day.

24.

What if you deem, by hoar tradition led,  
 To you perchance devolv'd from druids old,  
 That parted souls at solemn seasons tread  
 The circles that their shrines of clay enfold :

25.

What if you deem they some sad pleasure take  
 These poor memorials of your love to view,  
 And scent the perfume for the planter's sake,  
 That breaths from vulgar rosemary and rue.

26.

Unfeeling wit may scorn, and pride may frown,  
 Yet fancy, empress of the realms of song,  
 Shall bless the decent mode, and reason own  
 It may be right,—for who can prove it wrong ?



## THE SCHOOL-BOY.

*In the Manner of the Splendid Shilling.*

BY THE REV. THOMAS MAURICE.

**T**HIRICE happy he, whose hours the cheering smiles  
 Of freedom bless ; who wantons uncontroll'd  
 Where ease invites, or pleasure's syren voice.  
 Him the stern tyrant, with his iron scourge,  
 Annoys not, nor the dire oppressive weight  
 Of galling chain ; but, when the blushing morn  
 Purples the east, with eager transport wild,  
 O'er hill, o'er valley, on his panting steed,  
 He bounds exulting, as in full career  
 With horns, and hounds, and thund'ring shouts, he drives  
 The flying stag ; or when the dusky shades  
 Of eve, advancing, veil the darken'd sky,  
 To neigh'ring tavern, blithesome, he resorts  
 With boon companion, where they drown their cares  
 In sprightly bumpers, and the mantling bowl.

Far otherwise, within these darksome walls,  
 Whose gates, with rows of triple steel secur'd,  
 And many a bolt, prohibit all egress,  
 I spend my joyless days ; ere dawn appears,  
 Rous'd from my peaceful slumbers by the sound  
 Of awe-inspiring bell, whose ev'ry stroke  
 Chills my heart-blood, all trembling I descend  
 From dreary attic, round whose ancient roof,  
 Gaping with hideous chinks, the whistling blast  
 Perpetual raves, and fierce descending rains  
 Discharge their fury.—Dire lethargic dews  
 Oppress my drowsy sense, scarce yet awake  
 From rapture's airy dreams, where, fir'd with all  
 That Virgil sang, or fabling Homer feign'd,  
 My fancy realiz'd poetic tales.  
 And rang'd Elysian valleys :—now I quaff,  
 From crystal goblets bright with gems and gold,  
 Rich nectar, drink of gods—now sore oppress'd  
 With goading famine, on ambrosial fruits  
 Banquet with thund'ring Jove :—ah transient feast !  
 For like, O Tantalus, thy feign'd repast,  
 The airy viands mock my waking grasp !  
 Meanwhile benumbing cold invades my joints,  
 As, with slow, fault'ring footsteps, I resort  
 To where, of antique mould, a lofty dome  
 Rears its tremendous front ; here all at once,

From



From thousand diff'rent tongues, a mighty hum  
 Assaults my ears ; loud as the distant roar  
 Of tumbling torrents ; or as in some mart  
 Of public note, for traffic far renown'd,  
 Where Jew with Grecian, Turk with African,  
 Assembled, in one general peal unite,  
 Of dreadful jargon.—Straight on wooden bench  
 I take my seat, and con, with studious care,  
 Th' appointed tasks ; o'er many a pazzling page  
 Poring intent, and sage Athenian bard,  
 With dialect, and mood, and tense, perplex'd,  
 And conjugations varied without end.

When lo ! with haughty stride (in size like him  
 Who erst extended on the burning lake  
 Lay floating many a rood) his sullen brow  
 With low'ring frowns and fearful glooms o'er cast,  
 Enters the pedagogue ;—terrific sight !  
 An ample nine-fold peruke, spread immense,  
 Luxuriant waving down his shoulders, plays ;  
 His hand a bunch of limber twig sustains,  
 Call'd by the vulgar *Birch* ; Tartarean root,  
 Whose rankling points, in blackest poison dipp'd,  
 Inflict a mortal pain ; and, where they 'light,  
 A ghastly furrow leave. Scar'd at the sight,  
 The bustling multitude, with anxious hearts,  
 Their stations seek.—A solemn pause ensues ;  
 As when of old, the monarch of the floods,  
 'Midst raging hurricanes, and battling waves,  
 Shaking the dreadful trident, rear'd aloft  
 His awful brow,—sudden the furious winds  
 Were hush'd in peace, the billows cease their rage ;—  
 Or when (if mighty themes like these allow  
 A humble metaphor) the sportive race  
 Of nibbling heroes, bent on wanton play,  
 Beneath the shelter of some well-stor'd barn,  
 In many an airy circle wheel around ;  
 Some eye perchance, in private nook conceal'd,  
 Beholds Grimalkin ; instant they disperse,  
 In headlong flight, each to his secret cell,  
 If haply he may 'scape impending fate.

Thus ceas'd the general clamor, all remain  
 In silent terror wrapt, and thought profound.

Meanwhile, the pedagogue, throughout the dome,  
 His fiery eyeballs, like two blazing stars,  
 Portentous rolls, on some unthinking wretch



To shed their baneful influence ; whilst his voice,  
 Like thunder, ' or the cannon's sudden burst,  
 Three times is heard, and thrice the roofs resound !  
 A sudden paleness gathers in my face ;  
 Thro' all my limbs a stiff'ning horror spreads,  
 Cold as the dews of death, nor heed my eyes  
 Their wonted function ; but in stupid gaze  
 Ken the fell monster ; from my trembling hands  
 The thumb-worn volume drops. Oh ! dire presage  
 Of instant woe ! for now the mighty sound,  
 Pregnant with dismal tidings, once again  
 Strikes my astonish'd ears. Transfix'd with awe,  
 And senseless for a time, I stand ; but soon  
 By friendly jog, or neighb'ring whisper rous'd,  
 Obey the dire injunction ; straight I loose  
 Depending brogues, and to the awful stroke  
 Of magisterial vengeance, daily gorg'd,  
 (As Moloch erst, with infant tears and blood)  
 With indignation bow ;—Nor long delays  
 The monarch ; from his palace stalking down,  
 With visage all inflam'd, his sable robe  
 Sweeping in length'ning folds along the ground,  
 He shakes his sceptre, and th' impending scourge  
 Brandishes high ; nor tears nor shrieks avail ;  
 But with impetuous fury it descends,  
 Imprinting horrid wounds, with fatal flow  
 Of blood attended, and convulsive pangs.

Curst be the wretch, for ever doom'd to bear  
 Infernal whippings, he whose savage hands  
 First grasp'd these barb'rous weapons ; bitter cause  
 Of foul disgrace, and many a dolorous groan,  
 To hapless school-boy.—Could it not suffice  
 I groan'd and toil'd beneath the merciless weight  
 By stern relentless tyranny impos'd ;  
 But scourges too, and cudgels, were reserv'd  
 To goad my wretched sides ; this wretched life  
 Loading with heavier ills ; a life expos'd  
 To all the woes of hunger, toil, distress ;  
 Cut off from ev'ry genial source of bliss ;  
 From ev'ry bland amusement wont to soothe  
 The youthful breast—except when father Time,  
 In joyful change, rolls round the festive hour,  
 That gives this meagre, pining figure back  
 To parent fondness, and its native roofs !  
 Fir'd with the thought, then, then my tow'ring soul  
 Rises superior to its load, and spurns  
 Its proud oppressors, frantic with delight,



My fancy riots in successive scenes  
 Of bliss and pleasures : plans and schemes are laid  
 How best the fleeting moments to improve,  
 Nor lose one portion of so rare a boon.  
 But soon, too soon, these glorious scenes are fled ;  
 Scarce one short moon enjoy'd, (oh ! transient state  
 Of sublunary bliss ! ) by bitter change ;  
 And other scenes succeeded, what fierce pangs  
 Then rack my soul ; what ceaseless floods of grief  
 Rush down my cheeks, while strong convulsive throbs  
 Heave all my frame, and choke the power of speech !  
 Forlorn I sigh ; nor heed the gentle voice  
 Of friend or stranger, who with soothing words,  
 And slender gift, would fain beguile my woes !  
 In vain ; for what can ought avail to soothe  
 Such raging anguish ! Oft with sudden glance,  
 Before my eyes, in all its horrors, glares  
 That well-known form, and oft I seem to hear  
 The thund'ring scourge !—Ah me ! e'en now I feel  
 Its deadly venom, raging as the pangs  
 That tore Alcides, when the burning vest  
 Prey'd on his wasted sides.—At length return'd  
 Within these hated walls, again I mourn,  
 A sullen prisoner, till the wish'd approach  
 Of joyous holiday, or festive play,  
 Releases me : ah ! freedom that must end  
 With thee, declining Sol. All hail, ye saints !  
 Ye deathless martyrs ! whose recorded names  
 Adorn the annual chronologic page  
 Of *Wing* or *Partridge* : oft, when sore oppress'd  
 With dire calamities, the glad return  
 Of your triumphant festivals, hath cheer'd  
 My drooping soul. Nor be thy name forgot,  
 Illustrious George, for much to thee I owe  
 Of heart-felt rapture, as with loyal zeal  
 Glowing, I pile the crackling bonfire high,  
 Or hurl the mounting rocket thro' the air,  
 Or fiery whizzing serpent ; thus thy name  
 Shall still be honor'd, as thro' future years,  
 The circling seasons roll their festive round.

Sometimes, by dire compulsive hunger press'd,  
 I spring the neigh'ring fence, and scale the trunk  
 Of apple-trees ; or, wide o'er flow'ry lawns,  
 By hedge or thicket, bend my hasty steps,  
 Intent, with secret ambush, to surprise  
 The straw-built nest, and unsuspecting brood  
 Of thrush or bullfinch ; oft, with watchful ken,



Eyeing the backward lawns, lest hostile glance  
 Observe my footsteps, while each rustling leaf,  
 Stir'd by the gentle gale, alarms my fears :  
 Then, parch'd beneath the burning heats of noon,  
 I plunge into the limpid stream, that laves  
 The silent vale, or on its grassy banks,  
 Beneath some oak's majestic shade, recline ;  
 Envyng the vagrant fishes, as they pass,  
 Their boon of freedom ; till the distant sound  
 Of tolling curfew warns me to depart.

Thus, under tyrant power, I groan, oppress'd  
 With worse than slav'ry ; yet my free-born soul  
 Her native warmth forgets not, nor will brook  
 Menace or taunt from proud insulting peer ;  
 But summon to the field the doughty foe,  
 In single combat, 'midst th' impartial throng,  
 There, to decide our fate. Oft, too, inflam'd  
 With mutual rage, two rival armies meet  
 Of youthful warriors ; kindling at the sight,  
 My soul is fir'd with vast heroic thoughts,  
 Trusting, in martial glory to surpass  
 Roman or Grecian chief ; instant with shouts,  
 The mingling squadrons join the horrid fray ;  
 No need of cannon, or the murd'rous steel,  
 Wide-wasting ; nature, rage, our arms supply.  
 Fragments of rocks are hurl'd, and show'rs of stones  
 Obscure the day ; nor less the brawny arm  
 Of knotted club avail : high in the midst,  
 Are seen the mighty chiefs, thro' hosts of foes,  
 Mowing their way ; and now, with tenfold rage,  
 The combat burns ; full many a sanguine stream  
 Distains the field, and many a vet'ran brave  
 Lies prostrate ; loud triumphant shouts ascend  
 By turns from either host ; each claims the palm  
 Of glorious conquest ; nor till night's dun shades  
 Involve the sky, the doubtful conflict ends.  
 Thus, when rebellion shook the thrones of heav'n,  
 And all the eternal pow'rs in battle met,  
 High o'er the rest, with vast gigantic strides,  
 The godlike leaders, on th' embattled plain  
 Came tow'ring, breathing forth revenge and fate ;  
 Nor less terrific join'd th' inferior hosts  
 Of angel warriors, when encount'ring hills  
 Tore the rent concave ;—flashing with the blaze  
 Of fiery arms, and lightnings not of Jove ;  
 All heaven resounded, and the astonish'd deeps  
 Of Chaos bellow'd with the monstrous roar !



## THE EGYPTIAN LOTOS\*.

BY THE SAME.

**E**MBLEM sublime of that primordial pow'r  
 That on the vast abyss of chaos mov'd;  
 What pen shall paint thy charms, majestic flow'r!  
 By mortals honour'd, and by gods belov'd.

From Æthiopia's lofty mountains roll'd,  
 Where Nile's proud stream thro' gladden'd Egypt pours;  
 In raptur'd strains thy praise was hymn'd of old,  
 And still resounds on Ganges' faithful shores.

Within thy beauteous coral's full-blown bell  
 Long since th' immortals plac'd their fond abode;  
 There, day's bright source, Osiris lov'd to dwell,  
 While by his side enamour'd Isis glow'd.

Hence, not unconscious to his orient beam,  
 At dawn's first blush thy radiant petals spread,  
 Drink deep th' effulgence of the solar stream,  
 And, as he mounts, still brighter glories shed:

When, at their noontide height, his fervid rays  
 In a bright deluge burst on Cairo's spires,  
 With what new lustre then thy beauties blaze,  
 Full of the God, and radiant with his fires!

To brave the Tropic's fiery beam is thine,  
 Till in the distant west his splendors fade;  
 Then, too, thy beauty and thy fire decline,  
 With morn to rise in lovelier charms array'd.

What mystic treasures, in thy form conceal'd,  
 Perpetual transport to the sage supply!  
 Where Nature, in her secret plans reveal'd,  
 Awes wondering man; and charms th' exploring eye.

From thy prolific vase and fertile seeds  
 Are trac'd her grand regenerative pow'rs;  
 Life springing warm from loath'd putrescence breeds,  
 And lovelier germs shoot forth, and brighter flow'rs.

\* Dr. Thornton informs us that the true Egyptian Lotos is white; that there are three other species or varieties of this water-lily, the pale red, the blue, and the yellow.



Thus, from Arabia borne, on golden wing,  
The phoenix on the sun's bright altar dies ;  
But, from his flaming bed refulgent springs,  
And cleaves with bolder plumes the sapphire skies.

Nor food to the enlighten'd mind alone,  
Substantial nutriment thy root bestow'd ;  
In Famine's vulture-fangs did Egypt groan,  
From thy rich bounteous horn abundance flow'd.

Hence the immortal race in Thebes rever'd,  
Thy praise the theme of endless rapture made,  
Thy image on an hundred columns rear'd,  
And veil'd their altars with thine hallow'd shade.

But far beyond the bounds of Afric borne,  
Thy honours flourish'd 'mid Thibetian snows,  
Thy flowers the Lama's gilded shrine adorn,  
And Brahme and Buddha on thy flow'r repose.

Where'er fair Science dawn'd on Asia's shore,  
Where'er her hallow'd voice Devotion rais'd,  
We see thee graven on the glowing ore,  
And on a thousand sparkling gems emblaz'd.

Four thousand summers have thy pride survey'd ;  
Thy Pharoahs moulder in their marble tombs ;  
Oblivion's wings the pyramids shall shade,  
But thy fair family unfading blooms !

Still 'mid these ruin'd tow'rs, admir'd, rever'd,  
Wave high thy foliage, and secure expand ;  
These vast, but crumbling piles by men were rear'd,  
But thou wert form'd by an immortal hand.

With Nature's charms alone thy charms shall fade,  
With Being's self thy beauteous tribe decline ;  
Oh ! living, may thy flow'rs my temples shade,  
And decorate, when dead, my envied shrine !



## THE BELLMAN'S VERSES.

*Addressed to Lady Melbourne, Broomfield Hall, Christmas, 1800.*

BY SIR W. YOUNG, BART.

*(Now first published.)*

**W**IDE waves the oak its torn and shattered head,  
Torn by the gale; and far the fragments spread;  
The hail-storm beats upon the swollen lake,  
And its surrounding rocks seem all to shake!

Beneath that nodding mountain's chalky scoop,  
Colin and Phillis with their gipsy troop  
In the lone caverns, on a heap of reeds  
Listen, as blast to blast in storm succeeds;  
And as each chilling gust the valley sweeps,  
Phillis to Colin only closer creeps.  
The batt'ling hurricane's impetuous roar,  
Seems but to whisper, "love your Phillis more."

Thus, in the dreary chill of winter's gloom,  
When, (save in Melbourne's cheek) no roses bloom;  
The frost, which binds the stream and blasts the tree,  
Serves but to melt the mind to social glee;  
Warm grows the heart, as colder grows the day,  
And Christmas boasts a smile, as sweet as May.

Spring has its roses and its lovely green;  
Autumn its crops, which rural damsels glean;  
And Christmas, too, its season hath of wealth,  
Reaped with the work of joy, and glow of health.  
When the hall fire and the lustres' blaze,  
Rival the light and heat of summer's days;  
And 'midst the dance and song, and jovial din;  
"The sweet affections," get their harvest in.

Life, too, its seasons hath; its spring and fall,  
Its buds, its glowing bloom, its changes all.  
And oh! whene'er its cold and wintry snows  
Shower on thy head, and furrow o'er thy brows,  
May peace and virtue act in ages spite,  
And give a cheerful heat, and cheerful light;  
And leave—when chills and frosts of age set in,—  
A mind, to warm the mansion well within.



## TO THE EARL OF RADNOR,

*On his Marriage with the Honourable ANNE DUNCOMBE, 1776.*

BY THE SAME.

*(Now first published.)*

**M**AY health and peace give zest to love,  
 All else, loves' self bestow :  
 'Tis that which makes the bliss above,  
 And soothes the woes below.

'Tis that which doth life's pilgrim charm,  
 Pacing his wear'some road ;  
 He sees no ill—he fears no harm,  
 For all his soul's abroad.

Can the fond heart have room for woe,  
 Where reigns fair Anna's form !  
 Or can the eye in misery flow,  
 Which she hath learnt to charm ?

Or can the ear attention pay  
 To sorrow's doleful song ;  
 Whilst sentiment and reason play  
 So sweet from Anna's tongue ;

How happy then to call her thine,  
 To think—to hear—to see—  
 How many charms she can combine,  
 And all those charms for thee.

*The Winchester Boys having presented AN EPERGNE to Doctor Jos. Wharton, on his resigning the Mastership of their School. The following Verses were sent in their Name :*

BY THE SAME.

*(Now first published.)*

**D**EAR doctor, we your grateful boys,  
 Try one more theme e'er you depart ;  
 'Tis 'Dulce Domum,' and its joys,  
 Penn'd in the language of the heart.



And whatsoe'er the happiest muse  
Can fancy in the name of—"home."  
Whate'er the good and wise would chuse,—  
What's hop'd by all, and given to some,

Be yours!—and may your scholars learn  
That oft with 'sociates to your mind,  
You eye with glee their trim—"EPERGNE;"  
And think of PICKLES left behind.

You, in return, once more indite  
A lesson fair, as sure you can;  
And as you've taught the boy to write;  
Now write yourself,—and teach the man.

BALLAD.

BY THOMAS CAMPBELL.

*(Now first published.)*

A CHIEFTAIN to the Highlands bound,  
Cries, "boatman! do not tarry,  
And I'll give thee a silver pound  
To row us o'er the ferry."

"Now who be ye, would cross Lochgyle,  
This dark and stormy water?"  
"Oh! I'm the chief of Ulva's isle,  
And this lord Ullin's daughter.

"And fast before her father's men,  
Three days we've fled together;  
For if he find us in the glen,  
My blood will stain the heather.

"His horsemen hard behind us ride;  
Should they our steps discover,  
Then who will cheer my bonny bride,  
When they have slain her lover."

Out spoke the hardy Highland wight,  
"I'll go my chief, I'm ready:  
It is not for your silver bright,  
But for your winsome lady.



“ And by my word, the bonny bird  
In danger shall not tarry ;  
So, though the waves are raging white,  
I'll row you o'er the ferry.”

By this the storm grew loud apace,  
The water-wraith was shrieking,  
And in the scowl of heav'n each face  
Grew dark, as they were speaking.

But, still as wilder blew the wind,  
And as the night grew drearer,  
Adown the glen rode armed men ;  
Their trampling sounded nearer.

“ Oh ! haste thee, haste,” the lady cries,  
“ Though tempests round us gather,  
I'll meet the raging of the skies ;  
But not an angry father.”

The boat has left a stormy land,  
A stormy sea before her ;  
When, oh ! too strong for human hand,  
The tempest gather'd o'er her.

And still they row'd, amidst the roar  
Of waters fast prevailing ;  
Lord Ullin reach'd that fatal shore :—  
His wrath was chang'd to wailing.

For sore dismay'd, through storm and shade,  
His child he did discover ;  
One lovely hand she stretched for aid,  
And one was round her lover.

“ Come back, come back,” he cried, in grief,  
Across this raging water,  
And I'll forgive your Highland chief ;  
My daughter, oh ! my daughter !”

'Twas vain ; the loud wave lash'd the shore,  
Return or help preventing ;  
The waters wild, went o'er his child,  
And he was left lamenting.



## BALLAD.

BY THE SAME.

*(Now first published.)*

**O**H! heard'you the Pibrach sound sad in the gale,  
Where a band cometh slowly, with weeping and wail?  
'Tis the chief of Glenara, laments for his dear,  
And her sire and her kindred are called to her bier.

Glenara came first, with the mourners and shroud;  
But the kinsmen of Ellen, they mourn'd not aloud;  
With plaids all their bosoms were folded around,  
They march'd all in silence—they look'd on the ground.

In silence they walk'd over mountain and moor,  
To heaths, where the oak-tree grew lonely and hoar;  
—"Now, here, let us place the grey-stone of her cairne—  
"Why speak ye no word?" said Glenara the stern.

"And tell me, I charge you, ye clan of my spouse,  
"Why fold ye your mantles, why cloud ye your brows?"  
So spoke the rude chieftain—no answer was made,  
But each mantle unfolding, a dagger display'd!

"I dreamt of my lady, I dreamt of her shroud,"  
(Cried a voice from the kinsmen, all wrathful and loud)  
"And empty that shroud and that coffin did seem,  
"Glenara, Glenara, now read me my dream."

Oh! pale grew the cheek of that chieftain I ween,  
When the shroud was unclos'd, and no lady was seen;  
When a voice from the kinsmen grew louder in scorn,  
('Twas the youth's who had lov'd the fair Ellen of Lorne.)

"I dreamt of my lady, I dreamt of her grief,  
"I dreamt that her lord was a barbarous chief,  
"On a rock of the ocean, fair Ellen did seem,  
"Glenara, Glenara, now read me my dream?"

In guilt, low the traitor has knelt on the ground,  
And the dastard reveals where his lady was found;  
From a rock of the ocean the beauty was borne,  
—Now joy to the house of fair Ellen of Lorne.



## LINES.

*Written on the gilded Statue in Lord Cadogan's Garden, 1723.  
By the Right Honourable Lord ——— deceased.*

*(Now first published.)*

*The Statue addresses Lord C.*

**I**N vain to Celia's heart you sue,  
By me instructed, learn to woo :  
In me her emblem you may find,  
A beauteous form without a mind ;  
A prospect fair of venal charms,  
Doom'd to the highest bidder's arms.

Tho' you had beauty, wit, and youth,  
Tho' you had tenderness with truth,  
Nor this, nor that, her soul could move,  
Blind to desert, and cold to love :  
Careless of censure, dead to fame,  
Unsway'd by principle or shame.  
So much our qualities agree,  
'Twill do for her that did for me,—  
Gild her but well, you may with ease  
Carry her naked where you please.

## EPIGRAM.

*From ROUSSEAU, by the Same.*

*(Now first published.)*

**W**HEN the monarch of Hell took it first in his mind  
To attack this new world, and destroy human kind,  
Eve was dupe to the serpent, and Adam to Eve,  
So Moses recites, so good Christians believe.

But the satire is plain of this waggish relation,  
That thus the world's rul'd in each age and each nation,  
(Forgive me, ye fair, if the comment's uncivil,)  
Each man by his wife, and his wife by the devil!



## TO THE HERB ROSEMARY.

BY HENRY KIRKE WHITE, OF NOTTINGHAM.

**S**WEET scented flower, who'rt wont to bloom  
 On January's front severe,  
 And o'er the wint'ry desert drear,  
 To waft thy waste perfume!  
 Come, thou shalt form my nosegay now,  
 And I will bind thee round my brow;  
 And, as I twine the mournful wreath,  
 I'll weave a melancholy song,  
 And sweet the strain shall be, and long,  
 The melody of death.

Come, fun'ral flower! who lov'st to dwell  
 With the pale corpse in lonely tomb,  
 And throw across the desert gloom  
 A sweet decaying smell:  
 Come, press my lips and lie with me  
 Beneath the lowly alder tree,  
 And we will sleep a pleasant sleep;  
 And not a care shall dare intrude,  
 To break the marble solitude,  
 So peaceful and so deep.

And, hark! the wind-god as he flies,  
 Moans hollow in the forest trees,  
 And sailing on the gusty breeze  
 Mysterious music dies.  
 Sweet flower, that requiem wild is mine,  
 It warns me to the lonely shrine,  
 The cold turf altar of the dead:  
 My grave shall be in yon lone spot,  
 Where, as I lie by all forgot,  
 A dying fragrance thou shalt o'er my ashes shed.

## TO AN EARLY PRIMROSE.

**M**ILD offspring of a dark and sullen sire!  
 Whose modest form, so delicately fine,  
 Was nurs'd in whistling storms,  
 And cradled in the winds:  
 Thee, when young Spring first question'd Winter's sway,  
 And dar'd the sturdy blusterer to fight,  
 Thee, on this bank he threw,  
 To mark his victory.



In this low vale, the promise of the year,  
 Serene, thou openest to the nipping gale,  
     Unnotic'd and alone,  
     Thy tender elegance.  
 So Virtue blooms, brought forth amid the storms  
 Of chill Adversity, in some low walk  
     Of life she rears her head  
     Obscure and unobserv'd ;  
 While every bleaching breeze that on her blows  
 Chastens her spotless purity of breast,  
     And hardens her to bear  
     Serene the ills of life."

*The Legend of Robert A Machin and Anna D'Arfet, the supposed  
 Discoverers of Madeira.*

BY MR. BOWLES.

WHAT rapture fir'd  
 The strangers' bosoms, as from glade to glade\*  
 They pass'd admiring all, and gazing still  
 With new delight. But solitude is round,  
 Deep solitude, that on the gloom of woods  
 Primæval fearful hangs : a green recess  
 Now opens in the wilderness ; gay flow'rs  
 Of unknown name purple the yielding sward ;  
 The ring-dove murmurs o'er their head, like one  
 Attesting tenderest joy ; but mark the trees,  
 Where, slanting through the gloom, the sunshine rests,  
 Beneath, a moss-grown monument appears,  
 O'er which the green banana gently waves  
 Its long leaf ; and an aged cypress near  
 Leans, as if list'ning to the streamlet's sound,  
 That gushes from the adverse bank ; but pause—  
 Approach with reverence ! Maker of the world,  
 There is a Christian's cross ! and on the stone  
 A name, yet legible amid its moss,—  
 " Anna."

In that remote and sever'd spot,  
 Shut as it seem'd from all the world, and lost  
 In boundless seas, to trace a name, to mark  
 The emblems of their holy faith, from all

\* The scene Madeira.



Drew tears ! while every voice faintly pronounc'd  
 " Anna !" But thou, lov'd harp, whose strings have rung  
 To louder tones, oh ! let my hand, awhile,  
 The wires more softly touch, whilst I rehearse  
 Her name and fate, who in this desert deep,  
 Far from the world, from friends and kindred, found  
 Her long and last abode, there, where no eye  
 Might shed a tear on her remains ; no heart  
 Sigh in remembrance of her fate :

She left

The Severn's side, and fled with him she lov'd  
 O'er the wide main ; for he had told her tales  
 Of happiness in distant lands, where care  
 Comes not, and pointing to the golden clouds  
 That shone above the waves, when ev'ning came,  
 Whisper'd, " O are there not sweet scenes of peace  
 " Far from the murmurs of this cloudy mart,  
 " Where gold alone bears sway, scenes of delight,  
 " Where Love may lay his head upon the lap  
 " Of Innocence, and smile at all the toil  
 " Of the low-thoughted throng, that place in wealth  
 " Their only bliss ? Yes, there are scenes like these.  
 " Leave the vain chidings of the world behind,  
 " Country, and hollow friends, and fly with me  
 " Where love and peace in distant vales invite.  
 " What would'st thou here ? O shall thy beauteous look  
 " Of maiden innocence, thy smile of youth, thine eyes  
 " Of tenderness and soft subdu'd desire,  
 " Thy form, thy limbs,—oh, madness !—be the prey,  
 " Of a decrepid spoiler, and for gold ?  
 " Perish his treasure with him. Haste with me,  
 " We shall find out some sylvan nook, and then  
 " If thou should'st sometimes think upon these hills,  
 " When they are distant far, and drop a tear,  
 " Yes—I will kiss it from thy cheek, and clasp  
 " Thy angel beauties closer to my breast,  
 " And while the winds blow o'er us, and the sun  
 " Goes beautifully down, and thy soft cheek  
 " Reclines on mine, I will infold thee thus,  
 " And proudly cry, my friend—my love—my wife !"

So tempted he, and soon her heart approv'd,  
 Nay woo'd, the blissful dream ; and oft at eve,  
 When the moon shone upon the wand'ring stream,  
 She pac'd the castle's battlements, that threw  
 Beneath, their solemn shadow, and, resign'd  
 To fancy and to tears, thought it most sweet



To wander o'er the world with him she lov'd ;  
 Nor was his birth ignoble, for he shone  
 'Mid England's gallant youth in Edward's reign—  
 With countenance erect and honest eye,  
 Commanding, (yet suffus'd in tenderness  
 At times) and smiles that like the lightning play'd  
 On his brown cheek,—so gently stern he stood,  
 Accomplish'd, gen'rous, gentle, brave, sincere,—  
 Robert A Machin. But the sullen pride  
 Of haughty D'Arfet scorn'd all other claim  
 To his high heritage, save what the pomp  
 Of amplest wealth, and loftier lineage gave\*.  
 Reckless of human tenderness, that seeks  
 One lov'd, one honour'd object : wealth alone  
 He worshipp'd ; and for this he could consign  
 His only child, his aged hope, to loath'd  
 Embraces, and a life of tears ! Nor here  
 His hard ambition ended ; for he sought,  
 By secret whispers of conspiracies,  
 His sovereign to abuse, bidding him lift  
 His arm avenging, and upon a youth  
 Of promise, close the dark forgotten gates  
 Of living sepulture, and in the gloom  
 Inhume the slowly-wasting victim.—  
 He purpos'd, but in vain : the ardent youth  
 Rescu'd her—her whom more than life he lov'd,  
 E'en when the horrid day of sacrifice  
 Drew nigh. He pointed to the distant bark,  
 And while he kiss'd a stealing tear that fell  
 On her pale cheek, as trusting, she reclin'd  
 Her head upon his breast, with ardour cry'd,  
 “ Be mine, be only mine ; the hour invites ;  
 “ Be mine, be only mine.” So won, she cast  
 A look of last affection on the towers  
 Where she had pass'd her infant days, that now  
 Shone to the setting sun—“ I follow thee,”  
 Her faint voice said ; and lo ! where in the air  
 A sail hangs tremulous, and soon her steps  
 Ascend the vessel's side : The vessel glides  
 Down the smooth current, as the twilight fades,  
 Till soon the woods of Severn, and the spot  
 Where D'Arfet's solitary turrets rose,  
 Is lost—a tear starts to her eye—she thinks  
 Of him whose grey head to the earth shall bend,  
 When he speaks nothing—but be all, like death,  
 Forgotten. Gently blows the placid breeze,

\* Machin was of the third order of nobility.



And oh! that now some fairy pinnace light  
 Might flit along the wave (by no seen pow'r,  
 Directed, save when Love\* upon the prow  
 Gather'd or spread with tender hand the sail)  
 That now some fairy pinnace, o'er the surge  
 Silent, as in a summer's dream, might waft  
 The passengers upon the conscious flood  
 To regions of undisturbed joy.

But hark!

The wind is in the shrouds—the cordage sings  
 With fitful violence—the blast now swells,  
 Now sinks. Dread gloom invests the farther-wave,  
 Whose foaming toss alone is seen, beneath  
 The veering bowsprit.

O retire to rest,

Maiden, whose tender heart would beat, whose cheek  
 Turn pale to see another thus expos'd:—  
 Hark! the deep thunder louder peals—O save—  
 The high mast crashes; but the faithful arm  
 Of love is o'er thee, and thy anxious eye,  
 Soon as the grey of morning peeps, shall view  
 Green Erin's hills aspiring!

The sad morn

Comes forth; but terror on the sunless wave  
 Still, like a sea-fiend, sits, and darkly smiles  
 Beneath the flash that through the struggling clouds  
 Bursts frequent, half revealing his scath'd front,  
 Above the rocking of the waste that rolls  
 Boundless around.

No word through the long day

She spoke: another slowly came:—No word  
 The beauteous drooping mourner spoke. The sun  
 Twelve times had sunk beneath the sullen surge.  
 And cheerless rose again:—Ah were are now  
 Thy havens, France? But yet—resign not yet  
 Ye lost sea-farers—oh, resign not yet  
 All hope—the storm is pass'd; the drenched sail  
 Shines in the passing beam! look up, and say,  
 “Heav'n, thou hast heard our prayers!”

And lo, scarce seen,

A distant dusky spot appears, they reach

\* Image taken from Ovid's Sappho to Phaon.



An unknown shore, and green and flow'ry vales  
 And azure hills, and silver-gushing streams,  
 Shine forth, a Paradise which Heav'n alone  
 Who saw the silent anguish of despair  
 Could raise in the waste wilderness of waves.—  
 They gain the haven—through untrodden scenes,  
 Perhaps untrodden by the foot of man  
 Since first the earth arose, they wind: The voice  
 Of Nature hails them here with music, sweet,  
 As waving woods retir'd, or falling streams  
 Can make; most soothing to the weary heart,  
 Doubly to those who, struggling with their fate,  
 And weary'd long with watchings and with grief,  
 Sought but a place of safety. All things here  
 Whisper repose and peace; the very birds  
 That mid the golden fruitage glance their plumes.  
 The songsters of the lonely valley sing  
 “Welcome from scenes of sorrow,—live with us.”—

The wild wood opens, and a shady glen  
 Appears, embower'd with mantling laurels high,  
 That, sloping, shade the flow'ry valley's side;  
 A lucid stream, with gentle murmur, strays  
 Beneath th' umbrageous multitude of leaves,  
 Till gaining, with soft lapse, the nether plain,  
 It glances light along its yellow bed;—  
 The shaggy inmates of the forest lick  
 The feet of their new guests, and gazing stand.—  
 A beauteous tree upshoots amid the glade  
 Its trembling top; and there upon the bank  
 They rest them, while the heart o'erflows with joy.

Now evening, breathing richer odours sweet,  
 Came down: a softer sound the circling seas,  
 The ancient woods resounded, while the dove,  
 Her murmurs interposing, tenderness  
 Awak'd, yet more endearing, in the hearts  
 Of those who, sever'd far from human kind  
 Woman and man, by vows sincere betroth'd,  
 Heard but the voice of Nature. The still moon  
 Arose—they saw it not—cheek was to cheek  
 Inclined, and unawares a stealing tear  
 Witness'd how blissful was that hour, that seem'd  
 Not of the hours that time could count. A kiss  
 Stole on the list'ning silence; never yet  
 Here heard: they trembl'd, e'en as if the pow'r  
 That made the world, that planted the first pair  
 In paradise, amid the garden walk'd,—



This, since, the fairest garden that the world  
 Has witness'd, by the fabling sons of Greece  
 Hesperian nam'd who feign'd the watchful guard  
 Of the scal'd Dragon, and the Golden Fruit.  
 Such was this Silvan Paradise; and here  
 The loveliest pair, from a hard world remote,  
 Upon each other's neck reclin'd; their breath  
 Alone was heard, when the dove ceas'd on high  
 Her plaint; and tenderly their faithful arms  
 Infolded each other.

Thou dim cloud,  
 That from the search of men these beauteous vales  
 Hast clos'd, oh doubly veil them. But alas,  
 How short the dream of human transport! Here  
 In vain they built the leafy bow'r of love,  
 Or cull'd the sweetest flowers and fairest fruit.  
 The hours unheeded stole! but ah, not long—  
 Again the hollow tempest of the night  
 Sounds through the leaves; the inmost woods resound—  
 Slow comes the dawn, but neither ship nor sail  
 Along the rocking of the windy waste  
 Is seen: the dash of the dark-heaving wave  
 Alone is heard. Start from your bed of bliss  
 Poor victims, never more shall ye behold  
 Your native vales again; and thou, sweet child,  
 Who, list'ning to the voice of love, has left  
 Thy friends, thy country,—oh may the wan hue  
 Of pining memory, the sunk cheek, the eye  
 Where tenderness yet dwells, atone, (if love  
 Atonement need, by cruelty and wrong  
 Beset,) atone e'en now thy rash resolves.  
 Ah, fruitless hope! Day after day thy bloom  
 Fades, and the tender lustre of thine eye  
 Is dim'd; thy form, amid creation, seems  
 The only drooping thing.

Thy look was soft,  
 And yet most animated, and thy step  
 Light as the roe's upon the mountains. Now  
 Thou sittest hopeless, pale, beneath the tree  
 That fann'd its joyous leaves above thy head,  
 Where love had deck'd the blooming bow'r and strew'd  
 The sweets of summer: Death is on thy cheek,  
 And thy chill hand the pressure scarce returns  
 Of him, who agoniz'd and hopeless, hangs  
 With tears and trembling o'er thee. Spare the sight,  
 She faints—she dies:—



He laid her in the earth,  
Himself scarce living, and upon her tomb  
Beneath the beauteous tree where they inclin'd,  
Plac'd the last tribute of his earthly love.

## INSCRIPTION.

## “ ANNA D'ARFET.”

## I.

“ O’ER my poor Anna’s lowly grave  
“ No dirge shall sound, no knell shall ring,  
“ But Angels, as the high pines wave,  
“ Their half heard ‘ Miserere ’ sing.

## II..

“ No flowers of transient bloom at eve  
“ The maidens on the turf shall strew;  
“ Nor sigh, as the sad spot they leave;  
“ Sweets to the sweet! a long adieu!

## III

“ But in this wilderness profound,  
“ O’er her the dove shall build her nest,  
“ And ocean swell with softer sound  
“ A requiem to her dreams of rest!

## IV.

“ Ah! when shall I as quiet be?  
“ When not a friend or human eye,  
“ Shall mark beneath the mossy tree  
“ The spot where we forgotten lie.

## V.

“ To kiss her name on the cold stone,  
“ Is all that now on earth I crave;  
“ For in this world I am alone—  
“ O lay me with her in the grave.”

“ Robert A Machin, 1344.—Miserere nobis, Domini.”



## Account of Books for the Year 1804.

*Letters written by the late Earl of Chatham to his Nephew, Thomas Pitt, Esq. (afterwards Lord Camelford) then at Cambridge, 8vo.*

THE little volume to which we here call the attention of our readers, is of no ordinary importance. If the most minute and trifling anecdotes of the habits, manners, and particularities of those who have been eminently distinguished for the parts they have played upon the great theatre of human life, be sought, and are communicated with eagerness; how gratifying must it prove, to be admitted at once into the privacies, and become witnesses to the conduct, in the relations of domestic life, and social intercourse of such a splendid character as was the late lord Chatham. To such a banquet are we here invited, and highly feasted have we been at the intellectual treat which this collection has afforded.

To attempt the eulogy of such a statesman and minister, as the writer of these letters, would be indeed, to “paint the lily,” and “gild refined gold.” His best panegyric is to be found in the public annals of his first administration, during which period it has been eloquently said, that, while with one hand he wielded the democracy of the Bri-

tish empire, he smote to the dust, the united strength of the house of Bourbon with the other.

But although the world was well acquainted with the superior powers of lord Chatham’s mind; although, ample credit was given to him for talents worthy of acquiring and of maintaining the public confidence and esteem, in a degree as unbounded as unexampled; although, he was known, as an orator,—the rival of the most distinguished among those of Greece and Rome in the happiest periods of those countries: in his public conduct,—of the strictest integrity: in his private life,—of the most unblemished morality: yet little credit has hitherto been given to this illustrious man, for the softer and more amiable qualities of the mind, which smooth the asperities of life, and endear existence to us, under all the visitations to which mortality is subject.

In the publication before us, however, the grand, perhaps hitherto, hard outline of this extraordinary character is filled up; the most bland and mellow touches here abound, which, at once, finish the picture, and throw forward the figure into perfect relief. Here we no longer find the vehement superiority which raised lord Chatham above the ordinary race of men; not, the dictatorial



torial mandates of age or situation, but the gentle and insinuating tone of an indulgent parent. Age and experience seem gently to bend forward, to the tender weakness of youth, and soothingly to conduct it along that road in which they had gone before, and which must now be pursued by him, in whose welfare they are so deeply interested.

The letters which compose this volume, were written in 1754, and the two succeeding years, and are addressed to Thomas Pitt, afterwards first lord Camelford, the son of the elder brother of the great lord Chatham, and consequently his nephew. The slightest reference to the domestic history of that period which these dates include, will induce no small share of admiration at the versatility of mind and talent, which could enable the noble author before us, in a moment when political contention was at the highest, when he was engaged in the arduous contest for that pre-eminence he afterwards attained, when his days and nights were devoted to secure popularity, to turn aside from the arduous tasks he had imposed upon himself, and direct, with precision and minuteness, the morals and studies of a youth at college!

The course of reading best adapted to the peculiar situation of the person to whom they are addressed, and the most fitting for the improvement of the mind; the religious and social obligations; and the "lesser morals" form the subjects of advice contained in these letters. In another part of this work, we have inserted specimens of the first two of these

subjects\*, to which we beg leave to refer our readers, and of the latter, we venture to subjoin the following, dated from Bath.

Bath, Jan. 24, 1754.

I will lose not a moment before I return my most tender and warm thanks to the most amiable, valuable, and noble-minded of youths, for the infinite pleasure his letter gives me.

My dear nephew, what a beautiful thing is genuine goodness, and how lovely does the human mind appear, in its native purity, (in a nature as happy as yours,) before the taint of a corrupted world has touched it! To guard you from the fatal effects of all the dangers that surround and beset youth, (and many they are, *nam variae illudant Pestes*,) I thank God, is become my pleasing and very important charge; your own choice, and our nearness in blood, and still more, a dearer and nearer relation of hearts, which I feel between us, all concur to make it so. I shall seek then every occasion, my dear young friend, of being useful to you, by offering you those lights, which one must have lived some years in the world to see the full force and extent of, and which the best mind and clearest understanding will suggest imperfectly, in any case, and in the most difficult, delicate, and essential points, perhaps not at all, till experience, that dear-bought instructor, comes to our assistance. What I shall therefore make my task, (a happy, delightful task, if I prove a safeguard to so much open virtue,) is to

\* Vide page 890, of the Miscellaneous Essays, where they are placed with some of the justly celebrated Cowper, on nearly similar topics.



be for some years, what you cannot be to yourself, your experience; experience anticipated, and ready digested for your use. Thus we will endeavour, my dear child, to join the two best seasons of life, to establish your virtue and your happiness upon solid foundations: *Miscens autumni et veris honores*. So much in general. I will now, my dear nephew, say a few things to you upon a matter where you have surprisingly little to learn, considering you have seen nothing but Boconnock; I mean behaviour. Behaviour is of infinite advantage or prejudice to a man as he happens to have formed it to a graceful, noble, engaging, and proper manner, or to a vulgar, coarse, ill-bred, or awkward, and ungenteel one. Behaviour, though an external thing, which seems rather to belong to the body than to the mind, is certainly founded in considerable virtues: though I have known instances of good men, with something very revolting and offensive in their manner of behaviour, especially when they have the misfortune to be naturally very awkward and ungenteel; and which their mistaken friends have helped to confirm them in, by telling them, they were above such trifles, as being genteel, dancing, fencing, riding, and doing all manly exercises, with grace and vigour. As if the body, because inferior, were not a part of the composition of man; and the proper, easy, ready, and graceful use of himself, both in mind and limb, did not go to make up the character of an accomplished man. You are in no danger of falling into this preposterous error: and I had a great pleasure in finding you, when I first saw you in London, so well dis-

posed by nature, and so properly attentive to make yourself genteel in person, and well-bred in behaviour. I am very glad you have taken a fencing-master; that exercise will give you some manly, firm, and graceful attitudes: open your chest, place your head upright, and plant you well on your legs. As to the use of the sword, it is well to know it: but remember, my dearest nephew, it is a science of defence: and that a sword can never be employed by the hand of a man of virtue, in any other cause. As to the carriage of your person, be particularly careful, as you are tall and thin, not to get a habit of stooping; nothing has so poor a look; above all things avoid contracting any peculiar gesticulations of the body, or movements of the muscles of the face. It is rare to see in any one a graceful laughter; it is generally better to smile than laugh out, especially to contract a habit of laughing at small or no jokes. Sometimes it would be affectation, or worse, mere moroseness, not to laugh heartily, when the truly ridiculous circumstances of an incident, or the true pleasantry and wit of a thing call for and justify it; but the trick of laughing frivolously is by all means to be avoided: *Risu inepto, res ineptior nulla est*. Now as to politeness, many have attempted definitions of it: I believe it is best to be known by description; definition not being able to comprise it. I would, however, venture to call it benevolence in trifles, or the preference of others to ourselves in little daily, hourly, occurrences in the commerce of life: a better place, a more commodious seat, priority in being helped at table, &c. What is it but sacrificing ourselves



selves in such trifles to the convenience and pleasure of others? And this constitutes true politeness. It is a perpetual attention (by habit it grows easy and natural to us,) to the little wants of those we are with, by which we either prevent or remove them. Bowing, ceremonious, formal compliments, stiff civilities, will never be politeness; that must be easy, natural, unstudied, manly, noble. And what will give this, but a mind benevolent, and perpetually attentive to exert that amiable disposition in trifles towards all you converse and live with? Benevolence in greater matters takes a higher name, and is the queen of virtues. Nothing is so incompatible with politeness as any trick of absence of mind. I would trouble you with a word or two more upon some branches of behaviour, which have a more serious moral obligation in them, than those of mere politeness, which are equally important in the eye of the world. I mean a proper behaviour, adapted to the respective relations we stand in, towards the different ranks of superiors, equals, and inferiors. Let your behaviour towards superiors, in dignity, age, learning, or any distinguished excellence, be full of respect, deference, and modesty. Towards equals, nothing becomes a man so well, as well bred ease, polite freedom, generous frankness, manly spirit, always tempered with gentleness and sweetness of manner, noble sincerity, candour, and openness of heart, qualified and restrained within the bounds of discretion and prudence, and ever limited by a sacred regard to secrecy, in all things entrusted to it, and an inviolable attachment to your word. To inferiors, gentleness, condescen-

sion, and affability is the only dignity. Towards servants, never accustom yourself to rough and passionate language. When they are good we should consider them as *humiles amici*, as fellow christians, *ut conservi*; and when they are bad, pity, admonish, and part with them if incorrigible. On all occasions beware, my dear child, of anger, that dæmon, that destroyer of our peace. *Ira furor brevis est, animus rege qui nisi paret imperat, hunc frenis hunc tu compesce cætenis.*

Write soon, and tell me your studies.

Your ever affectionate, &c.

From such ample specimens of the style and substance of these letters, our readers will judge for themselves of their value both as to subject and composition; we may, however, be permitted to observe, that, although not uniformly excellent, they, throughout, indicate a mind of no ordinary capacity; that their style is perfectly natural and easy; and that they abound in expressions of that touching tenderness which could alone be excited in the breast of an amiable and good man, and by a most worthy object. Indeed the characters of the person to whom they are addressed and of their noble writer, rise upon one in every page; and we conclude the perusal of the book with the most perfect esteem for both parties. It is but justice to add, that lord Camelford was in every sense of the word worthy of the care and pains here bestowed upon him, by his illustrious and venerable uncle, as we find from the words of the editor, that he was distinguished thro' life for "that suavity of manners and



and steadiness of principle, the same correctness of judgment and integrity of heart" which had endeared him to lord Chatham; and that "the same affectionate attachment from those who knew him best has followed him beyond the grave."

It is too important an observation to be omitted, that throughout these letters, lord Chatham's mind seems strongly imbued with the utmost reverence for the Christian religion; nor does he omit any opportunity of inculcating similar sentiments in his pupil, as the most essential of all duties.

If it afford matter of satisfaction to the admirers of lord Chatham (as certainly it must) to see him exhibited so much to his advantage; it must be considerably increased by the labours of the editor, who, in an exquisitely well-written and judicious preface, has enhanced the value of the work, by averting criticism, which might attach upon portions of it without some necessary explanations: and who, by a manly, yet reverential combating of certain opinions therein advanced, has ingeniously found the means of at once heightening our esteem for his author, and our respect for himself. It is indeed impossible not to contemplate with delight, the fortunate coincidence which has united such

a writer and such an editor.—That the works of lord Chatham should see the light under the care of lord Grenville!

Second to no statesman of the time or age in which he lives:—as an orator, gifted with an eloquence at once manly, perspicuous, and convincing;—as a politician, of the most unstained integrity;—in private life of the purest morals;—and a scholar of the first order—Could the posthumous reputation of the great lord Chatham be entrusted to more appropriate hands?

A singularly neat, and elegant dedication to Mr. Pitt\*, ushers in this work to the public; it is followed by the preface, to which we have already adverted, and which, not only as it is the best analysis and *critique* of the work itself, that could be given; but, as we consider it perfect in its kind, we shall lay before our readers without further apology:—

"The following letters were addressed by the late lord Chatham to his nephew, Mr. Pitt, (afterwards lord Camelford,) then at Cambridge. They are few in number, written for the private use of an individual during a short period of time, and containing only such detached observations on the extensive subjects to which they relate, as occasion

\* To the Right Hon. Wm. Pitt.

Dropmore, Dec. 3, 1803.

My dear Sir,

When you expressed to me your entire concurrence in my wish to print the following letters, you were not apprised that this address would accompany them. By you it will, I trust, be received as a testimony of affectionate friendship. To others the propriety will be obvious of inscribing with your name a publication, in which lord Chatham teaches how great talents may most successfully be cultivated, and to what objects they may most honourably be directed.

Grenville.



might happen to suggest, in the course of familiar correspondence. Yet even these imperfect remains will undoubtedly be received by the public with no common interest, as well from their own intrinsic value, as from the picture which they display of the character of their author. The editor's wish to do honour to the memory, both of the person by whom they are written, and of him to whom they were addressed, would alone have rendered him desirous of making these papers public. But he feels a much higher motive; in the hope of promoting, by such a publication, the inseparable interests of learning, virtue, and religion. By the writers of that school, whose philosophy consists in the degradation of virtue, it has often been triumphantly declared, that no excellence of character can stand the test of close observation; that no man is a hero to his domestic servants, or to his familiar friends. How much more just, as well as more amiable and dignified, is the opposite sentiment, delivered to us in the words of Plutarch, and illustrated throughout all his writings! "Real virtue," says that inimitable moralist, "is most loved where it is most nearly seen: and no respect, which it commands from strangers, can equal the never-ceasing admiration it excites in the daily intercourse of domestic life."

The following correspondence, imperfect as it is, (and who will not lament that many more such letters are not preserved?) exhibits a great orator, statesman, and patriot, in

one of the most interesting relations of private society. Not, as in the cabinet or the senate, enforcing, by a vigorous and commanding eloquence, those counsels to which his country owed her pre-eminence and glory; but implanting, with parental kindness, into the mind of an ingenuous youth, seeds of wisdom and virtue, which ripened into full maturity in the character of a most accomplished man: directing him to the acquisition of knowledge\*, as the best instrument of action; teaching him, by the cultivation of his reason, to strengthen and establish in his heart those principles of moral rectitude which were congenial to it; and above all, exhorting him to regulate the whole conduct of his life by the predominant influence of gratitude and obedience to God, as the only sure groundwork of every human duty!

What parent, anxious for the character and success of a son, born to any liberal station in this great and free country, would not, in all that related to his education, gladly have resorted to the advice of such a man? What youthful spirit, animated by any desire of future excellence, and looking for the gratification of that desire, in the pursuits of honourable ambition, or in the consciousness of an upright, active, and useful life, would not embrace with transport any opportunity of listening, on such a subject, to the lessons of lord Chatham? They are here before him. Not delivered with the authority of a preceptor, or a parent, but tempered by the

\* *Ingenium illustre altioribus studiis juvenis admodum dedit; non ut nomine magnifico segue otium velaret, sed quo firmior adversus fortuita Rem publicam capesseret. Tacitus.*



affection of a friend towards a disposition and character well entitled to such regard.

On that disposition and character the editor forbears to enlarge.— Their best panegyric will be found in the following pages. Lord Camelford is there described such as lord Chatham judged him in the first dawn of his youth, and such as he continued to his latest hour. The same suavity of manners, and steadiness of principle, the same correctness of judgment and integrity of heart, distinguished him through life; and the same affectionate attachment from those who knew him best, has followed him beyond the grave.

*Quæ Gratia vivo—*

*—Eadem sequitur tellure repòstum!*

Of the course of study which these letters recommend, little can be necessary to be said by their editor. He is, however, anxious that a publication, calculated to produce extensive benefit, should not in any single point mislead even the most superficial reader: nor would he, with all the deference which he owes to the authority of lord Chatham, willingly appear to concur in the recommendation or censure of any works, on which his own judgment is materially different from that, which he is now the instrument of delivering to the world.

Some early impressions had prepossessed lord Chatham's mind with a much more favourable opinion of the political writings of lord Bolingbroke, than he might himself have retained on a more impartial reconsideration. To a reader of the present day, the "Remarks on the History of England" would pro-

bably but ill appear entitled to the praises which are in these letters so liberally bestowed upon them. For himself, at least, the editor may be allowed to say, that their style is, in his judgment, declamatory, diffuse, and involved: deficient both in elegance and in precision, and little calculated to satisfy a taste formed, as lord Chatham's was, on the purest models of classic simplicity. Their matter he thinks more substantially defective: the observations which they contain display no depth of thought or extent of knowledge; their reasoning is, for the most part, trite and superficial; while on the accuracy with which the facts themselves are represented, no reliance can safely be placed. The principles and character of their author, lord Chatham himself condemns with just reprobation. And when, in addition to this general censure, he admits, that in these writings the truth of history is occasionally warped, and its application distorted for party purposes, what farther notice can be wanted of the caution with which such a book must always be regarded?

Lord Chatham appears to have recommended to his nephew, at the same time, the study of a very different work, the history of Clarendon: but he speaks with some distrust of the integrity of that valuable writer. When a statesman traces, for the instruction of posterity, the living images of the men and manners of his time; the passions by which he has himself been agitated, and the revolutions in which his own life and fortunes were involved, the picture will doubtless retain a strong impression of the mind, the character, and the opinions of its author. But there will always be a wide in-



terval between the bias of sincere conviction, and the dishonesty of intentional misrepresentation.

Clarendon was, unquestionably, a lover of truth, and a sincere friend to the free constitution of his country. He defended that constitution in parliament, with zeal and energy, against the encroachments of prerogative, and concurred in the establishment of new securities, necessary for its protection. He did, indeed, when these had been obtained, oppose with equal determination those continually increasing demands of parliament, which appeared to him to threaten the existence of the monarchy itself; desirous, if possible, to conciliate the maintenance of public liberty with the preservation of domestic peace, and to turn aside from his country all the evils, to which those demands immediately and manifestly tended.

The wish was honourable and virtuous, but it was already become impracticable. The purposes of irreconcilable ambition, entertained by both the contending parties, were utterly inconsistent with the re-establishment of mutual confidence. The parliamentary leaders openly grasped at the exclusive possession of all civil and all military authority; and, on the other hand, the perfidy with which the king had violated his past engagement, still rankled in the hearts of his people, whose just suspicions of his sincerity were continually renewed by the unsteadiness of his conduct, even in the very moments of fresh concession: while, amongst a large proportion of the community, every circumstance of civil injury or oppression was inflamed and aggravated by the utmost violence of religious animosity.

In this unhappy state, the calamities of civil war could no longer be averted; but the miseries by which the contest was attended, and the military tyranny to which it so naturally led, justified all the fears of those who had from the beginning most dreaded that terrible extremity.

At the restoration, the same virtuous statesman protected the constitution against the blind or interested zeal of excessive loyalty: and, if Monk had the glory of restoring the monarchy of England, to Clarendon is ascribed the merit of re-establishing her laws and liberties, a service no less advantageous to the crown than honourable to himself; but which was numbered among the chief of those offences for which he was afterwards abandoned, sacrificed, and persecuted, by his unfeeling, corrupt, and profligate master.

These observations respecting one of the most upright characters of our history, are here delivered with freedom, though in some degree opposed to so high an authority. The habit of forming such opinions for ourselves, instead of receiving them from other, is not the least among the advantages of such a course of reading and reflection, as lord Chatham recommends.

It will be obvious to every reader, on the slightest perusal of the following letters, that they were never intended to comprise a perfect system of education, even for the short portion of time to which they relate. Many points in which they will be found deficient, were undoubtedly supplied by frequent opportunities of personal intercourse, and much was left to the general rules of study established at



an English university. Still less, therefore, should the temporary advice addressed to an individual, whose previous education had laboured under some disadvantage, be understood as a general dissuasive from the cultivation of Grecian literature. The sentiments of lord Chatham were in direct opposition to such an opinion. The manner in which, even in these letters, he speaks of the first of poets, and the greatest of orators; and the stress which he lays on the benefits to be derived from their immortal works, could leave no doubt of his judgment on this important point. That judgment was afterwards most unequivocally manifested, when he was called upon to consider the question with a still higher interest, not only as a friend and guardian, but also as a father.

A diligent study of the poetry, the history, the eloquence, and the philosophy of Greece, an intimate acquaintance with those writings which have been the admiration of every age, and the models of all succeeding excellence, would undoubtedly have been considered by him as an essential part of any general plan for the education of an English gentleman, born to share in the councils of his country. Such a plan must also have comprised a much higher progress than is here traced out in mathematics, in the science of reason, in natural and in moral philosophy; including in the latter the proofs and doctrines of that revelation by which it has been perfected. Nor would the work have been considered by him as finished, until on these foundations there had been built an accurate knowledge of the origin, nature, and safeguards of government and

civil liberty; of the principles of public and municipal law; and of the theory of political, commercial, financial, and military administration; as resulting from the investigations of philosophy, and as exemplified in the lessons both of ancient and of modern history.

“I call that,” says Milton, “a complete and generous education, which fits a man to perform justly, skilfully, and magnanimously, all the offices, both public and private, of peace and war.”

This is the purpose to which all knowledge is subordinate; the test of all intellectual and all moral excellence. It is the end to which the lessons of lord Chatham are uniformly directed. May they contribute to promote and encourage its pursuit! Recommended, as they must be, to the heart of every reader, by their warmth of sentiment and eloquence of language; deriving additional weight from the affectionate interest by which they were dictated; and most of all enforced by the influence of his own great example, and by the authority of his venerable name.

*Dropmore, Dec. 3, 1803.*

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*Travels in China, containing Descriptions, Observations, and Comparisons, made and collected in the Course of a short Residence at the Imperial Palace Yuen-min-Yuen, and in a subsequent Journey thro' the Country, from Peking to Canton. By John Barrow, Esquire, late private Secretary to Earl Macartney. 4to.*

The gentleman to whom the public is indebted for the valuable work before us, has already creditably distinguished



distinguished himself as the author of travels into the interior of Southern Africa, and will lose none of the reputation he has there acquired by the present publication. His situation as private secretary to the ambassador, gave him an opportunity of acquiring much and accurate information, and it is but justice to him to add, that he seems to have been eminently endowed with all the varied talents which would enable him not only to increase his own fund of intellectual acquirement by this advantage, but to communicate his discoveries to the world, with that perspicuous and scientific arrangement, which must secure to him the applause of the scholar, the citizen of the world, and the philosopher.

Mr. Barrow professes in his first chapter, not to give the history of the embassy, which has already been amply detailed by sir George Staunton, but to lay before his readers such an account of the morals and manners of the inhabitants, and such facts with relation to the state of the sciences, arts, and agriculture of the country, as may enable the reader justly to appreciate what rank belongs to China in the scale of the civilized nations of the world; a point of considerable difficulty, and on which the opinions of mankind have continued to fluctuate for more than two centuries. "By some, the Chinese have been extolled as the oldest and wisest, as the most learned and ingenious of nations; whilst others have derided their antiquity, condemned their government as abominable, and arraigned their manners as inhuman; without allowing them an element of science,

or a single art for which they have not been indebted to some more ancient and civilized race of men."\*

Our traveller does not, however, lose sight of the incidents which belong to the progress of the embassy. In his preliminary chapter, he details the mistaken notions which prevailed with respect to its origin, conduct, and success: contrasts it with the fate of the subsequent Dutch mission to that country: refutes the mis-statements of a French missionary, with respect to the former: accounts for the different treatment of the two embassies: and gives a chronological catalogue of the different European embassies that have been sent to China within the last two centuries.

In the course of the following chapters, Mr. Barrow takes occasion to intermingle narrative, dissertation, and anecdote, as they occur, or are suggested by the nature of the different stages of the embassy, in a singularly entertaining and happy manner. Thus, in the second chapter, which professes to give the observations and transactions in the navigation of the yellow sea, and the passage up the Pei-ho, or yellow river, the system of Chinese navigation, their compass, their foreign voyages, and present state of commerce, naturally suggest themselves to the research of our author, and are investigated in a luminous and masterly manner. Some conjectures are then hazarded as to the connection of the Malays and Hottentots with the Chinese, and the remarkable coincidences between the latter and the natives of Sumatra. The events which take place on entering the Pei-ho; the appearance of the country, and of

\* Sir William Jones.



the inhabitants, and the occurrences during the navigation into the interior of the country to the period of disembarkation, are related with much liveliness, and excite a considerable degree of interest.

In the third chapter our author carries the reader with him most agreeably through the capital to a country villa of the emperor; during which he becomes still better acquainted with the physical and moral condition of the inhabitants, whilst the approach to Peking and the description of that city will afford him a degree of entertainment, not easily to be paralleled in works of this kind. The description of the palace and gardens of *Yuen-min-yuen*, and the remarks on the Chinese mode of gardening, are interesting features of this work; and the account, from Lord Macartney's journal, descriptive of the emperor's great park of Gehol in Tartary, "unrivalled in its features of beauty, sublimity, and amenity," induce us to wish that more extracts from so valuable a source had enriched the present volume.

Having, during his residence at the capital and its neighbourhood, acquired a competent degree of information, Mr. Barrow enters, in his fourth chapter, upon "the state of society in China, the manners, customs, sentiments, and moral character of the people." As this splendid book is out of the reach of the generality of readers, from its expensive form, we shall make no apology for the length of the following extract, which nearly embraces the whole of this chapter, and which, if not the most entertaining, is certainly the most instructive in the work. In it Mr. Barrow seems to have con-

densed, with equal spirit and judgment, the results of his learned and highly meritorious researches.—

"It may, perhaps, be laid down as an invariable maxim, that the condition of the female part of society in any nation will furnish a tolerable just criterion of the degree of civilization to which that nation has arrived. The manners, habits, and prevailing sentiments of women, have great influence on those of society to which they belong, and generally give a turn to its character. Thus we find that those nations, where the moral and intellectual powers of the mind, in the female sex, are held in most estimation, will be governed by such laws as are best calculated to promote the general happiness of the people; and, on the contrary, where the personal qualifications of the sex are the only objects of consideration, as is the case in all the despotic governments of the Asiatic nations, tyranny, oppression, and slavery are sure to prevail; and these personal accomplishments, so far from being of use to the owner, serve only to deprive her of liberty, and the society of her friends; to render her a degraded victim subservient to the sensual gratification, the caprice, and the jealousy of tyrant man. Among savage tribes the labour and drudgery invariably fall heaviest on the weaker sex.

"The talents of women, in our own happy island, began only in the reign of queen Elizabeth to be held in a proper degree of consideration. As women, they were admired and courted, but they scarcely could be said to participate in the society of men. In fact, the manners of our forefathers, before that reign, were too rough for them.



In Wales wives were sold to their husbands. In Scotland women could not appear as evidences in a court of justice. In the time of Henry the eighth, an act was passed prohibiting women and apprentices from reading the New Testament in the English language. Among the polished Greeks they were held in little estimation. Homer degrades all his females: he makes the Grecian princesses weave the web, spin, and do all the drudgery of a modern washer-woman; and rarely allows them any share of social intercourse with the other sex. Yet the very foundations on which he has constructed his two matchless poems, are women! It appears also from all the dramatic writers of ancient Greece, whose aim was "to hold as 'twere the mirror up to nature, to shew the very age and body of the time its form and pressure," that notwithstanding their extreme delicacy of taste, and rapid progress in the fine arts, their manners were low and coarse; and that they were entire strangers to any other gratification arising from the society of women, than the indulgence of the sensual appetite. Even the grave Herodotus mentions, in the highest terms of approbation, the custom of Babylon of selling by auction, on a certain fixed day, all the young women who had any pretensions to beauty, in order to raise a sum of money for portioning off the rest of the females, to whom nature had been less liberal in bestowing her gifts, and who were knocked down to those who were satisfied to take them with the least money. This degradation of women would seem to be as impolitic as it is extraordinary, since, under their guidance, the earliest and sometimes the most indelible (I believe I may safely

add, the best and most amiable) impressions are stamped on the youthful mind. In infancy their protection is indispensably necessary, and in sickness, or in old age, they unquestionably afford the best and kindest relief: or as a French author has neatly observed, "*Sans les femmes, les deux extremités de la vie seroient sans secours, et le milieu sans plaisirs.*—Without women the two extremities of life would be helpless, and the middle of it joyless."

"The Chinese, if possible, have imposed on their women a greater degree of humility and restraint than the Greeks of old, or the Europeans in the dark ages. Not satisfied with the physical deprivation of the use of their limbs, they have contrived, in order to keep them the more confined, to make it a moral crime for a woman to be seen abroad. If they should have occasion to visit a friend or relation, they must be carried in a close sedan chair: to walk would be the height of vulgarity. Even the country ladies, who may not possess the luxury of a chair, rather than walk, suffer themselves to be sometimes rolled about in a sort of covered wheelbarrow. The wives and daughters, however, of the lower class are neither confined to the house, nor exempt from hard and slavish labour, many being obliged to work with an infant upon their back, while the husband, in all probability, is gaming, or otherwise idling away his time.—I have frequently seen women assisting to drag a sort of light plough, and the harrow.—Nieuwhoff, in one of his prints, taken from drawings supposed to be made in China, yokes, if I mistake not, a woman to the same plough with an ass. Should this be the fact,



fact, the Chinese are not singular, if we may credit the Natural Historian of Antiquity,\* who observes that, to open the fertile fields of Byzacium in Africa, it was necessary to wait until the rains had soaked into the ground; “after which, a little weakly ass, and an old woman, attached to the same yoke, were sufficient to drag the plough through the soil,” *post imbres vili asello, et a parte alterajugi unu vomerem trahente vidimus scindi.*

“In the province of Kiang-seen nothing is more common than to see a woman drawing a kind of light plough, with a single handle, through ground that has previously been prepared. The easier task of directing the machine is left to the husband, who, holding the plough with one hand, at the same time, with the other, casts the seed into the drills.

“The advantage which those women possess in a higher sphere of life, if any, are not much to be envied. Even at home, in her own family, a woman must neither eat at the same table, nor sit in the same room, with her husband. And the male children, at the age of nine or ten, are entirely separated from their sisters. Thus the feelings of affection, not the instinctive products of nature, but the offspring of frequent intercourse and of a mutual communication of their little wants and pleasures, are nipped in the very bud of dawning sentiment. A cold and ceremonious conduct must be observed on all occasions between the members of the same family. There is no common focus to attract and concentrate the love and respect of children for their parents. Each lives retired and apart from the

other. The little incidents and adventures of the day, which furnish the conversation among children of many a long winter’s evening, by a comfortable fire-side, in our own country, are in China buried in silence. Boys, it is true, sometimes mix together in schools, but the stiff and ceremonious behaviour, which constitute no inconsiderable part of their education, throws a restraint on all the little playful actions incident to their time of life, and completely subdues all spirit of activity and enterprize. A Chinese youth of the higher class is inanimate, formal, and inactive, constantly endeavouring to assume the gravity of years.

“To beguile the many tedious and heavy hours, that must unavoidably occur to the secluded females, totally unqualified for mental pursuits, the tobacco-pipe is the usual expedient. Every female from the age of eight or nine years wears, as an appendage to her dress, a small silken purse or pocket, to hold tobacco and a pipe, with the use of which many of them are not unacquainted at this tender age. Some indeed are constantly employed in working embroidery on silks, or in painting birds, insects, and flowers on thin gauze. In the ladies’ apartments of the great house in which we lived at Pekin, we observed some very beautiful specimens of both kinds in the pannels of the partitions, and I brought home a few articles, which I understand have been much admired; but the women who employ their time in this manner are generally the wives and daughters of tradesmen and artificers, who are usually the weavers both of cottons

\* Plin. lib. xvi. cap. 21.



and silks. I remember asking one of the great officers of the court, who wore a silken vest beautifully embroidered, if it was the work of his lady, but the supposition that his wife should condescend to use her needle seemed to give him offence.

“ Their manners in domestic life are little calculated to produce that extraordinary degree of filial piety, or affection and reverence towards parents, for which they have been eminently celebrated, and to the salutary effects of which the jesuits have attributed the stability of the government. Filial duty is, in fact, in China, less a moral sentiment, than a precept which by length of time has acquired the efficacy of a positive law; and it may truly be said to exist more in the maxims of the government, than in the minds of the people. Had they indeed, considered filial piety to be sufficiently strong when left to its own natural influence, a precept or law to enforce it would have been superfluous. The first maxim inculcated in early life is the entire submission of children to the will of their parents. The tenour of this precept is not only “ to honour thy father and thy mother, that thy days may be long in the land ;” but to labour for thy father and thy mother as long as they both shall live, to sell thyself into perpetual servitude for their support, if necessary, and to consider thy life at their disposal. So much has this sentiment of parental authority gained ground by precept and habit, that to all intents and purposes it is as binding as the strongest law. It gives to the parent the exercise of the same unlimited and arbitrary power over his

children, that the emperor, the common father, possesses by law over his people. Hence, as among the Romans, the father has the power to sell his son for a slave; and this power, either from caprice, or from poverty, or other causes, is not unfrequently put in force.

“ A law that is founded in reason or equity, seldom requires to be explained or justified. The government of China, in sanctioning an act of parental authority that militates so strongly against every principle of nature, or moral right and wrong, seems to have felt the force of this remark. Their learned men have been employed in writing volumes on the subject, the principal aim of which appears to be that of impressing on the minds of the people the comparative authority of the emperor over his subjects, and of a parent over his children. The reasonableness and justice of the latter being once established, that of the former, in a patriarchal government, followed of course; and the extent of the power delegated to the one could not in justice be withheld from the other. And for the better allaying of any scruples that might be supposed to arise in men’s consciences, it was easy to invent any piece of sophistry to serve by way of justification for these unnatural parents who might feel themselves disposed, or who, from want, might be induced to part with their children into perpetual slavery. “ A son,” says one of their most celebrated lawgivers, “ after the death of his father, has the power of selling his services for a day, or a year, or for life; but a father, while living, has unlimited authority over his son; a father has therefore the same  
right



right of selling the services of his son to another for any length of time, or even for life."

"Daughters may be said to be invariably sold. The bridegroom must always make his bargain with the parents of his intended bride. The latter has no choice. She is a lot in the market to be disposed of to the highest bidder. The man, indeed, in this respect, has no great advantage on his side, as he is not allowed to see his intended wife until she arrive in formal procession at his gate. If, however, on opening the door of the chair, in which the lady is shut up, and of which the key has been sent before, he should dislike his bargain, he can return her to her parents; in which case the articles are forfeited that constituted her price; and a sum of money, in addition to them, may be demanded, not exceeding, however, the value of these articles. These matrimonial processions, attended with pomp and music, are not unlike those used by the Greeks, when the bride was conducted to her husband's house in a splendid car; only, in the former instance, the lady is completely invisible to every one.

"To what a degraded condition is a female reduced by this absurd custom! How little inducement, it would be supposed, she could have to appear amiable or elegant, or to study her dress, or cramp her feet, or paint her face, knowing she will be consigned into the hands of the first man who will give the price that her parents have fixed upon her charms. No previous conversation is allowed to take place, no exchange of opinions or comparison of sentiments with regard to inclinations or dislikes; all the little silent acts of attention and kindness,

which so eloquently speak to the heart, and demonstrate the sincerity of the attachment, are utterly unfelt. In a word, that state of the human heart, occasioned by the mutual affection between the sexes, and from whence proceed the happiest, the most interesting, and sometimes, also, the most distressing moments of life, has no existence in China. The man takes a wife because the laws of the country direct him to do so, and custom has made it indispensable; and the woman, after marriage, continues to be the same piece of inanimate furniture she always was in her father's house. She suffers no indignity, nor does she feel any jealousy or disturbance (at least it is prudent not to shew it) when her husband brings into the same house a second, or a third woman. The first is contented with the honour of presiding over, and directing the concerns of the family within doors, and in hearing the children of the others calling her mother.

"It might be urged, perhaps, on the part of the husband, that it would be highly unreasonable for the woman to complain. The man who purchased her ought to have an equal right in the same manner to purchase others. The case is materially different where parties are united by sentiments of love and esteem, or bound by promises or engagements; under such circumstances the introduction of a second wife, under the same roof, could not fail to disturb the harmony of the family, and occasion the most poignant feelings of distress to the first. But a Chinese wife has no such feelings, nor does the husband make any such engagements.

"Although polygamy be allowed by



by the government, as indeed it could not well happen otherwise where women are articles of purchase, yet it is an evil that, in a great degree, corrects itself. Nine-tenths of the community find it difficult to rear the offspring of one woman by the labour of their hands; such, therefore, are neither in circumstances, nor probably feel much inclination, to purchase a second. The general practice would, besides, be morally impossible. In a country where so many female infants are exposed, and where the laws or custom oblige every man to marry, any person taking to himself two wives must leave some other without one, unless, indeed, it be supposed with the author of *L'Esprit des Loix*, what there seems to be no grounds for supposing, that a much greater number of females are born than of males. But all the observations of this lively and ingenious author with regard to China, and particularly the inferences he draws with respect to climate, fall to the ground. It is not the vigour of natural propensities, as he has supposed, that destroys the moral ones; it is not the effect of climate that makes it to be considered among these people "as a prodigy of virtue for a man to meet a fine woman in a retired chamber, without offering violence to her," it is the effect of studiously pampering the appetite, nurturing vicious notions, considering women as entirely subservient to the pleasures of man; and, in short, by fancying those pleasures in the head, rather than feeling them in the heart, that have led them to adopt a sentiment which does the nation so little credit. The climate being every where temperate, and the diet of the majority of

the people moderate, I might say scanty, these have little influence in promoting a vehement desire for sexual intercourse. It is indeed among the upper ranks only, and a few wealthy merchants (whom the sumptuary laws, prohibiting fine houses, gardens, carriages, and every kind of external shew and grandeur, have encouraged secretly to indulge and pamper their appetite in every species of luxury and voluptuousness), where a plurality of wives are to be found. Every great officer of state has his haram, consisting of six, eight, or ten women, according to his circumstances and his inclination for the sex. Every merchant also of Canton has his seraglio; but a poor man finds one wife quite sufficient for all his wants, and the children of one woman as many, and sometimes more, than he is able to support.

"The unsociable distance which the law (or custom, stronger than law) prescribes to be observed between the sexes, and the cool and indifferent manner of bargaining for a wife, are not calculated to produce numerous instances of criminal intercourse. These, however, sometimes happen, and the weight of punishment always falls heaviest on the woman. The husband finds no difficulty in obtaining a sentence of divorce, after which he may sell her for a slave, and thus redeem a part at least of his purchase-money. The same thing happens in case a wife should elope, instances of which I fancy are still more rare; as if she be of any fashion, her feet are ill calculated to carry her off with speed; and if a young girl should chance to lose what is usually held to be the most valuable part of female reputation, she is sent to mar-



ket by her parents, and publicly sold for a slave. In cases of mutual dislike, or incompatibility of temper, the woman is generally sent back to her parents. A woman can inherit no property, but it may be left to her by will. If a widow has no children, or females only, the property descends to the nearest male relation on the deceased husband's side, but he must maintain the daughters until he can provide them with husbands.

“ The prohibition against the frequent intercourse with modest females, for there are public women in every great city, is not attended here with the effect of rendering the pursuit more eager; nor does it increase the ardour, as among the ancient Spartans, who were obliged to steal, as it were, the embraces of their lawful wives. In China it seems to have the contrary effect of promoting that sort of connexion which, being one of the greatest violations of the laws of nature, ought to be considered among the first of moral crimes—a connexion that sinks the man many degrees below the brute. The commission of this detestable and unnatural act is attended with so little sense of shame, or feelings of delicacy, that many of the first officers of state seemed to make no hesitation in publicly avowing it. Each of these officers is constantly attended by his pipe-bearer, who is generally a handsome boy, from fourteen to eighteen years of age, and is always well dressed. In pointing out to our notice the boys of each other, they made use of signs and motions, the meaning of which was too obvious to be misinterpreted. The two Mahomedans, I observe, who

were in China in the ninth century, have also taken notice of this circumstance: and I find in the journal of Mr. Hittner, a gentleman who was in that part of the suite who accompanied the British ambassador into Tartary, in speaking of the palaces of Gehol, the following remark: “ *Dans l'un de ces palais, parmi d'autres chefs-d'œuvres de l'art, on voyait deux statues de garçons, en marbre, d'un excellent travail; ils avaient les pieds et les mains liés, et leur position ne laissait point de doute que le vice des Grecs n'eût perdu son horreur pour les Chinois. Un vieil eunuque nous les fit remarquer avec un sourire impudent.*”

“ It has been remarked that this unnatural crime prevails most in those countries where polygamy is allowed, that is to say, in those countries where the affections of women are not consulted, but their persons purchased for gold—a remark which may lead to this conclusion, that it is rather a moral turpitude than a propensity arising from physical or local causes.

“ The appetite for female intercourse soon becomes gluttoned by the facility of enjoyment; and where women, so circumstanced, can only receive the embraces of their proprietors from a sense of duty, their coldness and indifference, the necessary consequence of such connexions, must also increase in the men the tendency to produce satiety. I think it has been observed that, even in Europe, where females in general have the superior advantage of fixing their own value upon themselves, it is the greatest rakes and debauchees, who,



“ ——— bred at home in idleness and  
 “ riot,  
 “ Ransack for mistresses th’ unwhole-  
 “ some stews,  
 “ And never know the worth of virtuous  
 “ love—”

fly sometimes in search of fresh enjoyment in the detestable way here alluded to.\*

“ I have already observed that the state of domestic society in China was ill calculated to promote the affection and kindness which children not only owe to, but really feel for their parents, in many countries of Europe. A tyrant, in fact, to command, and a slave to obey, are found in every family; for, where the father is a despot, the son will naturally be a slave; and if all the little acts of kindness and silent attentions, that create mutual endearments, be wanting among the members of the same family, living under the same roof, it will be in vain to expect to find them in the enlarged sphere of public life. In fact, they have no kind of friendly societies nor meetings to talk over the transactions and the news of the day. These can only take place in a free government. A Chinese having finished his daily employment, retires to his solitary apartment. There are, it is true, a sort of public-houses where the lower orders of people sometimes resort for their cup of tea or of *seau-tchoo* (a kind of ardent spirit distilled from a mixture of rice and other grain), but such houses are seldom, if at all, frequented for the sake of compa-

ny. They are no incitement, as those are of a similar kind in Europe, to jovial pleasures or to vulgar ebriety. From this odious vice the bulk of the people are entirely free. Among the multitudes which we daily saw, in passing from one extremity of the country to the other, I do not recollect having ever met with a single instance of a man being disguised in liquor. In Canton, where the lower orders of people are employed by Europeans, and necessarily mix with European seamen, intoxication is not unfrequent among the natives, but this vice forms no part of the general character of the people. Whenever a few Chinese happen to meet together, it is generally for the purpose of gaming, or to eat a kettle of boiled rice, or drink a pot of tea, or smoke a pipe of tobacco.

“ The upper ranks indulge at home in the use of opium. Great quantities of this intoxicating drug are smuggled into the country, notwithstanding all the precautions taken by the government to prohibit the importation of it; but it is too expensive to be used by the common people. The officers of the customs are not beyond a bribe. After receiving the sum agreed upon between the importer and themselves, they frequently become the purchasers of the prohibited article. Most of the country ships from Bengal carry opium to China; but that of Turkey sent from London in the China ships is preferred, and sells at near double the price of the

“ \* I should not have taken notice of this odious vice, had not the truth of its existence in China been doubted by some, and attributed by others to a wrong cause. Professing to describe the people as I found them, I must endeavour to draw a faithful picture, neither attempting to palliate their vices, nor to exaggerate their virtues.”

other.



other. The governor of Canton, after describing, in one of his late proclamations on the subject, the pernicious and fatal effects arising from the use of opium, observes, "Thus it is, that foreigners by the means of a vile excrementitious substance, derive from this empire the most solid profits and advantages; but that our countrymen should blindly pursue this destructive and ensnaring vice, even till death is the consequence, without being undeceived, is indeed a fact odious and deplorable in the highest degree." Yet the governor of Canton very composedly takes his daily dose of opium.

"The young people have no occasional assemblies for the purpose of dancing, and of exercising themselves in feats of activity, which in Europe are attended with the happy effects of shaking off the gloom and melancholy that a life of constant labour or seclusion from society is apt to promote. They have not even a fixed day of rest set apart for religious worship. Their acts of devotion partake of the same solitary cast that prevails in their domestic life. In none of the different sects of religion, which at various times have been imported into, and adopted in China, has congregational worship been inculcated, which, to that country in particular, may be considered as a great misfortune. For independent of religious considerations, the sabbatical institution is attended with advantages of a physical as well as of a moral nature; and humanity is not less concerned than policy, in consecrating one day out of seven, or some other given number, to the service of the great Creator, and to rest from bodily labour. When

the government of France, in the height of her rage for innovation, fell into the hands of atheistical demagogues, when her temples were polluted, and every thing sacred was invaded and profaned, the seventh day was considered as a relic of ancient superstition, and the observance of it accordingly abolished; and about the same time it became the fashion among a certain description in our own country; as being, for example, a day for the encouragement of idleness, drunkenness, and dissipation. Such a remark could only be applied to large cities and towns; and in crowded manufacturing towns the mechanic, who can subsist by working three days in the week, would be at no loss in finding opportunities, were there no sabbath day, in the course of the other four to commit irregularities. And who, even for the sake of the mechanic and artificer, would wish to see the labouring peasant deprived of one day's rest out of seven, which to him is more precious than the wages he has so hardly earned the other six? What man possessed of common feelings of humanity, in beholding the decent and modest husbandman, accompanied by his family in their best attire, attending the parish church, does not participate in the smile of content which on this day particularly beams on his countenance, and bespeaks the serenity of his mind? Having on this day discharged his duty to God, refreshed his body with rest, enjoyed the comfort of clean clothing, and exercised his mind in conversing with his neighbours, he returns with double vigour to his daily labours, having, as Mr. Addison observes in one of his Spectators, "rubbed off the rust of the week,"

"The



“The first of the new year in China, and a few succeeding days, are the only holidays, properly speaking, that are observed by the working part of the community. On these days the poorest peasant makes a point of procuring new clothing for himself and his family; they pay their visit to friends and relations, interchange civilities and compliments, make and receive presents; and the officers of government and the higher ranks give feasts and entertainments. But even in those feasts there is nothing bears the resemblance of conviviality. The guests never partake together of the same service of dishes, but each has frequently his separate table; sometimes two, but never more than four sit at the same table; and their eyes must constantly be kept upon the master of the feast, to watch all his motions, and to observe every morsel he puts into his mouth, and every time he lifts the cup to his lips; for the Chinese of good breeding can neither eat nor drink without a particular ceremony, to which the guests must pay attention. If a person invited should from sickness or any accident be prevented from fulfilling his engagement, the portion of the dinner that was intended to be placed on his table is sent in procession to his own house; a custom that strongly points out the very little notion they entertain of the *social* pleasures of the table. It is customary to send after each guest the remains of his dinner.—Whenever in the course of our journey we visited a governor or viceroy of a province, we generally found him at the head of a range of tables, covered with a multitude of dishes, which invariably were marched after us to the yachts. Martial, if I

mistake not, has some allusion to a similar custom among the Romans. Each carried his own napkin to a feast, which being filled with the remains of the entertainment, was sent home by a slave; but this appears to have been done more out of compliment to the host, to shew the great esteem in which they held his cheer, than for the sake of the viands; for the Romans loved conviviality.

“The Chinese, also, like the Egyptians, as exemplified in the enormous mess which Joseph gave to little Benjamin above the rest of his brothers, testify on all occasions, that they consider the measure of a man’s stomach to depend more upon the rank of its owner, than either his bulk or appetite. The ambassadors allowance was at least five times as big as that of any person in his suite. In this particular, however, these nations are not singular, neither in ancient nor in modern times. The kings of Sparta, and, indeed, every Grecian hero, were always supposed to eat twice the quantity of a common soldier; and the only difference with regard to our heroes of the present day, consists in their being enabled to convert quantity into quality, an advantage for which they are not a little indebted to the invention of money, into which all other articles can be commuted.

“Whatever may be the occasion of bringing together a few idlers, they seldom part without trying their luck at some game of chance, for which a Chinese is never unprepared. He rarely goes abroad without a pack of cards in his pocket, or a pair of dice. Both of these, like almost every thing else in the country, are different from similar articles



articles elsewhere. Their cards are much more numerous than ours, and their games much more complicated. Nor are they at any loss, even if none of the party should happen to be furnished with cards or dice; on such an emergency, their fingers are employed to answer the purpose, which are all that is required to play the game of *Tsoimoi*, a game of which the lower class of people is particularly fond. Two persons, sitting directly opposite to each other, raise their hands at the same moment, when each calls out the number he guesses to be the sum of the fingers expanded by himself and his adversary. The closed fist is none, the thumb one, the thumb and fore-finger two, &c. so that the chances lie between 0 and 5, as each must know the number held out by himself. The middling class of people likewise play at this game when they give entertainments where wine is served, and the loser is always obliged to drink off a cup of wine. At this childish game two persons will play to a very late hour, till he who has had the worst of the game, has been obliged to drink so much wine, that he can no longer see either to count his own or his adversary's fingers. I have thus particularly noticed the Chinese *Tsoimoi*, on account of the extraordinary coincidence between it and a game in use among the Romans, to which frequent allusion is made by Cicero. In a note by Melancthon, on Cicero's Offices, it is thus described:—" *Micare digitis, ludi*  
*genus est; sic ludentes, simul di-*  
*gitos alterius manus quot volunt*  
*citissime erigunt, et simul ambo*  
*divinant quot simul erecti sint;*

" *quod qui definivit, lucratus est:*  
 " *unde acri visu opus, et multa fide*  
 " *ut cum aliquo in tenebris mices."*  
 " *Micare digitis*, is a kind of game.  
 " Those who play at it stretch out,  
 " with great quickness, as many  
 " fingers of one hand each, as they  
 " please, and at the same instant  
 " both guess how many are held up  
 " by the two together; and he who  
 " guesses right wins the game:  
 " hence a sharp sight is necessary,  
 " and also great confidence when it  
 " is played in the dark."

" The Chinese have certainly the *acer visus*, but I doubt much whether they have faith enough in each other's integrity to play at the game of fingers in the dark; which, in the opinion of Cicero, was a strong test of a truly honest man. The same game is said to be still played in Italy, under the name of *Morra*\*.

" The officers about *Yuen-min-yuen* used to play a kind of chess, which appeared to me to be essentially different from that game as played by the Persians, the Indians, and other oriental nations, both with regard to the lines drawn on the board, the form of the chessmen, and the moves, from which I should rather conclude it to be a game of their own invention, than an introduction either from India, or by the army of *Gengis-khan*, as some authors have conjectured.

" The spirit of gaming is so universal in most of the towns and cities, that in almost every bye-corner, groups are to be found playing at cards or throwing dice. They are accused even of frequently staking the wives and children into slavery; there can be little remorse in the breast of a gamester reduced to

\* Adam's Roman Antiquities.



his last stake, to risk the loss of what the law has sanctioned him to dispose of. Yet we are gravely assured, by some of the missionaries, that, "the Chinese are entirely ignorant of all games of chance;" that "they can enjoy no amusements but such as are authorised by the laws."

"These gentlemen surely could not be ignorant that one of their most favourite sports is cock-fighting, and that this cruel and unmanly *amusement*, as they are pleased to consider it, is full as eagerly pursued by the upper classes in China, as, to their shame and disgrace be it spoken, it continues to be by those in a similar situation in some parts of Europe. The training of quails for the same cruel purpose of butchering each other, furnishes abundance of employment for the idle and dissipated. They have even extended their enquiries after fighting animals into the insect tribe, in which they have discovered a species of *gryllus*, or locust, that will attack each other with such ferocity, as seldom to quit their hold without bringing away, at the same time, a limb of their antagonist. These little creatures are fed and kept apart in bamboo cages; and the custom of making them devour each other is so common, that, during the summer months, scarcely a boy is seen without his cage and his grasshoppers.

"I have already had occasion to observe, that the natural disposition of the Chinese, should seem to have suffered almost a total change by the influence of the laws and maxims of government, an influence which, in this country more than elsewhere, has given a bias to the manners, sen-

timents, and moral character of the people; for here every ancient proverb carries with it the force of a law. While they are by nature quiet, passive, and timid, the state of society and the abuse of the laws by which they are governed, have rendered them indifferent, unfeeling, and even cruel, as a few examples, which, among many others, occurred, will but too clearly bear evidence; and as the particular instances, from which I have sometimes drawn an inference, accorded with the common actions and occurrences of life, I have not hesitated to consider them as so many general features in their moral character; at the same time I am aware that allowances ought to be made for particular ways of thinking, and for customs entirely dissimilar from our own, which are, therefore, not exactly to be appreciated by the same rule as if they had occurred in our own country. The public feasts of Sparta, in which the girls danced naked in the presence of young men, had not the same effect on the Lacedemonian youth, as they might be supposed to produce in Europe; nor is the delicacy of the Hindoo women offended by looking on the *Lingam*. Thus the Chinese are entitled to our indulgence by the peculiar circumstances under which they are placed, but I leave it in the breast of the reader to make what allowance he may think they deserve.

"The common practice of flogging with the bamboo has generally been considered by the missionaries in the light of a gentle correction, exercised by men in power over their inferiors, just as a father would chastise his son, but not as a punishment to which disgrace is attached.



tached. However lightly these gentlemen may chuse to treat this humiliating chastisement, to which all are liable, from the prime minister to the peasant, it is but too often inflicted in the anger and by the caprice of a man in office, and frequently with circumstances of unwarrantable cruelty and injustice. In our return down the Pei-ho, the water being considerably shallower than when we first sailed up this river, one of our accommodation barges got aground in the middle of the night. The air was piercing cold, and the poor creatures belonging to the vessel were busy until sun-rise in the midst of the river, using their endeavours to get her off. The rest of the fleet had proceeded, and the patience of the superintending officer at length being exhausted, he ordered his soldiers to flog the captain and the whole crew, which was done in a most unmerciful manner; and this was their only reward for the use of the yacht, their time, and labour for two days. The instance of degrading an officer and flogging all his people, because the meat brought for our use was a little tainted, when the temperature was at 88° in the shade, I have already had occasion to notice.

“Whenever the wind was contrary, or it was found necessary to track the vessels against the stream, a number of men were employed for this purpose. The poor creatures were always pressed into this disagreeable and laborious service, for which they were to receive about six-pence a day so long as they tracked, without any allowance being made to them for returning to the place from whence they were forced. These people knowing the

difficulty there was of getting others to supply their places, and that their service would be required until such should be procured, generally deserted by night, disregarding their pay. In order to procure others, the officers dispatched the soldiers to the nearest village, taking the inhabitants by surprise, and forcing them out of their beds to join the yachts. Scarcely a night occurred in which some poor wretches did not suffer the lashes of the soldiers for attempting to escape, or for pleading the excuse of old age, or infirmity. It was painful to behold the deplorable condition of some of these creatures. Several were half-naked, and appeared to be wasting and languishing for want of food. Yet the task of dragging along the vessels was far from being light. Sometimes they were under the necessity of wading to the middle in mud; sometimes to swim across creeks, and immediately afterwards to expose their naked bodies to a scorching sun; and they were always driven by a soldier, or the licitor of some petty police officer, carrying in his hand an enormous whip, with which he lashed them with as little reluctance, as if they had been a team of horses.

“The Dutch embassy proceeded by land to the capital, in the midst of winter, when the rivers and canals were frozen. The thermometer was frequently from 8 to 16 degrees below the freezing point, and the face of the country was mostly covered with ice and snow; yet they were often under the necessity of travelling all night; and the peasantry, who were pressed to carry the presents and their baggage, notwithstanding their heavy loads, were obliged



obliged to keep up with them as long as they could. In the course of two nights, Mr. Van Braam observes, not less than eight of these poor wretches actually expired under their burdens, through cold, hunger, fatigue, and the cruel treatment of their drivers.

“It had been the practice of some of the gentlemen of the British embassy, in their return through the country, to walk during a part of the day, and to join the barges toward the hour of dinner. One day an officer of high rank took it into his head to interrupt them in their usual walk, and for this purpose dispatched after them nine or ten of his soldiers, who forced them in a rude manner to return to the vessels. Our two conductors, *Van* and *Chou*, coming up at the time, and being made acquainted with the circumstance, gave to each of the soldiers a most severe flogging. One of these, who had been particularly insolent, had his ears bored through with iron wire, and his hands bound to them for several days. The viceroy of Canton was at this time with the embassy, and being in rank superior to the offending officer, he ordered the latter to appear before him, gave him a severe reprimand, and sentenced him to receive forty strokes of the bamboo as a *gentle correction*. Our two Chinese friends were particularly pressing that the gentlemen insulted should be present at the punishment of the officer, and it was not without difficulty they could be persuaded that such a scene would not afford them any gratification. It happened also, in the Dutch embassy, that an inferior officer was flogged and disgraced by their conductors for not having in readiness a sufficient num-

ber of coolies or porters to proceed with the baggage, and to carry the sedan chairs in which they travelled.

“The tyranny that men in office exercise over the multitude, and each other, is perfectly agreeable to the systematic subordination which the law has sanctioned. But as authority is a dangerous deposit in the hands of the wisest, and leads sometimes the most wary to

“Play such fantastic tricks before high heaven,

“As make the angels weep—”

what must the effects of it be when vested in an illiterate Chinese or rude Tartar, who has no other talent or recommendation for his authority than the power alone which his office allows him to exercise?

“Several instances, however, occurred in the course of our journey through the country, which seemed to mark the same unfeeling and hard-hearted disposition to exist between persons of equal condition in life, as in men in office over their inferiors. One of these afforded an extraordinary trait of inhumanity. A poor fellow at Macao, in the employ of the British factory there, fell by accident from a wall, and pitched upon his skull. His companions took him up, with very little appearance of life, and, in this state, were carrying him away towards the skirts of the town, where they were met by one of the medical gentlemen belonging to the embassy. He interrogated them what they meant to do with the unfortunate man, and was very coolly answered, they were going to bury him. Having expressed his astonishment that they should think of putting



ting a man into the grave before the breath was out of his body, they replied, that they were of opinion he never could recover, and that if they carried him home he would only be a trouble and expence to his friends so long as he remained in a situation which rendered him unable to assist himself. The man, however, by the humanity and attention of doctor Scott, was restored again to his family, and to those friends who knew so well to appreciate the value of his life.

“The doctor, however, was not aware of the risk he ran in thus exercising his humanity, as, by a law of the country, which appears to us extraordinary, if a wounded man be taken into the protection and charge of any person, with a view to effect his recovery, and he should happen to die under his hands, the person into whose care he was last taken, is liable to be punished with death, unless he can produce undeniable evidence to prove how the wound was made, or that he survived it forty days. The consequence of such a law is, that if a person should happen to be mortally wounded in an affray, he is suffered to die in the streets, from the fear (should any one take charge of him) of being made responsible for his life.

“A striking instance of the fatal effects of such a law, happened at Canton lately. A fire broke out in the suburbs, and three Chinese, in assisting to extinguish it, had their limbs fractured, and were otherwise dreadfully wounded by the falling of a wall. The surgeon of the English factory, with all the alacrity to administer relief to suffering humanity, which characterises the profession in Britain, di-

rected them to be carried to the factory, and was preparing to perform amputation, as the only possible means of saving their lives, when one of the Hong merchants, having heard what was going on, ran with great haste to the place, and entreated the surgeon by no means to think of performing any operation upon them, but rather to suffer them to be taken away from the factory as speedily as possible; adding, that however good his intentions might be, if any one of the patients should die under his hands, he would inevitably be tried for murder, and the most mitigated punishment would be that of banishment for life into the wilds of Tartary. The wounded Chinese were accordingly removed privately, and, no doubt, abandoned to their fate.

“The operation of such a barbarous law (for so it appears to us) will serve to explain the conduct of the Chinese in the following instance. In the course of our journey down the grand canal, we had occasion to witness a scene which was considered as a remarkable example of a want of fellow-feeling. Of the number of persons who had crowded down to the banks of the canal, several had posted themselves upon the high-projecting stern of an old vessel, which, unfortunately, breaking down with the weight, the whole groupe tumbled with the wreck into the canal, just at the moment when the yachts of the embassy were passing. Although numbers of boats were sailing about the place, none were perceived to go to the assistance of those that were struggling in the water. They even seemed not to know that such an accident had happened, nor could the shrieks of the boys, floating on pieces of the wreck,



wreck, attract their attention. One fellow was observed very busily employed in picking up, with his boat hook, the hat of a drowning man. It was in vain we endeavoured to prevail on the people of our vessel to heave to, and send the boat to their assistance. It is true, we were then going at the rate of seven miles an hour, which was the plea they made for not stopping. I have no doubt that several of these unfortunate people must inevitably have perished.

“Being thus insensible to the sufferings of their companions, and countrymen, little compassion is to be expected from them towards strangers. From a manuscript journal, kept by a gentleman in the suite of the Dutch ambassador, it appears, that on their route to the capital, the writer felt an inclination to try his skaits on a sheet of ice that they passed by on the roadside; he was also urged to it by the conducting officers. Having proceeded some distance from the shore, the ice gave way, and he fell in up to the neck. The Chinese, instead of rendering him any assistance in the absence of his own countrymen, who had gone forwards, ran away laughing at his accident, and left him to scramble out as well as he could, which was not effected without difficulty.

“But, if further proofs were wanting to establish the insensible and incompassionate character of the Chinese, the horrid practice of infanticide, tolerated by custom, and encouraged by the government, can leave no doubt on this subject. I venture to say encouraged, because where the legislature does not interfere to prevent crimes, it certainly may be said to lend them its coun-

tenance. No law, however, allows, as I observe it noticed in a modern author of reputation, a father to expose all the daughters and a third son. I believe the laws of China do not suppose such an unnatural crime to exist, and have, therefore, provided no punishment for it. It is true, they have left a child to the entire disposal of the father, concluding, perhaps, that if his feelings will not prevent him from doing it, an injury, no other consideration will. Thus, though the commission of infanticide be frequent in China, it is considered as more prudent to wink at it, as an inevitable evil, which natural affection will better correct than penal statutes; an evil that, on the other hand, if publicly tolerated, would directly contradict the grand principle of filial piety, upon which their system of obedience rests, and their patriarchal form of government is founded.

It is, however, tacitly considered as a part of the duty of the police of Peking to employ certain persons to go their rounds, at an early hour in the morning, with carts, in order to pick up such bodies of infants as may have been thrown out into the streets in the course of the night. No enquiries are made, but the bodies are carried to a common pit without the city walls, into which all those that may be living, as well as those that are dead, are said to be promiscuously thrown. At this horrible pit of destruction the Roman Catholic missionaries, established in Peking, attend by turns, as a part of the duties of their office, in order, as one of them expressed himself to me on this subject, to chuse among them those that are the most *lively*, to make future proselytes, and by the administration of baptism



baptism to such of the rest as might be still alive, *pour leur sauver l'ame*. The Mahomedans, who, at the time that their services were useful in assisting to prepare the national calendar, had a powerful influence at court, did much better; these zealous bigots to a religion, whose least distinguishing feature is that of humanity, were, however, on these occasions, the means of saving the *lives* of all the little innocents they possibly could save from this maw of death, which was an humane act, although it might be for the purpose of bringing them up in the principles of their own faith. I was assured by one of the Christian missionaries, with whom I had daily conversation, during a residence of five weeks within the walls of the emperor's palace at *Yuen-min-yuen*, and who took his turn in attending, *pour leur sauver l'ame*, that such scenes were sometimes exhibited on these occasions as to make the feeling mind shudder with horror. When I mention that dogs and swine are let loose in all the narrow streets of the capital, the reader may conceive what will sometimes necessarily happen to the exposed infants, before the police-carts can pick them up.

“The number of children thus unnaturally and inhumanly slaughtered or interred alive, in the course of a year, is differently stated by different authors, some making it about ten, and others thirty thousand, in the whole empire. The truth, as generally happens, may probably lie about the middle. The missionaries, who alone possess the means of ascertaining nearly the number that is thus sacrificed in the capital, differ very materially in their statements: taking the mean, as given by those with whom we con-

versed on the subject, I should conclude that about twenty-four infants were, on an average, in Peking, daily carried to the pit of death, where the little innocents that have not yet breathed their last, are condemned without remorse,

“————— To be stifled in the vault,  
 “To whose foul mouth no healthsome  
 “air breathes in,  
 “And there die.”

This calculation gives nine thousand nearly for the capital alone, where it is supposed about an equal number are exposed to that of all the other parts of the empire. Those, whose constant residence is upon the water, and whose poverty, or superstition, or total insensibility, or whatever the cause may be, that leads them to the perpetration of an act against which nature revolts, sometimes, it is said, expose their infants by throwing them into the canal, or river, with a gourd tied round their necks, to keep the head above water, and preserve them alive until some humane person may be induced to pick them up. This hazardous experiment, in a country where humanity appears to be reduced to so low an ebb, can only be considered as an aggravation of cruelty. I have seen the dead body of an infant, but without any gourd, floating down the river of Canton among the boats, and the people seemed to take no more notice of it than if it had been the carcase of a dog: this, indeed, would in all probability have attracted their attention, dogs being an article of food commonly used by them; the miserable half-famished Chinese, living upon the water, are glad to get any thing in the shape of animal food, which they



will even eat in a state of putrefaction. Yet, little scrupulous as they are with regard to diet, I am not credulous enough to believe the information of a Swedish author\* to be correct in his statement of a cure for a certain disease, though “he has no reason to doubt of the fact,” *per τενοφαγίαν alternis diebus, alternis jejunió—by eating children every other day!*

“A picture so horrid in its nature, as the exposing of infants presents to the imagination, is not to be surpassed among the most savage nations. The celebrated legislator of Athens made no law to punish parricide, because he considered it as a crime against nature, too heinous ever to be committed, and that the bare supposition of such a crime would have disgraced the country. The Chinese, in like manner, have no positive law against infanticide. The laws of the rude and warlike Spartans allowed infanticide, of which, however, the parents were not the perpetrators nor the abettors. Nor, among these people, were the weak and sickly children, deemed by the magistrates unlikely ever to become of use to themselves, or to the public, thrown into the *αποθήκη*, or common repository of the dead bodies of children, until life had been previously extinguished, we will charitably suppose, by gentle and the least painful means.

“The exposing of children, however, it must be allowed, was very common amongst the ancients. The stern and rigid virtues of the Romans allowed this among many other customs, that were more unnatural than amiable, and such as, in civilized societies of the present day, would have been considered among the

most atrocious of moral crimes. A Roman father, if his infant was meant to be preserved, lifted it up from the ground in his arms; if he neglected that ceremony, the child, it would seem, was considered as doomed to exposure in the highway. Thus, in the *Andrian* of Terence, where, though the scene is not laid in Rome, Roman customs are described, “*quidquid peperisset, decreverunt tollere.*” “Let it be boy or girl, they have resolved to lift it from the ground.” Nor indeed is secret infanticide unknown in modern Europe, although it may be owing to a different principle. In such cases, the sense of shame and the fear of encountering the scorn and obloquy of the world, have determined the conduct of the unhappy mother, before the feelings of nature could have time to operate. For I am willing to hope that none who had ever experienced a mother’s feelings and a mother’s joy, would consent by any means, direct or indirect, or under any impression of fear of shame, of scorn, or biting penury, to the destruction of a new-born babe. And I may venture to say, with confidence, that a British cottager, however indigent, would divide his scanty pittance among a dozen children, rather than consent to let some of them perish, that he and the rest might fare the better, were even our laws as tacit on this subject as those of China.

“Some of the Christian missionaries, in their accounts of this country, have attempted to palliate the unnatural act of exposing infants, by attributing it to the midwife, who, they pretend to say, from knowing the circumstances of the parents, strangles the child without

\* Mr. Torreen.



the knowledge of the mother, telling her that the infant was still-born. Others have ascribed the practice to a belief in the metempsychosis, or transmigration of souls into other bodies; that the parents, seeing their children must be doomed to poverty, think it is better at once to let the soul escape in search of a more happy asylum, than to linger in one condemned to want and wretchedness. No degree of superstition, one would imagine, could prevail upon a parent to reason thus, in that most anxious and critical moment, when the combined efforts of hope and fear, of exquisite joy and severe pain, agitate by turns the mother's breast. Besides, the Chinese trouble themselves very little with superstitious notions, unless where they apprehend some personal danger. Nor is it more probable that the midwife should take upon herself the commission of a concealed and voluntary murder of an innocent and helpless infant, for the sake of sparing those feelings in another, of which the supposition implies she could not possibly partake; and if she should be encouraged by the father, whose affections for an infant child may be more gradually unfolded than the mother's, to perpetrate so horrid an act, we must allow that to the existence of unnatural and murderous parents, must be added that of hired ruffians; so that Chinese virtue would gain little by such a supposition.

“It is much more probable that extreme poverty and hopeless indigence, the frequent experience of direful famines, and the scenes of misery and calamity occasioned by them, acting on minds whose affections are not very powerful, induce this unnatural crime, which common

custom has encouraged, and which is not prohibited by positive law. That this is the case, and that future advantages are not overlooked, will appear from the circumstance of almost all the infants that are exposed being females, who are the least able to provide for themselves, and the least profitable to their parents; and the practice is most frequent in crowded cities, where not only poverty more commonly prevails, but so many examples daily occur of inhumanity, of summary punishment, acts of violence and cruelty, that the mind becomes callous and habituated to scenes that once would have shocked, and is at length scarcely susceptible of the enormity of crimes.

“I am afraid, however, it is but too common a practice even in the remotest corners of the provinces. A respectable French missionary, now in London, who was many years in *Fo-kien*, told me that he once happened to call on one of his converts just at the moment his wife was brought to-bed. The devoted infant was delivered to the father, in order to be plunged into a jar of water that was prepared for the purpose. The missionary expostulated with the man on the heinousness of an act that was a crime against God and nature. The man persisted that, having already more than he could support, it would be a greater crime to preserve a life condemned to want and misery, than to take it away without pain. The missionary, finding that no argument of his was likely to divert him from his purpose, observed, “that, as a Christian, he could not refuse him “the satisfaction of saving the infant’s soul by baptism.” During the ceremony, as the father held the infant in his arms, he happened to



to fix his eyes on its face, when the missionary thought he perceived the feelings of nature begin to work; and he protracted the ceremony to give time for the latent spark of parental affection to kindle into flame. When the ceremony was ended, "Now," says the missionary, "I have done my duty in saving a soul from perishing."—"And I," rejoined the man, "will do mine, by saving its life," and hurried away with the infant to deposit it in the bosom of its mother.

"How very weak then, in reality, must be the boasted filial affection of the Chinese for their parents, when they scruple not to become the murderers of their own children, towards whom, according to the immutable laws of nature, the force of affection will ever be stronger than for those whom the laws of China, in preference, have commanded to be protected and supported when rendered incapable of assisting themselves. The truth of this observation, which I believe few will call in question, is a strong proof that, as I have already remarked, filial piety among the Chinese may rather be considered in the light of an ancient precept, carrying with it the weight of a positive law, than the effect of sentiment.

"It is right to mention here (what, however, is no palliation of the crime, though a diminution of the extent of it) a circumstance which I do not recollect to have seen noticed by any author, and the truth of which I have too good authority to call in question. As every corpse, great and small, must be carried to a place of burial at a considerable distance without the city, and as a custom requires that

all funerals should be conducted with very heavy expences, people in Pekin, even those in comfortable circumstances, make no hesitation in laying in baskets still-born children, or infants who may die the first month, knowing that they will be taken up by the police. This being the case, we may easily conceive that, in a city said to contain three millions of people, a great proportion of the nine thousand, which we have supposed to be annually exposed, may be of the above description. According to the rules of political arithmetic, and supposing half of those who died to be exposed, the number would be diminished to about four thousand. The expence attending a Chinese funeral is more extravagant than an European can well conceive. A rich Hong merchant at Canton is known to have kept his mother near twelve months above ground, because it was not convenient for him to bury her in a manner suitable to his supposed wealth and station.

"I am informed, also, that foundling hospitals do exist in China, but that they are on a small scale, being raised and supported by donations of individuals, and their continuance is therefore as precarious as the wealth of their charitable founders.

"These unfavourable features in the character of a people, whose natural disposition is neither ferocious nor morose; but, on the contrary, mild, obliging, and cheerful, can be attributed only to the habits in which they have been trained, and to the heavy hand of power perpetually hanging over them. That this is actually the case, may be inferred from the general conduct and character of those vast multitudes who, from



from time to time, have emigrated to the Phillipine islands, Batavia, Pulo Pinang, and other parts of our East Indian settlements. In those places they are not less remarkable for their peaceable and industrious habits. To the Dutch, in Batavia, they are masons, carpenters, tailors, shoemakers, shopkeepers, bankers, and, in short, every thing. Indolence and luxury are there arrived to such a height, that, without the assistance of the Chinese, the Dutch would literally be in danger of starving. Yet the infamous government of that place, in the year 1741, caused to be massacred, in cold blood, many thousands of these harmless people, who offered no resistance; neither women nor children escaped the fury of these blood hounds.

“ In these places it appears, also, that their quickness at invention is not surpassed by accuracy of imitation, for which they have always been accounted remarkably expert in their own country. Man is, by nature, a hoarding animal; and his endeavours to accumulate property will be in proportion to the security and stability which the laws afford for the possession and enjoyment of that property. In China, the laws regarding property are insufficient to give it that security: hence the talent of invention is there seldom exercised beyond suggesting the means of providing for the first necessities and the most pressing wants. A man, indeed, is afraid here to be considered as wealthy, well knowing that some of the rapacious officers of the state would find legal reasons to extort his riches from him.

“ The exterior deportment of every class in China is uncommonly

decent, and all their manners mild and engaging; but even these among persons of any rank are considered as objects worthy the interference of the legislature; hence it follows, that they are ceremonious without sincerity, studious of the forms only of politeness, without either the ease or elegance of good breeding. An inferior makes a sham attempt to fall on his knees before his superior, and the latter affects a slight motion to raise him. A common salutation has its mode prescribed by the court of ceremonies; and any neglect or default of a plebeian towards his superior is punishable by corporal chastisement, and in men in office by degradation or suspension. In making thus the exterior and public manners of the people a concern of the legislature, society in many respects was considerably benefited. Between equals, and among the lower orders of people, abusive language is very unusual, and they seldom proceed to blows. If a quarrel should be carried to this extremity, the contest is rarely attended with more serious consequences than the loss of the long lock of hair growing from the crown of the head, or the rent of their clothes. The act of drawing a sword, or presenting a pistol, is sufficient to frighten a common Chinese into convulsions; and their warriors shew but few symptoms of bravery. The Chinese may certainly be considered among the most timid people on the face of the earth; they seem to possess neither personal courage, nor the least presence of mind in dangers or difficulties; consequences that are derived probably from the influence of the moral over the physical character. Yet there



is, perhaps, no country where acts of suicide occur more frequently than in China, among the women as well as the men: such acts being marked with no disgrace, are not held in any abhorrence. The government, indeed, should seem to hold out encouragement to suicide, by a very common practice of mitigating the sentence of death, in allowing the criminal to be his own executioner. The late viceroy of Canton, about two years ago, put an end to his life by swallowing his stone snuff-bottle, which stuck in the œsophagus; and he died in excruciating agonies.

“In a government, where every man is liable to be made a slave, where every man is subject to be flogged with the bamboo at the nod of one of the lowest rank of those in office, and where he is compelled to kiss the rod that beats him, or, which amounts to the same thing, to thank the tyrant on his knees for the trouble he has taken to correct his morals, high notions of honour and dignified sentiments are not to be expected. Where the maxims of the government commanding, and the opinions of the people agreeing, that corporal punishment may be inflicted, on the ground of a favour conferred upon the person punished, a principle of humiliation is admitted, that is well calculated to exclude and obliterate every notion of the dignity of human nature.

“A slave, in fact, cannot be dishonoured. The condition itself of being dependent upon, and subject to the caprice of another, without the privilege of appeal, is such a degraded state of the human species, that those who are unfortunately reduced to it, have no further ignominy or sense of shame to undergo.

The vices of such a condition are innumerable, and they appear on all occasions among this people, celebrated (rather undeservedly, I think) for their polished manners and civilized government. A Chinese merchant will cheat, whenever an opportunity offers him the means, because he is considered to be incapable of acting honestly; a Chinese peasant will steal whenever he can do it without danger of being detected, because the punishment is only the bamboo, to which he is daily liable; and a Chinese prince, or a prime minister, will extort the property of the subject, and apply it to his private use, whenever he thinks he can do it with impunity. The only check upon the rapacity of men in power is the influence of fear, arising from the possibility of detection; the love of honour, the dread of shame, and a sense of justice, seem to be equally unfelt by the majority of men in office.

“It would be needless to multiply instances to those already on record of the refined knavery displayed by Chinese merchants, in their dealings with Europeans, or the tricks that they play off in their transactions with one another. They are well known to most nations, and are proverbial in their own. A merchant with them is considered as the lowest character in the country, as a man that will cheat if he can, and whose trade it is to create and then supply artificial wants. To this general character, which public opinion has most probably made to be what it is, an exception is due to those merchants who, acting under the immediate sanction of the government, have always been remarked for their liberality and accuracy.



racy in their dealings with Europeans trading to Canton. These men, who are styled the *hong merchants*, in distinction to a common merchant, whom they call *mai-mai-gin*, a *buying and selling man*, might not unjustly be compared with the most eminent of the mercantile class in England.

“But as traders in general are degraded in all the state maxims, and consequently in public opinion, it is not surprising they should attach so little respect to the character of foreign merchants trading to their ports, especially as several knavish tricks have been practised upon them, in spite of all their a-cuteness and precaution. The gaudy watches of indifferent workmanship, fabricated purposely for the China market, and once in universal demand, are scarcely now asked for. One gentleman in the honourable East India company's employ, took it into his head that cuckoo clocks might prove a saleable article in China, and accordingly laid in a large assortment, which more than answered his most sanguine expectations. But as these wooden machines were constructed for sale only, and not for use, the cuckoo clocks became all mute long before the second arrival of this gentleman with another cargo. His clocks were now not only unsaleable, but the former purchasers threatened to return theirs upon his hands, which would certainly have been done, had not a thought entered his head, that not only pacified his former customers but procured him also other purchasers for his second cargo: he convinced them, by undeniable authorities, that the cuckoo was a very odd kind of bird, which sung only at certain seasons of the year,

and assured them that whenever the proper time arrived, all the cuckoos they had purchased would once again “tune their melodious throats.” After this it would only be fair to allow the Chinese sometimes to trick the European purchaser with a wooden ham instead of a real one.

“But as something more honourable might be expected in a prince of the blood, a grandson of the emperor, I shall just mention one anecdote that happened during my abode in the palace of *Yuen-min-yuen*. This gentleman, then about five and twenty years of age, having no ostensible employment, came almost daily to the hall of audience, where we were arranging the presents for the emperor. He had frequently desired to look at a gold time-piece which I wore in my pocket: one morning I received a message from him by one of the missionaries, to know if I would sell it, and for what price. I explained to the missionary that, being a present from a friend, and a token of remembrance, I could not willingly part with it, but that I would endeavour to procure him one equally good from our artificers, who I thought had such articles for sale. I soon discovered, however, that his royal highness had already been with these people, but did not like their prices. The following morning a second missionary came to me, bringing a present from the prince, consisting of about half a pound of common tea, a silk purse, and a few trumpery trinkets, hinting, at the same time, that he was expected to carry back the watch in return as an equivalent. I requested the missionary immediately to take back the princely present, which he did, with considerable reluctance,



luctance, dreading his highness's displeasure. The poor fellow happened to have a gold watch about him, which he was desired to shew; and the same day he had a visit from one of the prince's domestics, to say, that his master would do him the honour to accept his watch; which he was not only under the necessity of sending, but was obliged to thank him on his knees, for this extraordinary mark of distinction. He told me, moreover, that this same gentleman had at least a dozen watches, which had been procured in the same honourable way.

“ In the list of presents carried by the late Dutch ambassador, were two grand pieces of machinery, that formerly were a part of the curious museum of the ingenious Mr. Coxe. In the course of the long journey from Canton to Peking they had suffered some slight damage. On leaving the capital, they discovered, through one of the missionaries, that while these pieces were under repair, the prime minister, *Ho-tchang-tong*, had substituted two others of a very inferior and common sort to complete the list, reserving the two grand pieces of clock-work for himself, which, at some future period, he would perhaps take the merit of presenting to the emperor in his own name.

“ These examples but too clearly illustrate the great defect in the boasted moral character of the Chinese. But the fault, as I before observed, seems to be more in the system of government than in the nature and disposition of the people. The accession of a foreign power to the throne, by adopting the language, the laws, and the

customs of the conquered, has preserved with the forms all the abuses of the ancient government. The character of the governors may differ a little, but that of the governed remains unchanged. The Tartars, by assuming the dress, the manners, and the habits of the Chinese, by being originally descended from the same stock, and by a great resemblance of features, are scarcely distinguished from them in their external appearance. And if any physical difference exist, it seems to be in stature only, which may have arisen from local causes. The Chinese are rather taller, and of a more slender and delicate form than the Tartars, who are in general short, thick, and robust. The small eye, elliptical at the end next to the nose, is a predominating feature in the cast of both the Tartar and the Chinese countenance, and they have both the same high cheek bones and pointed chins, which, with the custom of shaving off the hair, gives to the head the shape of an inverted cone, remarkable enough in some subjects, but neither so general, nor so singular, as to warrant their being considered among the *monsters* in nature, *homo monstrosus, macrocephalus, capite conico, Chinensis*.\* The head of our worthy conductor *Van-ta-gin*, who was a real Chinese, had nothing in its shape different from that of an European, except the eye. The portrait of this gentleman, drawn by Mr. Hickey, is so strong a likeness, and he was deservedly so great a favorite of every Englishman in the train of the British ambassador, that I am happy in having an opportunity of placing it at the head of this work.

\* Linn. Systema Naturæ.



“ The natural colour both of the Chinese and Tartars seems to be that tint between a fair and dark complexion, which we distinguish by the word *brunet* or *brunette*; and the shades of this complexion are deeper or lighter, according as they have been more or less exposed to the influence of the climate. The women of the lower class, who labour in the fields, or who dwell in vessels, are almost invariably coarse, ill-featured, and of a deep brown complexion, like that of the Hot-tentot. But this we find to be the case among the poor of almost every nation. Hard labour, scanty fare, and early and frequent parturition, soon wither the delicate buds of beauty. The sprightliness and expression of the features, as well as the colour of the skin, which distinguish the higher ranks from the vulgar, are in some, though very few, such as might pass for beauties even in Europe. The Malay features, however, prevail in most; a small black or dark-brown eye, a short round nose, generally a little flattened, lips considerably thicker than in Europeans, and black hair, are universal.

“ The Man-tchoo Tartars would appear to be composed of a mixed race: among these we observed several, both men and women, that were extremely fair and of florid complexions: some had light blue eyes, straight or aquiline noses, brown hair, immense bushy beards, and had much more the appearance of Greeks than of Tartars. It is certainly not improbable that the Greeks of Sogdiana, whose descendants must have blended with the western Tartars, and with whom the Man-tchoos were connected, may have communicated this cast of

countenance. *Tchien-Lung*, whose nose was somewhat aquiline, and complexion florid, used to boast of his descent from *Gengis-khan*: these, however, are exceptions to the general character, which is evidently the same as that of the Chinese.

“ But although their appearance and manners are externally the same, a closer acquaintance soon discovers that in disposition they are widely different. Those who are better pleased with a blunt sincerity, bordering on rudeness, than a studied complaisance approaching to servility, who may think it better to be robbed openly than cheated civilly, will be apt to give the preference to the Tartar character. Yet those Tartars of distinction, who fill some of the higher situations in the state, soon lose their native roughness, and are scarcely distinguishable in their manners and demeanour from the Chinese.

“ The ease, politeness, and dignified carriage of the old viceroy of *Pe-tche-lee*, who was a Man-tchoo, could not be exceeded by the most practised courtier of modern Europe: the attention he shewed to every thing that concerned the embassy, the unaffected manner in which he received and entertained us at *Tien-sing*; the kindness and condescension with which he gave his orders to the inferior officers and to his domestics, placed him in a very amiable point of view. He was a very fine old man of seventy-eight years of age, of low stature, with small sparkling eyes, a benign aspect, a long silver beard, and the whole of his appearance calm, venerable, and dignified. The manners of *Sun-ta-gin*, a relation of the emperor, and one of the six ministers of state, were no less dignified, easy, and



and engaging ; and *Chung-ta-gin*, the new viceroy of Canton, was a plain, unassuming, and good-natured man. The prime minister *Ho-chang-tong*, the little Tartar legate, and the ex-viceroy of Canton, were the only persons of rank, among the many we had occasion to converse with, that discovered the least ill humour, distant hauteur, and want of complaisance. All the rest with whom we had any concern, whether Tartars or Chinese, when in our private society, were easy, affable, and familiar ; extremely good humoured, loquacious, communicative. It was in public only, and towards each other, that they assumed their ceremonious gravity, and practised all the tricks of demeanour which custom requires of them.

“ The general character, however, of the nation is a strange compound of pride and meanness, of affected gravity and real frivolousness, of refined civility and gross indelicacy. With an appearance of great simplicity and openness in conversation, they practise a degree of art and cunning against which an European is but ill prepared. Their manner of introducing the subject of the court ceremonies in conversation with the ambassador, is no bad specimen of their sly address in managing matters of this sort. Some of them observed, by mere accident, as it were, how curious it was to see the different modes of dress that prevailed among different nations : this naturally brought on a comparison between theirs and ours, the latter of which they pretended to examine with critical attention. After a good deal of circumlocutory observations, they thought their own entitled to the preference, being more convenient, on account of

it being made wide and loose, and free from tight ligatures ; whereas ours must be exceedingly uneasy and troublesome in any other posture than that of standing upright ; and particularly so in making the genuflections and prostrations which were customary and indeed necessary to be performed by all persons whenever the emperor appeared in public. No notice being taken of this broad hint, so artfully introduced, they proceeded to compare their wide petticoats with our breeches, and to contrast the play and freedom of their knee joints with the obstruction that our knee-buckles and garters must necessarily occasion. This brought them directly to the point, and they finished by recommending, in the warmth of their friendship, that we should disencumber ourselves of our breeches, as they would certainly be inconvenient to appear in at court.

“ Of perseverance in negotiation, or more properly speaking *in driving a bargain*, the Tartar legate gave no bad specimen of his talent. — Having in vain practised every art to obtain from the ambassador an unconditional compliance with the court ceremony, he was sent at length by the prime minister to inform him, the important point was finally decided, and that the English mode was to be adopted ; but he observed, that as it was not the custom of China to kiss the emperor’s hand, he had something to propose to which there could be no objection, and which was, that in lieu of that part of the English ceremony, he should put the second knee upon the ground, and instead of bending one knee, to kneel on both. In fact, they negotiate on the most trifling point with as much caution



caution and preciseness, as if they were forming a treaty of peace, and with more address than some treaties of peace have been negotiated.

“As a direct refusal to any request would betray a want of good breeding, every proposal finds their immediate acquiescence; they promise without hesitation, but generally disappoint by the invention of some sly pretence or plausible objection. They have no proper sense of the obligations of truth. So little scrupulous, indeed, are they with regard to veracity, that they will assert and contradict without blushing, as it may best suit the purpose of the moment.

“The vanity of an usurped national superiority, and a high notion of self-importance, never forsake them on any occasion. Those advantages in others, which they cannot avoid feeling, they will affect not to see; and, although they are reduced to the necessity of employing foreigners to regulate their calendar, and keep their clocks in order, although they are in the habit of receiving yearly various specimens of art and ingenuity from Europe, yet they pertinaciously affect to consider all the nations of the earth as barbarians in comparison of themselves. A Chinese merchant of Canton, who, from the frequent opportunities of seeing English ships, was not insensible of their advantages over those of his own nation, which traded to Batavia and other distant ports, resolved, and actually began, to construct a vessel according to an English model; but the *Hoopoo*, or collector of the customs, being apprised of it, not only obliged him to relinquish his project, but fined him in a heavy penalty for presuming to adopt the

modes of a barbarous nation. So great is their national conceit, that not a single article imported into the country, as I have elsewhere observed, retains its name. Not a nation, nor person, nor object, that does not receive a Chinese appellation; so that their language, though poor, is pure.

“The expressions made use of in salutation, by different nations, may, perhaps, be considered as deriving their origin from features of national character. *Lan-ye, Old-sir*, is a title of respect, with which the first officers of state may be addressed, because the maxims of government have inculcated the doctrine of obedience, respect, and protection to old age. The common salutation among the lower orders of people, in some of the southern provinces, is *Ya fan; Have you eaten your rice?* The greatest happiness that the common class of people in China can hope to enjoy, consists in their having a sufficiency of rice. Thus also the Dutch, who are considered as great eaters, have a morning salutation, which is common among all ranks, *Smaak-elyk eeten! May you eat a hearty dinner!* Another universal salutation among this people is, *Hoe vaart uwe? How do you sail?* adopted, no doubt, in the early periods of the republic, when they were all navigators or fishermen. The usual salutation at Cairo is, *How do you sweat?* a dry hot skin being a sure indication of a destructive ephemeral fever. I think some author has observed, in contrasting the haughty Spaniard with the frivolous Frenchman, that the proud steady gait and inflexible solemnity of the former, were expressed in his mode of salutation.—*Come esta? How do you stand?*



Whilst the *Comment vous portez vous?* How do you carry yourself? was equally expressive of the gay motion and incessant action of the latter.

“The Chinese are so ceremonious among themselves, and so punctilious with regard to etiquette, that the omission of the most minute point, established by the court of ceremonies, is considered as a criminal offence. Visiting by tickets, which, with us, is a fashion of modern refinement, has been a common practice in China some thousand years; but the rank of a Chinese visitor is immediately ascertained by the size, colour, and ornaments of his ticket, which also varies in all these points, according to the rank of the person visited. The old viceroy of *Petchee-lee*’s ticket to the ambassador, contained as much crimson-coloured paper as would be sufficient to cover the walls of a moderate-sized room.”

Having exceeded our usual limits in the above extract, we are necessarily precluded from detailing at any length the particulars of the following chapters; which, however, we can promise the reader, continue to the last page of the volume to recommend themselves, by ingenious disquisition, originality of opinion, and liveliness of narration. The manners and amusements of the court; the character and private life of the emperor; language, literature, and the fine arts; sciences, mechanics, and medicine of the Chinese are separately, and with elaborateness, considered in the 5th and 6th chapters; while the government, laws, tenures of land and taxes, revenues, civil and military ranks and establishments, form the subject of the 7th.

Mr. Barrow next ventures some conjectures on the origin of the Chinese, and gives an ample statement of their religious sects and ceremonies. His journey from Tong-choo-foo to the province of Canton, enables him to state, with apparent precision, the face of the country and its productions; the buildings, and other public works; general view of the condition of the people; state of agriculture, and the probable population of the empire.

The remainder of this instructive and amusing work is employed in the account of the author’s journey through the province of Canton; an useful description of the city;—the situation of foreigners trading to that port; and of the impositions practised by the officers of the government.

The following modest and sensible “Conclusion,” terminates the volume. “I have now gone over most of the points relative to which I have been able to recollect the remarks and observations which arose in my mind during my attendance on this memorable embassy. The comparisons I have made were with a view of assisting the reader to form, in his own mind, some idea what rank the Chinese may be considered to hold, when measured by the scale of European nations; but this part is very defective. To have made it complete, would require more time and more reading, than at present I could command. The consideration of other objects, those of a political nature, which are of the most serious importance to our interests in China, is more particularly the province of those in a different sphere, and would, therefore, be improper for me to anticipate, or pre-judge, by any conjecture of my



own. It belongs to other persons, and, perhaps, to other times; but it is to be hoped, that the information, reflections, and opinions of the ambassador himself, may one day be fully communicated to the public, when the present objections to it shall cease, and the moment arrive, (which is probably not very distant) that will enable us to act upon the ideas of that nobleman's capacious and enlightened mind, and to prove to the world that the late embassy, by shewing the character and dignity of the British nation in a new and splendid light, to a court and people, in a great measure, ignorant of them before; however misrepresented by the jealousy and envy of rivals, or impeded by the counteraction of enemies, has laid an excellent foundation for great future advantages, and done honour to the wisdom and foresight of the statesman\*, who planned the measure, and directed its execution."

That nothing might be wanting to the reader's instruction and amusement, this large 4to. volume is adorned and enriched by eight valuable drawings chiefly from the elegant pencil of Mr. Alexander, the draughtsman to the embassy; and the whole forms a splendid proof of the advanced state of the typography and graphic art of this country.

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*North Wales; including its Scenery, Antiquities, Customs, and some Sketches of its Natural History, &c. By the Rev. William Bingley, A. M. Fellow of the Linnean So-*

*ciety. Illustrated with a Map, Frontispiece, and Music, 2 Vols. 8vo.*

Our author, commencing his route at Chester, of which city he takes due notice, proceeds by Holywell, and the top of Pen-maen-mawr into that mountainous part of the country, denominated, by Mr. Pennant, Snowdonia, comprehending the greater part of Caernarvonshire, and still called the forest of Snowdon. This part of the work is peculiarly worthy the reader's attention, as it embraces a greater variety of new matter and description, than any other of this class we are acquainted with.

The animated and pleasing account of the falls of Benglog is particularly interesting, and of which Mr. Bingley remarks, that "they are scarcely known in the adjacent country, and have been unaccountably omitted even in Mr. Pennant's Tour, although this gentleman accurately describes most of the scenery around them."

Mr. Bingley's station, for some part of the time he passed in the northern counties of Wales, was at Caernarvon; from whence he made various excursions into the neighbourhood; the fruits of which are here detailed in a sprightly and interesting manner. A long account of the extravagancies of a variety of the Methodists, popularly termed *Jumpers*, occurs in this part of his book. A remarkable anecdote is here also given of the wretchedness of the habitations of the lower orders, which we shall transcribe.

"I was taken to a cottage in the

\* The Lord Viscount Melville.



parish of Llanrug, inhabited by a lame old woman, named Mary Morgan. I mention it only for the purpose of relating the singular mode which this old woman invariably adopted, till her lameness rendered it too painful, of getting into her house, whenever she mislaid the key of the door. She mounted the peat stack at the end of the building, clambered up from thence to the slates, and descended the chimney. "This is an undoubted fact."

In common with all who have visited this portion of the principality as tourists, Snowdon engages a considerable share of our author's attention. His description of the view from its summit is striking and impressive, and the catalogue he gives of the rare and curious plants he found upon this, and the other mountains of Caernarvon, mark him as a scientific and eager botanist, and will be highly acceptable to those who are versed in that branch of natural history.

The island of Anglesea is Mr. Bingley's next stage, and here he takes occasion to digress upon the origin and use of the *cromlechen*, which abound in that island. A subject often debated, but still open to disquisition. And whether they be (as Rowlandson supposes) considered as the altars of the Druids; or, (as does Borlase) be conceived purely sepulchral, is a question that has hitherto divided, and will long divide, the opinions of mankind.

The vale of Montgomery is excellently well portrayed, and the different rural scenes in this beautiful part of the country, are delineated with the pencil of a master.

But the most valuable portions of

the work, are the dissertations which occupy the greater part of the second volume, on the language, the music, and the manners and customs of the Welsh. The first of these subjects is singularly well discussed; the analogies pointed out close, accurate, and abundant; and the reasoning lucid and conclusive. The second, independantly of the entertainment afforded by the Bardic anecdotes with which it is diversified, is further elucidated by several of the most popular airs being given in score. And the last we shall here transcribe for the instruction and entertainment of our readers, and as a fair specimen of the style and manner of our author, with whom we confess ourselves, upon the whole, to be greatly pleased; and, abating a little in our estimate for a certain vein of good-natured credulity, and occasional inaccuracy of expression, which pervade the volumes before us; we do not hesitate to pronounce him lively, ingenious, and amusing, far above the generality of that class of writers in which his present work must place him.

"From ancient, I now descend to modern times; and, from describing that hardy race of warlike characters which were with so much difficulty subdued by the English monarchs, I proceed to make some remarks on their present state, in which this people enjoy a degree of happiness and tranquillity, that, in feudal times, the country never experienced.

"While quarrels rage did nourish  
ruinest wrack,  
And Owen Glyndore set bloodie broyles  
abroach;

Full



Full many a towne was spoyl'd and put  
to sack,  
And cleane consum'd, to countries foule  
reproach  
Great castles rais'd, fayre buildings burnt  
to dust,  
Such revel reign'd, that men did live by  
lust :—  
But since they came, and yielded unto  
lawe,  
Most meek as lambe, within one yoke  
they drawe.

“ In those mountainous and secluded parts of Wales, as some of the interior of Caernarvonshire, Merionethshire, and Denbighshire, that are yet scarcely known to the English tourist; the manners of the inhabitants differ very essentially from what will be observed near any frequented road. The people seem there to have an innocence and simplicity of character, unknown in the populous parts of our own country. Among these it is that we are to search for those original traits, and that native hospitality, so much the boast of the Welsh writers.—Wherever the English have had uninterrupted communication, the money, of which they have been so lavish, has afforded an irresistible temptation for the lower classes of the inhabitants to practise impositions; in such situations the people differ little from the like class amongst us. On all the great roads, they seem to pride themselves in being sufficiently expert to over-reach their Saxon neighbours in any of their little bargains. A Welsh gentleman, of undoubted veracity, informed me, (and in various instances I have myself experienced its truth) that it is a common practice amongst his countrymen, to ask for any article they have to offer for sale, nearly double the sum

they will take: those persons who are acquainted with these practices, never give them the full price for what they purchase. I have good authority for asserting, that, at some of the inferior inns, if an Englishman sits down at table with Welshmen, the charge for his eating will be at least one third more than that of each of the rest of the company. This is a provoking imposition.

“ A rustic bashfulness and reserve, seem to be general features in the character of the Welsh people; and strangers, unaccustomed to their manners, have often mistaken these for indications of sullenness. It is usual to say of them that they are very irascible. This may be the case, but from what I have myself seen, I am inclined to think that the natural rapidity of their expression in a language not understood, has often been construed into passion, without any other more certain grounds. Persons who form their ideas from the opinions of others, without being at the trouble of making observations for themselves, are often deceived and misled. Such, I am confident, has been the case a thousand times in the judgments formed on the present subject.

“ The lowest classes bear indications of extreme poverty, yet they seem to enjoy good health. Their dwellings are cottages, or rather huts, built of stones, whose interstices are closed with peat or mud. On a mere inspection, they would seem the habitation of wretchedness. They are in general so dark, that on first entering, the glare of light down the chimney alone takes the attention. The following is a good picture, by Mr. Hutton, of one of the better kind of cottages, made



uncommonly neat for the celebration of a wedding dinner :

“ Arriving, I crept through a hole in the door,  
Some stones were laid down, and some not, on the floor.  
The whole was one dark room, with three windows, so small,  
That the light down the chimney quite outstript them all :  
But this great relief came to soften their cares,  
Neither sober nor drunk could they tumble down stairs.  
Two beds grac’d the mansion, which made it appear,  
That cleanliness, prudence, and order reign’d there.  
That tables and cupboards, which open’d to view,  
Shew’d the hand of industry had polish’d their hue.  
The shelves and their crockery, both china and delph,  
Were clean, and were orderly rang’d on the shelf.  
Dad, mam, and nine children, which fortune bestow’d,  
In harmony liv’d in this darksome abode ;  
Nor can we consent to call those people poor,  
Where Prudence steps in, and bars Want from the door.

“ The usual food of the labouring Welsh is bread, cheese, and milk ; and sometimes what they call flummary, a composition of oatmeal and milk. Animal food and ale are by no means among their usual fare.

“ The women of the mountainous parts of the country are generally a middle size, though more frequently below that than above it. Their features are often very pretty, but, in point of figure, they are in general uninteresting ; and their long, and thickly matted hair, crowned with hats similar to those worn by the men, affords the unpleasant idea

of a due want of cleanliness. They wear long blue cloaks, that descend almost to their feet. These they are seldom to be seen without, even in the hottest weather ; owing to the frequency of showers in a country surrounded with mountains. On their legs they have blue stockings, without any feet to them : they keep them down by means of a loop fastened round one of their toes. In the more unfrequented parts, the women seldom wear any shoes, except on a Sunday, or the market-day, and even on those days they often carry them in their hands as they go along the roads. I have sometimes seen six or eight of them, after their journeys from the adjacent villages, seated on the bank of a rivulet, in the act of washing their feet previously to their entering the towns. During these journeys, they often employ their time in knitting, and a heavy shower of rain will not sometimes compel them to give up their work. Their employment within doors, besides their family duties, is chiefly in spinning wool. What has been repeatedly asserted of the Welsh people, that they are naturally inquisitive and curious respecting strangers, is certainly true ; but it is a circumstance by no means peculiar to this country. In all wild and unfrequented parts of the world, it is the same ; and it is in such parts of Wales that this disposition is chiefly observable. It is easily accounted for when we consider their manners of life, and general ignorance. Surprise on the appearance of strangers, where, in their limited ideas, there could seem no inducement to repay the trouble or expence of a journey, would naturally excite their wonder, and this as naturally leads to the questions,



questions, "Where do you come from?"—"Why do you come here?" and, "Where do you go to from hence?" Unsatisfied with my answers, that I was an Englishman, come to visit the mountains and waterfalls, I have often and often been asked, with the utmost simplicity, "Are there, then, no rocks nor rivers in England?" In all accounts of travels through unfrequented countries, we find this disposition to curiosity very common, and a slight acquaintance with the nature of the human mind is sufficient to allay any surprise that may be excited in discovering that it is prevalent in Wales.

"They are much inclined to superstition, but in all countries we find that there are multitudes of weak and foolish people. In England, most of the peasantry swallow, with credulous avidity, any ridiculous stories of ghosts, hobgoblins, and fairies. There is, however, in the Welsh, certainly a greater inclination to credulity than what, at least, an Englishman can discover among our own people. There are few, indeed, of the mountaineers of Wales, who have not by heart a string of legendary stories of those disembodied beings. The cavern Lanymynech-hill, not far from Oswestry, has been long noted as the residence of a clan of fairies, of whom the neighbouring villagers relate many surprising and mischievous pranks. Whilst they have stopped to listen at the mouth of the cave, they have sometimes even heard the little elves in conversation, but this was always in such low whispers, that (with reverberation along the sides and roof of the cavern) the words were rendered indistinguishable. The stream that

runs across a distant part of this cavern, is celebrated as the place where the fairy washer-women and labourers have been heard frequently at work.

Considerably allied to the fairies is another species of supposed ærial beings, called by the Welsh *knockers*. These, the Welsh miners say, are heard underground, in or near mines, and by their noises, generally point out to the workmen a rich vein of ore. The following are extracts from two letters on this extraordinary subject, written by Mr. Lewis Morris, a man eminent for his learning and good sense.

"These are odd assertions, but they are certainly facts, though we cannot, and do not pretend to account for them. We have now very good ore at Llwyn Llwyd, where the *knockers* were heard to work, but have now yielded up the place, and are no more heard. Let who will laugh, we have the greatest reason to rejoice, and thank the *knockers*, or rather God, who sends us these notices."

"The second letter is as follows:—

"I have no time to answer your objection against *knockers*; I have a large treatise collected on that head, and what Mr. Durham says, is nothing to the purpose. If sounds of voices, whispers, blasts, working or pumping, can be carried on a mile under ground, they should always be heard in the same place, and under the same advantages, and not once in a month, a year, or two years. Just before the discovery of ore last week, three men together, in our work, were ear-witnesses of



“ *knockers* pumping, driving a  
 “ wheel-barrow, &c.; but there is  
 “ no pump in the work, nor any  
 “ mine within less than a mile of it,  
 “ in which there are pumps con-  
 “ stantly going. If they were these  
 “ pumps that they heard, why were  
 “ they never heard but that once in  
 “ the space of a year? And why  
 “ are they not now heard? But  
 “ the pumps make so little noise,  
 “ that they cannot be heard in the  
 “ other end of Esgairy Mwyn mine  
 “ when they are at work.

“ We have a dumb and deaf  
 “ tailor in this neighbourhood, who  
 “ has a particular language of his  
 “ own: by signs, and by practice I  
 “ can understand him, and make  
 “ him understand me pretty well;  
 “ and I am sure I could make him  
 “ learn to write, and be understood  
 “ by letters very soon, for he can  
 “ distinguish men already by the  
 “ letters of their names. Now let-  
 “ ters are marks to convey ideas,  
 “ just after the same manner as the  
 “ motions of fingers, hands, eyes,  
 “ &c. If this man had really seen  
 “ ore in the bottom of a sink of  
 “ water in a mine, and wanted to  
 “ tell me how to come at it, he  
 “ would take two sticks like a  
 “ pump, and would make the mo-  
 “ tions of a pumper at the very  
 “ sink where he knew the ore was;  
 “ and would make the motions of  
 “ driving a wheel-barrow. And  
 “ what I should infer from thence  
 “ would be, that I ought to take  
 “ out the water, and sink, or drive  
 “ in the place, and wheel the stuff  
 “ out. By parity of reasoning,  
 “ the language of the *knockers*  
 “ by imitating the sound of pump-  
 “ ing, wheeling, &c. signifies that  
 “ we should take out the water,  
 “ and drive there. This is the opi-

“ nion of all old miners, who pre-  
 “ tend to understand the language  
 “ of the *knockers*. Our agent  
 “ and manager, upon the strength  
 “ of this notice, goes on and ex-  
 “ pects great things. You, and  
 “ every body that is not convinced  
 “ of the being of *knockers*, will  
 “ laugh at these things, for they  
 “ sound like dreams; so does every  
 “ dark science. Can you make  
 “ any illiterate man believe that it is  
 “ possible to know the distance of  
 “ two places by looking at them?  
 “ Human knowledge is but of small  
 “ extent, its bounds are within our  
 “ view, we see nothing beyond  
 “ these; the great universal crea-  
 “ tion contains powers, &c. that we  
 “ cannot so much as guess at. May  
 “ there not exist beings, and vast  
 “ powers, infinitely smaller than the  
 “ particles of air, to whom air is as  
 “ hard a body as a diamond is to  
 “ us? Why not? There is nei-  
 “ ther great nor small, but by com-  
 “ parison. Our *knockers* are some  
 “ of these powers, the guardians of  
 “ mines.

“ You remember the story in Sel-  
 “ den's Table-Talk, of Sir Robert  
 “ and others disputing about Mo-  
 “ ses's shoe. Lady Cotton came  
 “ in, and asked, ‘Gentlemen, are  
 “ you sure it is a shoe?’ So the  
 “ first thing is, to convince mankind  
 “ that there is a set of creatures, a  
 “ degree or so finer than we are, to  
 “ whom we have given the name of  
 “ *knockers*, from the sounds we  
 “ hear in our mines. This is to be  
 “ done by a collection of their as-  
 “ sertions well attested; and that is  
 “ what I have begun to do, and  
 “ then let every one judge for him-  
 “ self.”

“ These letters are curious,  
 though the reasoning is far from  
 conclusive.



conclusive. When I was in the country, I was very desirous of seeing a copy of the remarks on these supposed aerial spirits, that Mr. Morris refers to in the second letter, but was not able to meet with such. In endeavouring to account for the noises, for we must believe that such noises have taken place, it has been remarked that they might perhaps have proceeded from the echo of the miners at work, or from the dropping of water in some hollow places in or near the mine. These conjectures are, however, very insufficient, if we are to credit Mr. Morris's assertion (and he was a man not likely to make an assertion without being convinced of its truth), that whilst the miners are engaged in one kind of work, the *knockers*, as they are called, are carrying on another; while, for instance, as he says, the miners are boring, the *knockers* are blasting, the former conjecture must therefore fall to the ground, as the droppings of water could in no case produce an effect that might be mistaken for blasting. I am acquainted with the subject only from report, but I can assure my readers that I found few people in Wales that did not give full credence to it. The elucidation of these extraordinary facts must be left to those persons who have better opportunities of inquiring into them than I have. I may be permitted to express a hope that the subject will not be neglected, and that those who reside in any neighbourhood where the noises are heard, will carefully investigate their cause, and, if possible, give to the world a more accurate account of them than the present. In the year 1799, they were heard in some mines in the parish of Llanvihanga-

gel Ysgeiviog in Anglesea, where they continued, at intervals, for some weeks.

“The lower class of the Welsh yet continue to believe in the existence of witches. Many old women, therefore, only because they happen to be old, and perhaps deformed, have to bear the odium of preventing the cows from yielding milk, and butter from forming in the churn. They are also believed to possess the power of inflicting disorders both on men and cattle, and that they seldom neglect to do it when they have been offended. This will well account for the notion of witches having been strenuously maintained some centuries ago even by the most enlightened persons of the age. Old women, on whom the generally odious epithet of witch has been once fixed by the popular voice, have found it their interest, and in Wales to this day find it their interest, to deny nothing that is alledged to them. They become thus held in superstitious fear by the people, and in many instances obtain an easy livelihood from their supposed extent of power. Wherever they ask alms, it would be (say the common people) the death of a cow or horse, or perhaps even of one of the family, to refuse them; and the neighbouring peasantry, much as they hold them in detestation, believe it their own interest to keep them always in good humour. The old women thus live, in some measure, in affluence, with little other trouble than feeding and training up three or four cats, and attending minutely to the concerns of their neighbours.

“On the eve of All Saints, the Welsh people, as soon as it is dark, kindle



kindle great fires near their houses, which they call *coelcerth*, or bon-fires. This custom has been supposed, though probably without any foundation, to have originated with the Druids, and to have been intended by them as an offering of thanksgiving for the fruits of the harvest. Sometimes fifty or a hundred of these fires may be seen at once, and round each the people dance, hand in hand, at the same time singing and shouting in the most riotous and frantic manner imaginable. In many places a custom is retained of each person throwing a few nuts into the flame, by which they pretend to foretell the good or ill fortune that will attend them the ensuing year. If, by the expansion of air within them, the nuts burst, they immediately conclude that they are doomed to die within twelve months. On the day after All Saints, the poor children go about the towns and villages to beg bread and cheese.

“On the eve of St. John the Baptist, they place little bundles of the plant called St. John’s wort, over their doors, or windows. These they believe will purify their houses, and drive away all fiends and evil spirits. The Druids had a custom similar to this, in which they used sprigs of vervain.

“The young people have many pretended modes of declaring their future lovers. Most of these are, however, common to the peasantry of our own country, which renders it needless to repeat them here.

“I have been informed that a disorder, somewhat resembling St. Anthony’s fire, which the Welsh people call *Yr Eryr*, the eagle, is supposed to be at any time cured by the following kind of charm. A

person, whose grandfather, or great grandfather, has eaten the flesh of an eagle, is to spit on the part affected, and rub it for a little while with his fingers. This is esteemed an infallible remedy. A maid-servant of a gentleman of my acquaintance, who resides in Caernarvonshire, declared, in my hearing, that she had been cured of this complaint by an old man, whose grandfather had eaten of an eagle. She said that he at the same time used some words, to aid the charm, which she could not comprehend.

“It is an opinion very prevalent within the diocese of St. David’s, in Pembrokeshire, that a short time previous to the death of a person, a light is sometimes seen to proceed from the house, and even from the bed, and to pursue its way to the church where the body is to be interred, precisely in the same track that the funeral will afterwards follow. This light is called *canwyll corph*, or “the corpse candle.”

“A strange custom prevails in some obscure parts of North Wales, which, however, the clergy have now almost abolished. This is termed the “offering of an enemy.” When a person supposes himself highly injured by any one, he repairs to some church dedicated to a celebrated saint, or one who is believed to have great power over the affairs of men; here, kneeling on his bare knees before the altar, and offering a piece of money to the saint, he utters the most virulent and dreadful imprecations, calling down curses and misfortunes on the offender and his family, even for generations to come. Sometimes the offended persons repair for the same purpose to some sacred well, dedicated to a saint. Mr. Pennant was threatened



threatened by a man, who fancied he had been injured by him, “with the vengeance of St. Elian, and a journey to his well, to curse him with effect.”\*

“Some of these wells are held in great repute for the cure of diseases; and the saints are also occasionally applied to for the recovery of stolen goods. In the parish of Abergeley, in Caernarvonshire, there was formerly a well dedicated to St. George, who was the Welsh tutelary saint of horses. All these animals that were distempered, were brought to the well, sprinkled with water, and received this blessing: *Rhad Duw a Saint Siors arnat*, “the blessing of God and St. George be on thee.” It was the custom of those who kept a great number of horses, at certain times, to make an offering of one of them to the saint, in order to secure his blessing on all the rest. If a well of any saint was near the church, the water for baptism was always fetched from thence; and, after the ceremony, the old women would frequently wash their eyes in the water of the font.

“Some years ago it was a custom in the churches of North Wales, whenever the name of the devil occurred, for every one of the congregation to spit upon the floor. This was done to shew their contempt of the evil spirit. Whenever the name of Judas was mentioned, they expressed their abhorrence of him by striking their breasts.

“On the morning of Christmas-day, about three o’clock, the inhabitants used formerly to assemble in the churches; and, after the prayers and sermon were concluded, they continued their singing psalms

and hymns with great devotion till day-light. Those who through age or infirmity were disabled from attending the church, invariably read the prayers in their own houses, and sang the appropriate hymns. This act of devotion was called (*plygain*,) “the crowing of the cock.\*” It has been a general belief among the superstitious, that instantly

“At his warning,  
Whether in sea or fire, in earth or air,  
Th’extravagant and erring spirit hies  
To his confine.”

“But during this holy season, the cock was supposed to exert his power throughout the night.

“Some say, that ever ’gainst that season comes,  
Wherein our Saviour’s birth is celebrated,  
The bird of dawning singeth all night long:  
And then, they say, no spirit walks abroad;  
The nights are wholesome; then no planets strike;  
No fairy takes: no witch hath power to charm;  
So hallowed and so gracious is the time.”

“The Welsh yet retain the custom of wearing leeks in their hats on St. David’s-day. On the first of March 640, the Welsh forces under command of king Cadwallo, obtained a signal victory over the Saxons. The battle happened near a large piece of ground in which this vegetable was cultivated, and the soldiers put leeks into their hats, in order to distinguish themselves. Since this period, the leek has been retained as a badge of honour. The

\* Tour in Wales, ii. 337.

† Pennant ii. 340.



Welshman says (to Henry V.) "They did goot service in a garden where leeks did grow, wearing leeks in their Monmouth caps; which, your majesty knows, to this hour is an honourable padge of the service."\*

"The middle and lower classes of the people were formerly much addicted to *terming*, that is, brewing a barrel of ale at some favourite ale-house, and staying there till it was all drunk out. They never went to bed, though the *term* should even last a whole week. They slept in their chairs, or on the floor, as it happened, and the moment they awoke, they renewed their jollity. At length, when the barrel was exhausted, they reeled away home. The hero of this Bacchanalian route always carried off the spiggot in triumph.

"The peasantry of part of Carnarvonshire, Anglesea, and Merionethshire, adopt a mode of courtship, which till within the last few years was scarcely even heard of in England. It is the same that is common in many parts of America, and termed by the inhabitants of that continent bundling. The lover steals, under the shadow of the night, to the bed of his fair one, into which (retaining an essential part of his dress) he is admitted without any shyness or reserve. Saturday or Sunday nights are the principal times when this courtship takes place, and on these nights the men sometimes walk from a distance of ten miles or more, to visit their favourite damsels. This strange custom seems to have originated in the scarcity of fuel, and in the consequent unpleasantness of sitting together in the colder parts of the year, without a

fire. Much has been said of the innocence with which these meetings are conducted. This may be the case in some instances, but it is a very common thing for the consequence of the intercourse to make its appearance in the world within two or three months after the marriage ceremony has taken place. The subject excites no particular attention among the neighbours, provided the marriage be made good before the living witness is brought to light. Since this custom is entirely confined to the labouring classes of the community, it is not so pregnant with danger as on a first supposition it might seem. Both parties are so poor, that they are necessarily constrained to render their issue legitimate, in order to secure their reputation, and with it a mode of obtaining a livelihood.

"Their weddings are usually attended by all the neighbours, sometimes to the number of thirty or upwards. After the ceremony, the day is dedicated to festivity, and is chiefly spent in drinking and singing. At a wedding in the little village of Llanberis, I observed in the church as many as twenty or five and twenty attendants. A collection is made on their return to the house to defray the expences of the occasion, to which, of course, every one contributes. A good idea of the rest of the business may be collected from a pleasant account of a wedding-feast in Cwm y Clo, near Llanberis.

"A fire of square peat, and sufficiently dried,  
Was spread on the hearth, and at least  
four feet wide;

\* Shakspeare's Henry V. act 4th.



Over which took their station six kettles  
 or more,  
 Which promised a feast, when they  
 opened their store;  
 And round this flat furnace, to keep  
 them quite hot,  
 Were plac'd twelve more vessels, which  
 held—God knows what.  
 Four cooks, in short bed-gowns, attend  
 by desire,  
 Like the witches in Macbeth, to stir up  
 the fire.  
 “Forty trenchers, with dull knives,  
 and forks made no brighter,  
 Were spread on some napkins, which  
 once had been whiter,  
 Supported by planks, forty feet long, or  
 more,  
 Completely were rais'd on the grass out  
 of door.  
 But here we are bound the word table  
 to offer,  
 That our verse's great dignity never may  
 suffer.  
 The table prepar'd, and the cooking  
 completed,  
 'Twas perfectly needful the guests should  
 be seated.  
 Loose boards were erected on stones  
 with great art;  
 But proving too hard for a certain  
 broad part,  
 A number of cushions were instantly  
 made,  
 But not with a needle—no; form'd with  
 a spade.  
 The finest of ling, root and branch from  
 the common,  
 Par'd off, prov'd a cushion for man and  
 for woman.  
 “Now folks, male and female, came  
 in by whole dozens,  
 Of neighbours, acquaintance, of friends,  
 and of cousins.  
 It excited surprise, from a region of  
 rocks,  
 That orderly people should issue by  
 flocks.  
 Black stockings, blue cloaks, and men's  
 hats, all admire,  
 Which appear'd to be every female's at-  
 tire.  
 “While many a longing eye glanc'd  
 at the board,  
 The word dinner sounded—acceptable  
 word!

Five butts of boil'ds beef of a gigantic  
 size,  
 On the board took their station, with  
 joy and surprise;  
 On these close attended, as guards  
 rang'd for pleasure,  
 As many mash'd pease as would heap a  
 strike measure,  
 With cabbage a pyramid, much like a  
 steeple:  
 All these were surrounded with—thirty-  
 eight people.  
 “The moment arriving when dinner  
 was o'er,  
 The places were taken by thirty-eight  
 more—  
 And then a third set, nearly equal to  
 these,  
 Sat down to the cabbage, the beef, and  
 these peas;  
 Besides about fifty remaining behind,  
 Who stuck to the tankard, for none of  
 them din'd.  
 “And now an old dish, open'd wide at  
 each sinner,  
 As if it would say—“Pay a shilling  
 for dinner.”  
 Eight strike of brown malt, which Caer-  
 narvon had seen,  
 And cost the bride's father two pounds  
 and fourteen,  
 Was brew'd into drink that would make  
 one man mad,  
 But given a second, would make his  
 heart glad.  
 Each quart brought back sixpence, and  
 that pretty soon,  
 His cot was a public-house that after-  
 noon.  
 “The glass going round—no—the  
 mug, I would say,  
 The lads and the lasses began to look  
 gay,  
 To smile on each other, to toy and to  
 joke;  
 I was an observer, but not a word spoke.  
 “The bard, in high rapture, his harp  
 handled soon,  
 And twang'd with his fingers, to try if in  
 tune;  
 The people selected, and pairing be-  
 gan,  
 Each lass was indulg'd with choice of  
 her man;  
 Than Amazons more than like fairies  
 were seen,



Full thirty gay couple to dance on the green,  
 Joy held his firm station till morning was come;  
 When each swain had the pleasure to lead his nymph home."

"In South Wales, previous to the weddings of the peasantry, a herald, with a crook or wand adorned with ribands, sometimes makes the circuit of the neighbourhood, and proclaims his bidding, or invitation, in a prescribed form; but the knight-errant cavalcade on horseback,—the carrying off the bride,—the rescue,—the wordy war in rhyme between the parties, which once formed a singular spectacle of mock contest at the celebration of nuptials, is now almost, if not altogether, laid aside, throughout every part of the principality.\*

"The funerals are attended by greater crowds of people than even their weddings. In the funeral that I attended at Llanberis, which has been described in the preceding volume, there were at least a hundred attendants. A custom prevails in this country of each individual of the congregation making some offering in money on these occasions, which, if done in the church, is paid as a mark of respect to the clergyman. This custom, which is at present confined to North Wales, has doubtless been retained from the Romish religion, where the money was intended as a recompence to the priests, for their trouble in singing mass for the soul of the deceased. In some cases, where the clergyman is not respected by his parishioners, the offerings are made on the coffin at the door of the house where the

deceased resided, and are distributed amongst the poor relatives.—When, however, the offerings are made in the church, and the other mode very rarely occurs, the whole of the morning or evening prayers for the day, and the usual part of burial service in the church, are first read; the next of kin to the deceased then comes forward to the altar table, and, if it is a poor person, puts down sixpence or a shilling, but if he is sufficiently opulent, half a crown or a crown, and sometimes even so much as a guinea. This example is followed by the other relatives, and afterwards by the rest of the congregation whose situation in life will afford it, who advance in turns and offer. When the offering of silver is ended, a short pause ensues, after which, those who cannot spare any larger sum, come forward and put down each a penny (a half-penny not being admitted). Collections, on these occasions, have been known to amount to ten or fifteen pounds, but where the relatives are indigent, they do not often exceed three or four shillings. In cases where families are left in distress, this money is usually given by the clergyman to them. When the collection is entirely finished, the body is taken to the grave, the remainder of the burial service is read, and the awful ceremony is there closed. The offerings at Llanbublic, the parish church of Caernarvon, sometimes amount to fifty or sixty pounds a year.

"It is usual, in several parts of North Wales, for the nearest female relation to the deceased, be she widow, mother, sister, or daugh-

\* Cam. Reg. vol. ii.



ter, to pay some poor person of the same sex, and nearly of the same age with the deceased, for procuring slips of yew, box, and other evergreens to strew over and ornament the grave for some weeks after interment; and in some instances for weeding and adorning it on the eves of Easter, Whitsuntide, and the other great festivals, for a year or two afterwards. This gift is called *diodlys*, and it is made on a plate at the door of the house, where, at the same time, the body is standing on a bier. It had its name from the custom, which is now discontinued, of the female relative giving to the person a piece of cheese with the money stuck in it, some white bread, and afterwards a cup of ale. When this previous ceremony is over, the clergyman, or, in his absence, the parish clerk, repeats the Lord's prayer; after which they proceed with the body to the church. Four of the next of kin take the bier upon their shoulders; a custom which is considered as expressive of the highest mark that even filial piety can pay to the deceased. If the distance from the house to the church be considerable, they are relieved by some of the congregation; but they always take it again before they arrive at the church.—I have been informed that, in some parts of the country, it is usual to set the bier down at every cross-way, and again when they enter the church-yard, and at each of these places to repeat the Lord's prayer.

“In some parts of Wales it was formerly customary for the friends of the dead to kneel on the grave, and there to say the Lord's prayer for several Sundays subsequent to the

interment, and then to dress the grave with flowers. It was also reckoned fortunate for the deceased if a shower of rain came on while they were carrying the body to church, that his coffin might be moistened with the tears of heaven.

“I have observed that, in most parts of North Wales, the same practice prevails which is common in England, of crowding all the bodies into that part of the church-yard which is south of the church. The only reason that I heard the Welsh people give for this custom is, that the north is the wrong side. The true reason, however, is, that formerly it was customary for persons, on entering a church-yard, and seeing the grave of a friend or acquaintance, to put up to heaven a prayer for the peace of their soul; and since the entrances to churches were usually either on the west or south side, those persons who were interred on the north escaped the common notice of their friends, and thereby lost the benefit of their prayers. Thus the north side becoming a kind of refuse spot, only paupers, still-born infants, or persons guilty of some crimes, were buried there.\*

“In Mr. Pratt's *Gleanings thro' Wales*, I observe a charmingly animated description of the neatness and elegance of the Welsh church-yards, and of the attention that is bestowed by the surviving relatives to the graves of their kindred: but I am sorry to say, if this gentleman has stated facts, that the custom is not general, as he has asserted; it must be completely local. During the seven months that I spent in visiting and examining North Wales,

\* Grose's *Olio*, 222.



I never saw, nor could I ever hear, of an instance of the graves being weeded every Saturday; “of their “being every week planted with “the choicest flowers of the sea- “son,” or that, if a nettle or weed

were seen on the Sunday morning, the living party to whom the grave belonged, “would be hooted, after “divine service, by the whole con- “gregation.”



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